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Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

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THE SAGE VISVAMITRA ASKS DASARATHA TO SEND RAMA TO KILL THE RAKSHASAS.
By M. V. Dhurandhar.

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THE CITIES OF BUDDHISM

ACCEPTING the theory that Buddhism was developed in India, not as a sect or church, but only as a religious order, founded by one of the greatest of the World-Gurus, we find ourselves compelled to account for the relations that would arise, between the king, or the populace, impressed by the memory of Buddha, and the order that followed in his succession and bore his name.

To do this, however, it is first necessary that we should have some determinate idea as to where, in the India of the Buddhist Period, were the great centres of population. An Indian city, it has been well said, is a perishable thing. And it is easy to think of names, which would justify the statement. No one who has seen the Dhauli Rock, for instance, seven miles away from Bhubaneswar, can imagine that the Edict it bears, fronted by the royal cognisance of the elephant head, was originally sculptured in the wild woods, where it now stands. A glance is enough to tell us that the circular ditch, which surrounds the fields below, was once the moat of a city, backed and fortified by the Dhauli Hill itself, and that the Edict-bearing rock stood at the south-eastern corner of this city, where the high-road from the coast must have reached and entered the gates. This city of Dhauli was the capital, doubtless, of Kalinga, when Asoka, in his military youth, conquered the province. In order to estimate its value and importance, in the age to which it belonged, we must first restore to the mind's eye the ports of Tamralipti and Puri, deciding which of these two was the Liverpool of the Asokan Era. A theocratic institution, such as pilgrimage, is frequently a sort of precipitate from an old political condition, and almost always embodies elements of one sort or another, which have grown up in a preceding age. Presumably, therefore, Puri was the great maritime centre of the pre-Christian centuries, in Northern India; and if so, a road must have passed from it, through Dhauli, to Pataliputra in the North. By this road went and came the foreign trade, between India and the East, and between the north and south. In the age of the Kesari Kings of Orissa, not only had Dhauli itself given place to Bhubaneshwar, but Puri, perhaps by the same process, had been superseded by Tamralipti, the present Tamluk. It was at the second of these, that Hiouen-Tsang, in the middle of the seventh century, embarked on his return-voyage. Such a supersession of one port by another, however, would only be completed very gradually, and for it to happen at all, we should imagine that there must have been a road from one to the other, along the coast. If only the covering sands could now be excavated, along that line, there is no saying what discoveries might be made, of buried temples, and transitional cities. For a whole millennium in history would thus be brought to light.

On the great road, from Dhauli to the north, again, there must have been some point at which a route branched off for Benares, passing through Gaya, and crossing the Punpun River, following in great part the same line by which Sher Shah's Dak went later, and the railway goes to-day.

Let us suppose, however, that two thousand and more years have rolled away, and that we are back once more in that era in which Dhauli was a fortified capital city. The elephant-heralded decree stands outside the gates, proclaiming in freshly-cut letters of the common tongue, the name of that wise and just Emperor who binds himself and his people by a single body of law.

"I, King Piyadassi, in the twelfth year after my anointing, have obtained true enlightenment," commences the august Edict. It goes on to express the royal distress at the imperialistic conquest of the province, in Asoka's youth, and assures his people of his desire to mitigate this fundamental injustice of his rule, by a readiness to give audience to any one of them, high or low, at any hour of the day or night. It further enumerates certain of the departments of public works which have been established by the new Government, such as those of wells, roads, trees and medicine. And it notes the appointment of public censors, or guardians of morality.

In his reference to the obtaining of 'true enlightenment,' Asoka records himself a non-monastic disciple of the Great Monastic Order of the day. Nearly three hundred years have elapsed, since the passing of the Blessed One, and in the history of the Begging Friars whom He inaugurated, there has been heretofore no event like this, of the receiving of the imperial penitent into the lay-ranks served by them. Their task of nation-making is slowly but surely going forward, nevertheless. In the light of the Gospel of Nirvana, the Aryan Faith is steadily defining and consolidating itself. The Vedic Gods have dropped out of common reference. The religious ideas of the Upanishads are being democratised, by the very labours of the Begging Friars in spreading those of Buddha, and are coming to be regarded popularly as a recognised body of doctrine, characteristic of the Aryan folk. Vague racial superstitions, about snakes and trees and sacred springs are tending more and more to be intellectually organised and regimented round the central figure of Brahma, the Creator and Ordainer of Brahminic thinkers.

Thus the higher philosophical conceptions of the higher race are being asserted as the outstanding peaks and summits of the Hinduistic faith, and the current notions of the populace are finding their place gradually, in the body of that faith, coming by degrees into organic continuity with the lofty abstractions of the Upanishads. In other words, the making of Hinduism has begun.

The whole is fermented and energised by the memory of the Great Life, ended only three centuries agone, of which the yellow-clad Brethren are earnest and token. Had Buddha founded a church, recognising social rites, receiving the new-born, solemnising marriage, and giving benediction to the passing soul, his personal teachings would have formed to this hour a distinguishable, half-antagonistic strain, in the organ-music of Hinduism. But He founded only an order. And its only function was to preach the Gospel, and give individual souls the message of *Nirvana*. For marriage and blessing, men must go to the Brahmins: the sons of Buddha could not be maintainers of the social polity, since in His eyes it had been the social nexus itself which had constituted that "World," that "Maya," from which it was the mission of the Truth to set men free.

The work of the monk, then, as a witness to the eternal verities, was in no rivalry to the more civic function of the Brahminic priesthood. And this is the fact which finds expression in the relation of the monkhood to the Indian cities of the Asokan Era. The Brahmin is a citizen-priest, living in a city. The Buddhist is a monk, living in an abbey. In all lands, the monk has memorialised himself by buildings, instead of by posterity. In India, these have been largely carved, as at Mahavellipore, in the south, or excavated, as at Ellora and elsewhere, instead of built. But the sentiment is the same. In place of a single monastery, with its chapel or cathedral, we find here a number of independent cells or

groups of cells, and frequently a whole series of cathedral shrines. Apparently a given spot has remained a monastic centre during generation after generation. Dynasties and revolutions might come and go, but this would remain, untouched by any circumstance, save the inevitable shifting of population, and the final decay of its own spiritual fire.

In its decoration, the abbey would reflect the art of the current epoch. In culture, it would act as a university. In ideals, it represented the super-social, or extra-civic conception of the spiritual equality and fraternity of all men. Its inmates were vowed to religious celibacy. And we may take it that *the place of the abbey would always be at a certain distance from a city whose Government was in sympathy with it.*

Thus the city of Dhauli, under the Emperor Asoka and succeeding worshippers of Buddha, had Khanda Giri, at seven miles' distance, as its royal abbey. The civic power was represented at Gaya: the monastic at Bodh-Gaya. Benares was the seat of Brahmins: Sarnath of monks. Elephanta was the cathedral-temple of a king's capital,* but Kenheri, on another island, a few miles away, offers to us the corresponding monastery.

From these examples, and from what we can see to have been their inevitableness, we might expect that any important city of the Buddhistic period would be likely to occur in connection with a monastic centre, some few miles distant. Now it is possible to determine the positions of a great many such cities, on grounds entirely *a priori*. It is clear, for instance, that whatever geographical considerations might make Benares great, would also act at the same time, to distinguish Allahabad. By a similar induction, Mathura on the Jumna and Hardwar on the Ganges, might also be expected to furnish proof of ancient greatness. Now outside Prayag we have to the present time, as a haunt of Sadhus, the spot known as Nirvanikal. And in the vicinity of Hardwar, is there not Hrisikesh? The caves of Ellora have near them the town of Roza. But this we must regard as a sort of Mohammedan priory, inasmuch as its population consists mainly of religious beggars (of course not celibate) living about the Tomb of Aurangzebe. The neighbouring capital, that supported the youth of Ellora, was probably at Deogiri, now called Daulatabad.

It is the broken links in the chain, however, that fascinate us most, in the light of this historical generalisation. What was the city, and what the state, that made Ajanta possible? What was the city that corresponded to the *dharmasala* at Sanchi? What was the city, and what the abbey, in the case of Amravati?

Undoubtedly a fashion once started in such strength under Buddha-worshipping sovereigns and commonwealths would tend to be imitated in later ages when the system of ideas that we know as Hinduism had come more definitely into vogue. It is also possible that when the Buddhistic orders failed or died out, their places were sometimes taken, in the ancient *maths* and foundations, by Jain religious. Something of this sort appears, at least, to have happened at Sarnath and possibly at KhandaGiri also. But the whole history of the relations between Brahmins, Buddhists, and Jains, wants working out from an Asiatic, and not European, point of view, if many pages of history are to become clear to us.

One question of great interest that arises in this connection, is, what of this parallelism, in the case of Pataliputra? Going back to Rajgir, we see the early ancestral capital of the Nanda Kings confronted, at least in later ages, by Nalanda, the historic university of Bengal, to which Hiouen Tsang owed so much. But what of Pataliputra itself? Can we suppose that the imperial seat had no official *ashrama* of piety and learning, in its vicinity? Yet if it had, and if, perhaps, the "Five Pahars" mark the site of this religious college, what was the situation of the capital in regard to it?

Again we find place and occasion, by means of this generalisation, for more definite consideration than was hitherto possible, of Indian culture and civilisation at various epochs. What were the various fuctions performed by these great extra-civic priories? No Englishman has reason to be prouder of Oxford than the Hindu of Ajanta. The eternal antithesis of Europe between 'Town and Gown' was never a source of rioting and disorder in the East, only because, from

* And Elephanta is of considerably later date.

the beginning, they were recognised, by universal consent, as distinct entities, whose separateness of interests demanded a certain geographical distance. What was the life lived in these royal abbeys, whose foundations date back in so many cases—notably Bodh-Gaya, Sarnath, Dhauli, and Sanchi—to the reign of Asoka himself? They were a symbol, to the eyes of the whole community, of democracy, of the right of every man to the highest spiritual career. It is not conceivable that they should have been entirely without influence on the education of youth. But undoubtedly their main value intellectually lay in their character of what we would now call post-graduate universities.

Here must have been carried on such researches as were recorded, in the lapse of centuries, by Patanjali, in his *Yoga Aphorisms*, one of the most extraordinary documents of ancient science known to the world. Here must have been the home of that learning which made the golden age of the Guptas possible, between 300 and 500 A.D. We must think too of the international relations of these ancient monastic colleges. FaHian (400 A.D.) and Hiouen Tsang (650 A.D.) were not the only eastern students, who came, two thousand to fifteen hundred years ago, to drink of the springs of Indian learning. They were a couple whose books of travels happen to have become famous. But they were two out of a great procession of pilgrim-scholars. And it was to the abbeys, that such came. It was from these abbeys, again, that the missions proceeded to foreign countries. No nation was ever evangelised by a single teacher. The word *Patrick*, in Irish, it is said, means *praying-man*, and the vaunted saint is thus, beyond a doubt, either a member or a personification of a whole race of Christian preachers who carried Baptism and the Cross to early Ireland. Similarly Mahinda, Nagarjuna, and Bodhidharmma in the twelfth century, were not the isolated figures that history as we know it paints. They were merely conspicuous elements in a whole stream of missionary effort, that radiated from the quiet abbeys and monasteries of India, in its great ages, towards the worlds of east and west. Christianity itself, it has been often suggested, may have been one of the later fruits of such a mission, as preached in Persia and Syria.

Here, in these lovely retreats, for they are all placed in the midst of natural beauty—was elaborated the thought and learning, the power of quiet contemplation, and the marvellous energy of art and literary tradition, that have made India as we know it to-day. Here were dreamt those dreams, which, reflected on society, became the social ideals of the ages in which we live. And here was demonstrated the great law that will be expressed again and again in history, whenever the glory of India rises to one of its supreme moments, the law of the antithesis between city and university, between *samaj* and religious orders, between the life of affairs and the life of thought. Antithetic as they are, however, these are nevertheless complementary. Spirituality brings glory in its train. The monastic life reacts to make civic strength. And the sons of modern India may well take heart, in the face of this law of mutual relations. For it is established in the innermost nature of things Indian that a moment of greatness either of *Vairagya* or of *Dharma* shall always be a prophecy to the nearing of an hour of approaching triumph for its fellow.

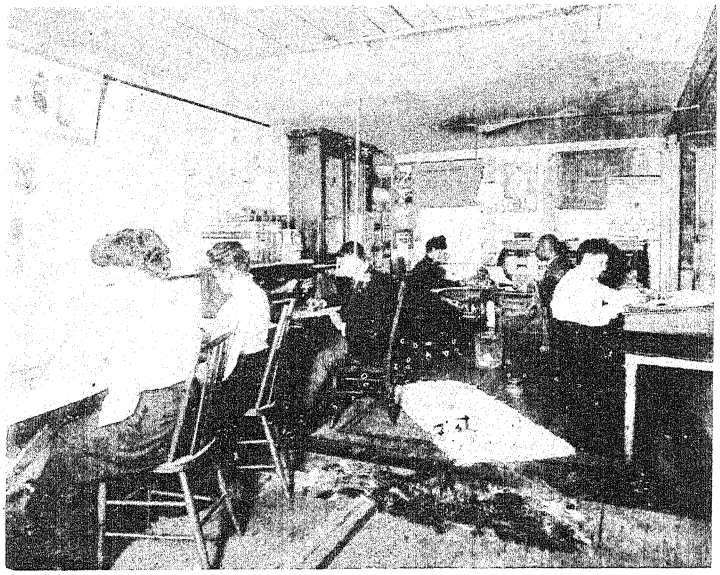
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A NEGRO EDUCATOR'S UNIQUE IDEALS AND SUCCESSFUL METHODS

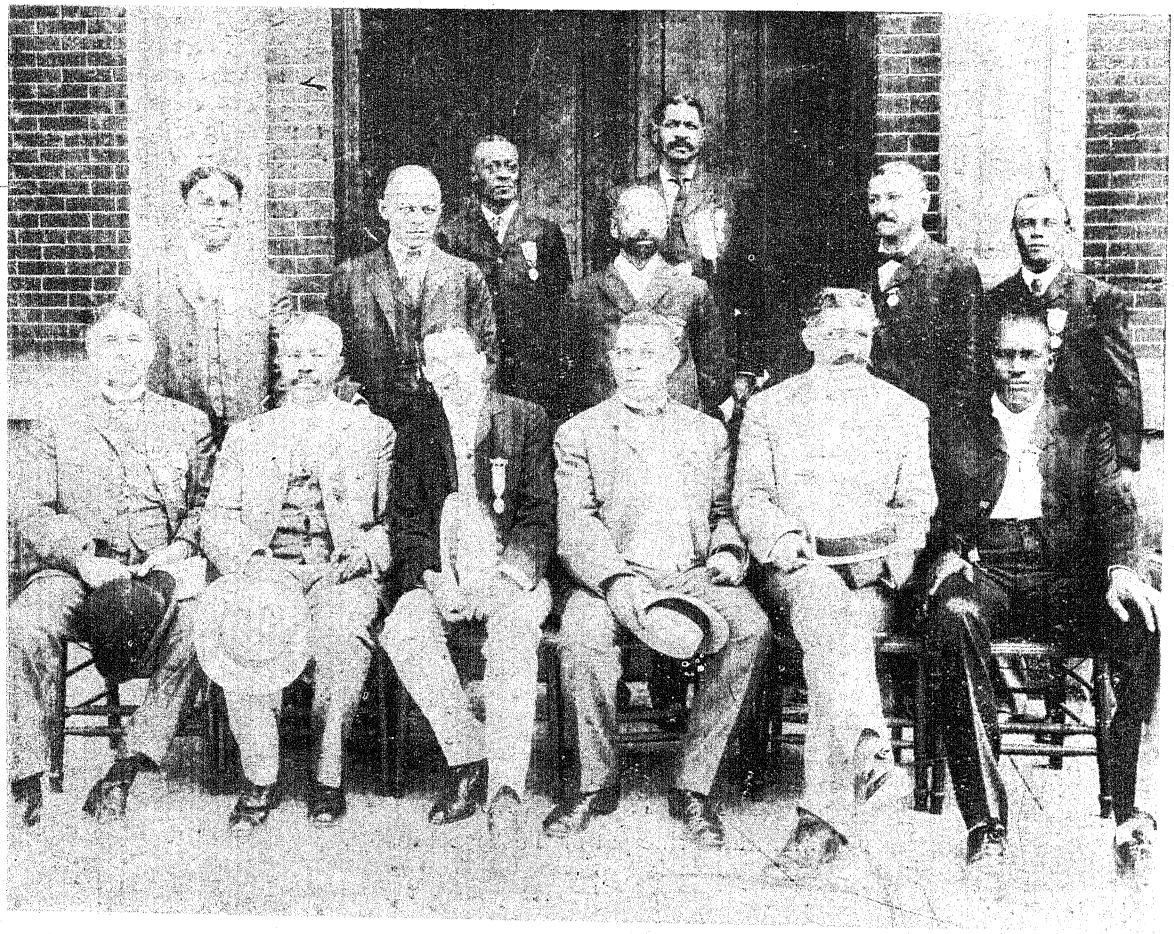
THE British bureaucracy is constantly accused by Indians, of all shades of opinion, of governing India by stereotyped and out of date methods. The charge is laid at the doors of Englishmen who, in India, as well as in England, administer the Indian affairs, that they have displayed a great lack by not adjusting themselves to the changed conditions in Hindustan. It is constantly urged against them that their preconceived notions of the character and capabilities of educated



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON,
Founder and Principal of Tuskegee Institute.



A View of a Successful Negro's Office.



Officers of the Negro Business League. Mr. Booker T. Washington is the fourth (sitting reading from left to right.

Indians and their exaggerated sense of themselves and their administration of India, make them incapable of adapting themselves and their policies to the new and transformed atmosphere in the land, and thus give the country a colossal impetus for progress and prosperity.

These charges may be right. They may be wrong. It is not the province of the present paper to debate this point. The question that should be asked is:—

Are the people of India, themselves, showing an appreciation of their changed circumstances? Are they adjusting themselves to the metamorphosed environs with a view to produce the maximum good with the minimum expenditure of men, money and vitality?

Those who ought to be spending their vital energy in doing positive work, content themselves either with lamenting their own limited opportunities or assuring themselves that a solitary individual of ordinary physical and mental calibre, single-handed, is not capable of doing much toward the upliftment of a nation many millions strong and sunk in the deepest sloughs of conservatism, ignorance and poverty.

As an example to the Indian who is putting to himself the last-named query, the career of a Negro, Booker T. Washington, may be pointed out, who, by dint of indomitable courage, rose from slavery and the most abject and depressing conditions and has been instrumental in leavening millions of his people with the yeast of uplift and progress. It is really wonderful to survey the work which this solitary man, belonging to a nation that is considered to be probably the most backward of all, with limited resources, has been able to accomplish in less than a generation. The story of his life and work and an account of his unique ideals of education and his successful methods of inspiring a nation to advancement and prosperity ought to prove helpful and encouraging to the Indian patriots who are anxious to do something more than mere whining about their state, or upbraiding the alien administrators of India for their mistakes and shortcomings.

Mr. Booker T. Washington was born on a plantation in Virginia, one of the Southern States belonging to the United States of America. Of his father he knows almost nothing, except that it was hinted he was a "white" man who lived on a plantation near the one where resided his mother, a full-blooded Negro slave. The log cabin in which he spent the early years of his life until the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 set him free from bondage, consisted of a single room. This was a living place as well as the kitchen for the plantation, his mother being the plantation cook.

The cabin had not a single glass window, the light being admitted through openings in the sides of the shanty. The door was squeaky and full of large cracks. There was no wooden or tile floor nor cots to sleep on. The family consisted of the mother, little Booker, an older half-brother and a half-sister. All of these slept "upon a bundle of filthy rags laid upon the dirt floor." No portion of his life was devoted to play and the mother being more than busy with her work, nursed him only at irregular intervals. While still very young he was put to work at cleaning yards, carrying water and food to workers in the fields and taking corn to the mill to be ground. He was allowed no schooling.

After emancipation the family moved to West Virginia, adjoining the state in which he was born. They settled in a small town which was the centre of the salt-mining industry. The family lived in a small cabin surrounded by a cluster of similar dwelling places, all insanitary and crowded to the extreme. Mr. Washington's stepfather secured work at a salt furnace. Booker, although a mere child, worked also, often being obliged to start as early as four o'clock in the morning.

"The first thing I ever learned," says Mr. Washington in his volume of autobiography entitled: "Up from Slavery", "in the way of book knowledge was by working in this salt furnace. Each salt packer had his barrels marked with a certain number. The number allotted to my stepfather was '18'. At the close of the day's work, the boss of the packers would come around and put '18' on each of our barrels and I soon learned to recognize the figure wherever I saw it, and after awhile got to the point where I could make that figure, though I knew nothing about any other figures or letters."

Thus began the education of Booker T. Washington. A little later his mother managed to get hold of a spelling book. As there was not a single member of his own race in the neighbourhood able to read and as he did not have the courage to ask any of

the white men around him for help, little Booker had great difficulty in mastering the alphabet. His mother solaced him greatly and heartily sympathized with him in his ambition ; but being totally ignorant, she could not render him any material assistance. About this time a young Negro who had contrived to learn to read and write a little, drifted to the locality. The community engaged to pay this young man a small amount of money every month and let him "board around," that is to say, permit him to spend a week and eat his meals in one home and then move on to another family, in consideration of his teaching the children as well as the grown-up Negroes.

Booker could not go to this school, as his father had found that he was a money-maker and money was urgently needed by the family. He, however, induced the teacher to give him lessons at night. "These night lessons were so welcome," says he, "that I think I learned more at night than the other children did during the day." However, later he was allowed to go to the day school, working from early in the morning till 9 o'clock and from 2 to 6 in the afternoon, going to school in the intervening hours. Mr. Washington relates :—

"The school-house was some distance from the furnace, and as I had to work till 9 o'clock and the school opened at 9, I found myself in a difficulty. School would always be begun before I reached it and sometimes my class had recited. To get around this difficulty I yielded to a temptation for which most people, I suppose, will condemn me; but since it is a fact, I might as well state it. There was a large clock in a little office in the furnace. This clock, of course, all the hundred or more workmen depended upon to regulate their hours of beginning and ending the day's work. I got the idea that the way for me to reach school on time was to move the clock hands from half past eight up to nine o'clock mark. This I found myself doing morning after morning, till the furnace 'boss' discovered that something was wrong and locked the clock in a case. I did not mean to inconvenience anybody, I simply meant to reach that school-house in time."

Such a boy could not long be kept away from attaining the education he desired. Thus we find Booker T. Washington, after a series of tough hardships, started in 1872 to study in the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, where opportunity was afforded young men to pay their way doing physical work while studying. As he could not gather together enough money to pay his fare over the 500 miles which separated him from his destination, he had to do considerable walking and begged rice from wagons and railroad cars. He reached Richmond, Virginia, a large city 82 miles from Hampton, without a single penny in his pocket. To quote his own words,

"I was tired, I was hungry, I was everything but discouraged. Just about the time when I reached extreme physical exhaustion I came upon a portion of the street where the board sidewalk was considerably elevated. I waited for a few minutes till I was sure that no passers-by could see me, and then crept under the ground with my satchel of clothing for a pillow. Nearly all night I could hear the tramp of feet over my head. The next morning I found myself somewhat refreshed but was extremely hungry because it had been a long time since I had had sufficient food. As soon as it became light enough for me to see my surroundings, I noticed that I was near a large ship and that this ship seemed to be unloading a cargo of pig iron. I went at once to the vessel and asked the captain to permit me to help unload the vessel in order to get money for food."

He was not only allowed to do so, but was permitted to continue working for a small sum of money for many days. Thus he was able to save money, by means of which he reached Hampton Institute.

Dirty and trampy-looking he presented himself before the head teacher for admittance into the Institution. The teacher said to him : "The adjoining recitation room needs sweeping. Take the broom and sweep it." Realizing that this was the chance of his life, he swept the room three times ; then dusted it four times with a piece of cloth. He removed every piece of furniture and took care that no trace of dirt was left anywhere. Then he went carefully over all the woodwork around the walls and cleaned the benches, tables and desks four times with a dusting cloth. The teacher took her white silk handkerchief out of her pocket and rubbed it on the woodwork and also examined the spots covered by benches, etc., but without finding any dirt. As the young Negro had successfully passed his novel though none the less arduous entrance examination, he was allowed to join the institution.

Life at Hampton did not prove a sinecure ; but Mr. Washington worked assiduously at his studies and at various kinds of jobs in order to pay his living expenses at the Institute. In June, 1875, he was a graduate with high honors.

A desire to visit his mother took him back to the little salt-mining town. There

he was elected to teach the school for colored people. Ambitious to pursue more advanced studies, he travelled to Washington, the Capital of the United States, where he remained for some time. While still there he received the invitation of the President of Hampton Institute to deliver a "post-graduate address." The institution had grown, and soon after the delivery of his address, "The Force That Wins", Booker T. Washington was employed, in the summer of 1879, to teach at Hampton, and was afforded the privilege of doing supplementary studying. While engaged in this capacity the opportunity offered itself which Mr. Washington took "at the flood" and was able to establish the nucleus of his life-work.

The Principal of Hampton Institute had been requested to depute some one to take charge of a school which was to be opened at Tuskeegee, Alabama, then a small village. Booker T. Washington was elected to fill this position and set forth, toward the middle of 1881, to take charge of this school. On his arrival he discovered, to his intense disappointment, that neither the school-house nor the paraphernalia needed for conducting a school were awaiting him. All the funds that were at his disposal consisted of the annual grant of Rs. 6,000, made by the State of Alabama, which comprised his salary as well as the school expenses. The first few months he spent in investigating the conditions prevailing amongst the Negroes in the adjoining territory and discovered that there was a great thirst for knowledge amongst the newly-freed members of his race. He also found out that the Negroes did not know how to properly live at home or conduct industries or work in the field. He learned that the freed members of his race were suffering from the reaction of having been compelled to do manual labor—that to them emancipation meant freedom from physical work, from soiled hands and dirty overalls. Education to the Negro boy and girl, therefore, appeared to be the means of affording them the avenue of shirking labor on the farm and transferring themselves to work in the cities in banks and stores.

This tour of investigation inspired Booker T. Washington to conceive the idea of the Institution he was to found. He made up his mind that he was going to instill into the minds of those who came in contact with him, the dignity of labor. He resolved to correlate physical training with mental culture and to prove that either divorced from the other would be detrimental to the well-being of the individual, as well as the nation.

The school was opened in a stable with thirty boys and girls. Within a few months more pupils applied for admittance and the adjoining hen-house was added to the school buildings. However, it became more and more patent that mere book learning was of no avail to the student. As most of them came from farms, and would return to them, they required to be instructed in improved methods of agriculture and the allied farm industries. The girls had to be taught modern methods of housework and also rendered efficient helpers in the fruit orchard and vegetable garden. He noticed that

"While they could locate the desert of Sahara or the Capital of China on an artificial globe, the girls could not locate the proper places for the knives and forks on an actual dinner table, or the places on which the bread and meat should be set."

The thing for them to learn was how to live useful, happy lives. Both the boys and girls required to be prepared for life; not merely varnished over with cultural subjects or their memories burdened with words from dead languages or half-assimilated ideas from ancient authors. It was worse than useless to accentuate their desire for avoiding physical labor and encourage their tendencies to wear flashy clothes and secure clerical work.

Booker T. Washington conceived an institution which would put a premium upon physical work, saturate the minds of his pupils with the truism that all labor is holy, and demonstrate the truth that manual training, besides being a necessity from an economic view-point, was an admirable fashioner of character and developer of the mind. His brain saw the efficacy of an institution where a raw young man or woman would be instructed in some useful trade or in some special branch of agronomy or in general farm or dairy work; where he would learn not only to live comfortably and wisely, but prove a direct as well as indirect cause of the upliftment of his people. He planned to establish a school which would make a special effort to produce real men and women, each of whom would prove

a veritable tower of strength and wisdom for the coloured people—a leader who would blaze the way to progress and prosperity and help toward raising the status of the race and improving the character of the country.

It was by no means easy to acquire a thorough grasp of the situtation and study out a plan which would tend to rapidly evolve the race; but it was still harder to find the material means to put the idea on its legs. It was like making bricks without straw. Undeterred by the seemingly insurmountable difficulties which surrounded him, the brave young Negro set out to accomplish what he had decided to do. Seven hundred and fifty Rupees were borrowed from the Treasurer of Hampton Institute by Mr. Washington on his personal responsibility and were utilized toward making the initial payment for buying an old and abandoned plantation which was situated about a mile away from town and was offered for sale at Rs. 1,500. On this plantation stood a log cabin formerly used as the dining hall, a dilapidated kitchen, an old henhouse, and a stable. These were cleaned and whitewashed and repaired as well as the finances would permit, and were occupid for teaching purposes.

Then the real work of the Institution was started. Booker T. Washington put aside his teacher's clothes and in a simple work-dress started to devote the afternoons to clearing up the farm land adjoining the school buildings. The students followed the example of their instructor and a few afternoons' work saw the clearing of 20 acres which were utilized for sowing a crop. Meantime Mr. Washington, with the help of Miss Olivia A. Davidson (who later became his wife), an educated young coloured woman who had joined him in his work in behalf of his race, raised enough money to not only pay the debt incurred, but also to make the complete payment for the land and secure the hundred-acre plantation.

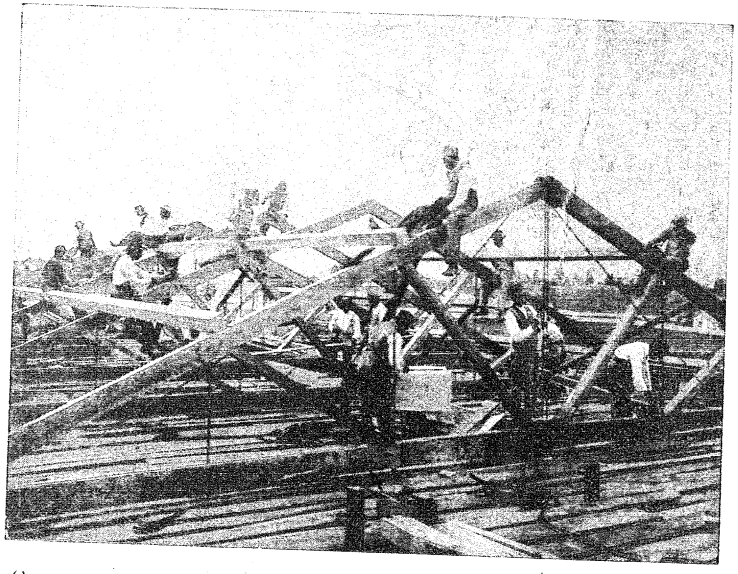
Booker T. Washington had several objects in view when he started farming at the school. Agricultural training was to be provided. As all of the students were poor, work on the farm supplied them with food and other necessaries of life.

At this time it was decided to erect a building, as the ramshackle huts in which the classes were held were far from satisfactory. Plans were drawn and estimates secured. The proprietor of a timber mill near by volunteered to furnish all the wood needed for the buildings, accepting payment at Mr. Washington's convenience. Miss Davidson made another canvass and secured funds. Many Negro men voluntarily helped in putting up the building. The building operations enabled the students to learn how to erect houses.

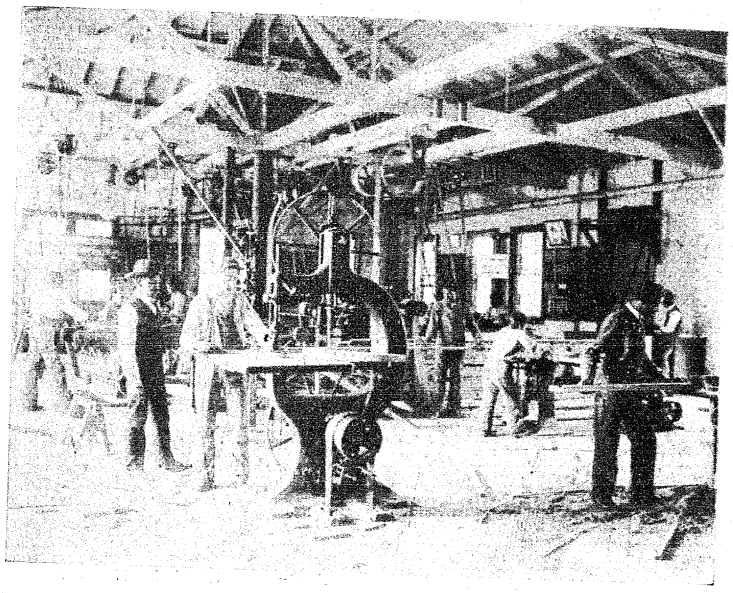
Not content with merely teaching the putting up of buildings, a brick moulding deparment was started and 25,000 bricks made to be burned in a kiln especially erected for that purpose. On account of the kiln being faulty in construction, the venture proved a signal failure; but undaunted, a second attempt was made, which also proved abortive. A third time the experiment was tried and this time the co-operation of the institute in which Mr. Washington was educated at Hampton was volunteered; but with all this, the same fate awaited the burning of the bricks. By this time not a penny was left in the pockets of Mr. Washington to repeat the experiment. However, he pawned his watch for Rs. 45, which he invested in a fourth venture in brick-making. This operation proved so successful that the school almost immediately began to manufacture bricks, not only for their own use but for selling to the people in the neighbourhood, who were anxious to buy them on account of their being superior to those turned out by commercial concerns.

A kitchen was improvised by digging out a large amount of earth from under one of the buildings which had been erected, and although very crude and inconvenient, it served for an eating place. The cooking was done in the open pots and skillets, much the same as hunters do on their hunting expeditions. The benches used for building purposes were utilized as tables and most of the supplies were bought from the stores on credit. Thus the foundation was laid for the boarding department as well as for teaching domestic science to the girls.

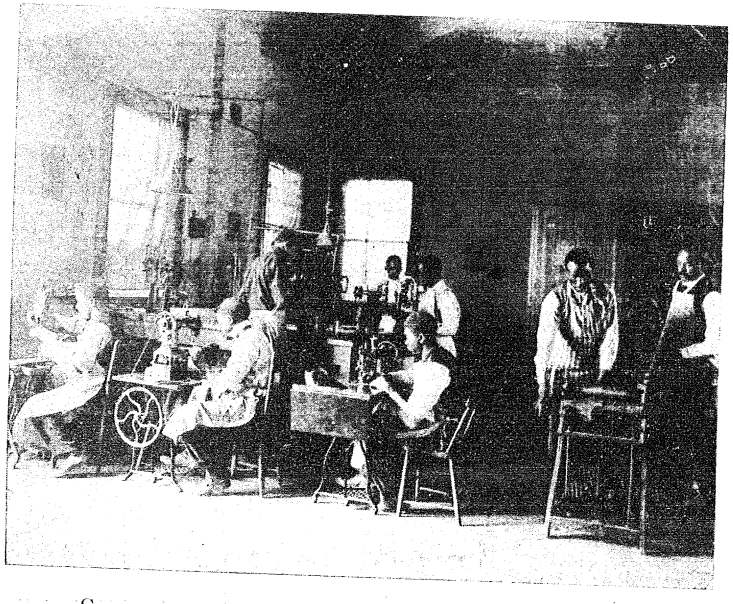
All this work entailed great mental strain on Booker T. Washington and the corps of a few faithful colored men and women who from time to time had come to join him and assist in propagating his ideas. Many



STUDENTS ROOFING A BUILDING AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.

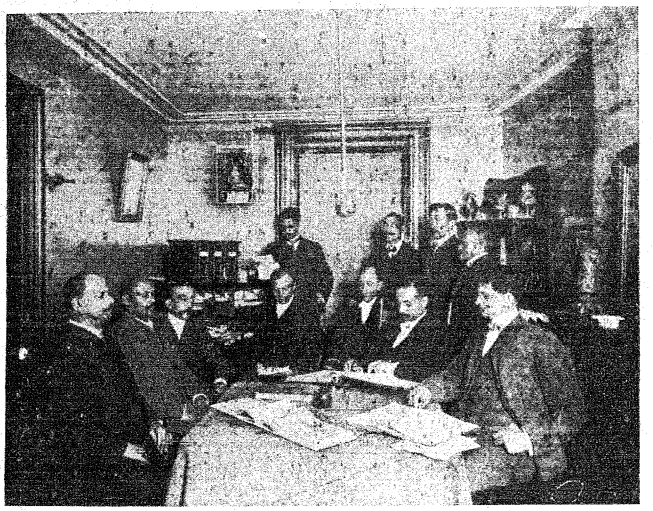


A CLASS IN WOOD-WORKING AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.

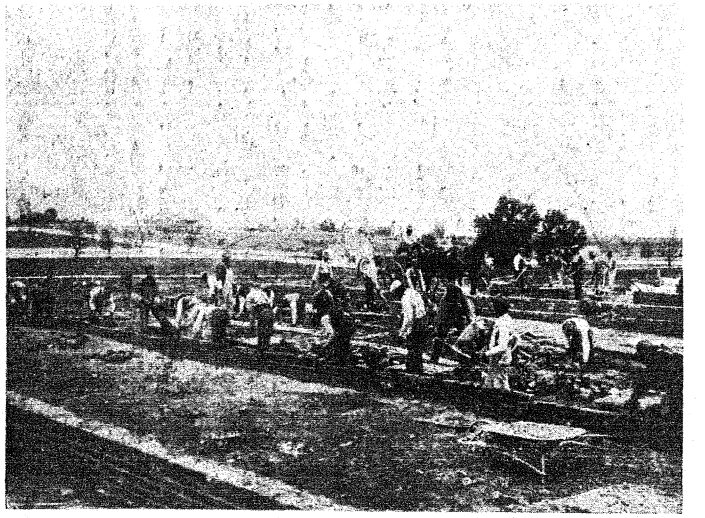


SHOE-MAKING SHOP AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.





DIRECTORS OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN INVESTMENT AND BUILDING CO., BROOKLYN.



STUDENTS LAYING BRICK FOUNDATION AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.



A CLASS IN COOKING AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.



A CLASS IN DRESS-MAKING AT TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.

anxious days and sleepless nights were spent by these brave people.

"Early one morning," says Mr. Washington, "I was standing near the dining room door listening to the complaints of the students. The complaints that morning were especially emphatic and numerous, because the whole breakfast had been a failure. One of the girls who had failed to get any breakfast came out and went to the well to draw some water to drink to take the place of the breakfast which she had not been able to get. When she reached the well she found that the rope was broken and she could not get any water. She turned from the well and said, in the most discouraging tone, not knowing that I was where I could hear her, 'we can't even get water to drink at this school.' I think no one remark ever came so near discouraging me as that one."

But the most depressing feature was that neither the students nor their parents could understand the efficiency and value of Mr. Booker T. Washington's educational ideals. The pupils went there "to learn"—not to engage themselves in farm or other industries or domestic work. The parents, not entering into the spirit of the novel institution, sent verbal and written requests that their children should only be taught to read and write and not put to do physical work. These requests were always ignored. Mr. Washington endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of the parents of his pupils by impressing them with the utility of his teaching trades and agriculture. The boys and girls were also persuaded to waive their objections and realize the beneficence of the practical teaching that was being given to them.

Wendell Phillips, the great American orator, once said: "put a good idea on its feet and you can't stop it from growing." Booker T. Washington has not only done that; but he unswervingly and ceaselessly has worked to keep his idea on its feet. With the foresight of a seer he realized the true significance and object of "learning by doing." With the persistence and courage of a religious enthusiast he has stuck to his post. With the self-sacrificing spirit of a martyr he has toiled and moiled until he has succeeded in demonstrating, by hard, palpable, tangible results, the value of his ideals and methods.

The institution which just a little over 25 years ago was started in a dilapidated shanty and whose staff consisted of a single teacher, has grown into a colossal enterprise. The acorn planted by a solitary individual, one who not only belonged to a backward race but who was born a slave and spent all his boyhood in bondage, who was able to educate himself with the hardest of struggles, has grown into a venerable oak under whose wide-spreading branches a race is being shielded from the glare of the hot sun of ignorance.

The latest annual report of the institution shows that the school comprises 83 buildings consisting of school houses, workshops and residential quarters for teachers as well as pupils. The school holds 2,300 acres of land, out of which 1,000 are devoted to raising farm products and utilized for the training of students in agriculture, horticulture, gardening, dairying, stock-raising, poultry raising, 200 to the school campus and the balance to pasturage. In addition to this there are 22,000 acres of public land out of the 25,000 acres granted to the school by the United States Government, whose approximate value is Rs. 2,40,000. Besides this public land, the land, buildings and other holdings of the Institute are estimated to be worth Rs. 25,50,000. Over and above these figures is the permanent endowment fund which, on the 31st May, 1907, amounted to Rs. 37,13,928. All these assets of the Institute total Rs. 65,03,928.

During the year 1906-07, 1,648 students were enrolled. Out of these, 1,111 were males and 537 females, Three had come from Africa, one from Canada, one from British Honduras, three from Nicaragua, three from St. Andrew's Island, one from Japan, two from Mexico, two from Trinidad, two from British Guiana, 76 from the West Indies Islands; and 36 of the United States and 21 foreign countries were represented. During the year 1906-07, courses in 37 industries were taught and to show the productive work of the Institute, the following figures may be quoted:—

"During 1904, mainly by student labor we cultivated 900 acres of land. Our sweet potato crop alone amounted to 6,500 bushels. Our dairy herd, which has been cared for by the students, contains 171 milch cows; and 16,332 pounds of butter were made during the year."

In the machinery division 124 students received instruction. One new seven-horse power engine was built for school use; 16 engines were repaired and 163 iron bedsteads built. In the tailor shop 250 full

suits of clothes and 563 pairs of overalls were made, besides a large amount of jobs done. During the year 1,412 articles were made in the millinery division; 1,300 in the dress-making division; 2,505 in the plain sewing division; 5,118 in the mattress-making division; 1,367 in the broom-making and basketry division; and 408,076 pieces were laundered during the year. In the harness shops 36 sets of new harness were made in addition to the repair work done on all the harness belonging to the school and for outside parties. In the electrical division, the interior wiring of the Academic building, Emery Dormitory No. 2 and three cottages, was done by the students, besides extending the electric light system on the outside of the building. In the brick masonry division, 548,000 bricks have been laid, 224,800 laths have been put on and 9,018 square yards of plaster completed. In the brick yards 970,000 bricks have been manufactured.

"The value of the products manufactured and sold from the mechanical departments of the school amounted to Rs. 3,20,885. The sales of the products of the industries carried on exclusively by the women amounted to Rs. 17,127. The value of the farm products sold was Rs. 1,68,127. This did not include Rs. 660 credited to poultry and geese, nor Rs. 1,935 for the sale of flowers by the school florist. The sales in the commissary department amounted to Rs. 2,26,788. Putting these items together they give the grand total of Rs. 7,09,965 as the amount of business done by the school last year in the sale of its own products, and of the food, clothing, etc., used by teachers and students."

These figures, though ponderous, fail to tell the story of the beneficent work inaugurated and carried on under the personal supervision of the founder and present principal, Mr. Booker Taliaferro Washington. The Institute is endeavouring to send out into the Negro community competent leaders who will imbue the race with the dignity of labor and teach the people at large improved methods of handling farms and farm products, cattle and dairy products, pursue to better advantage industries and trades and live in a more sanitary and useful way. These ends the education at the school always keeps in mind. Literary and industrial training go hand in hand. The academic and industrial departments of the Institute are closely correlated. The work in the class is a continuation of the work in the field or shop. This is insured by not only making the student take the academic and industrial training, but also making the teachers in the academic department frequently visit the industrial section and thus closely keep in touch with the different processess of various manufactures and industries.

The intensely practical character of the instruction imparted may be illustrated by a few examples. Take for instance, the course in English. The constant purpose kept in view in teaching this is to make the student feel that he is acquiring a tool of inestimable use. The language, he is made to understand, is being taught him so that he may be able, in his later life, to express his thoughts and describe his needs in incisive, clear and forceful style. With this end in view he is restrained from memorizing mere catch phrases, and from using grandiloquent terms. Instead of these, he is encouraged to employ a simple and elegant style. Both written and oral work is given and by making constant reference to his games, his trade, his favourite studies and books, his faculty of expression is trained.

The course in English also endeavours to emphasize the cultural value of intensive and extensive reading. The effort is not to merely give him a surface polish, but to develop his feelings and emotions and guide them into moral channels. The mental horizon of the student is extended and the spiritual nature of the child strengthened by enlarging its interests, invigorating and refining its feelings and broadening its sympathies.

The work of the institution has been so well systematized that the composition books in the English department show the development in industrial training. The course in arithmetic similarly quickens the brain so that the student can readily and accurately calculate, weigh and measure. The effort is made to train the student to calculate, mentally, to twelfths in vulgar fractions and to thousandths in decimals. Instead of endeavouring to teach the pupil to solve concrete problems by memorizing abstract rules, emphasis is placed on making use of real weights and measures in the class room, of training the eye to estimate accurately and adducing the rule from an abundance of concrete examples. The

fields, shops, offices, industrial and business places of Tuskeegee Institute furnish unusual opportunities for teaching practical arithmetic. So imbued are the instructors at the school with the real spirit of the institution that in a class of mathematics an ill-expressed statement, ungrammatical in construction or unidiomatic, is not tolerated. When the pupil has made sufficient progress in arithmetic he is gradually initiated into the mysteries of algebra and taught that many problems which, if handled by arithmetic, would involve a great deal of time and mental effort, can be quickly solved by means of Algebra. Similarly, the effort is made to develop the inventive genius of the pupil in teaching him Geometry in a perfectly natural way.

Classes in history and geography tend toward the same object. The vital connection between history and geography is emphasized. In teaching history, the attempt is not made to burden the memory of the pupil with dead dates. The endeavour is made to properly mould the character of the boy and girl by placing before them the wholesome characters of history ; and the philosophy of history is used to develop the mental powers of the pupils and make them capable of heralding the future by what has gone before. The instruction in Geography is designed to acquaint the pupil with countries and continents, to show the commercial possibilites on the one hand and to give him instruction in natural science on the other. A premium is placed upon actual observation. A variety of plant and animal life, diversity of soil, outlines of hills and valleys, and examples of erosion are furnished by the school grounds, which might be considered to be a sort of open-air laboratory. In the Industrial shops man is shown at work upon the resources of the earth, such as iron, timber, or clay. The scholar is able to get in touch with the world as a whole from the view-point of his immediate environment by tracing the products to be found in the Institute Commissary and Salesroom back over the railway and trade routes to the region of manufacture, growth, production or extraction. Then he is prepared to understand a description of geographical facts. Hence descriptive geography follows that phase of the work. He is able to obtain a knowledge of the earth and its various movements, its continents, peoples, governments and industries. At last the questions of cause and effect come up. The pupil is expected to analyse what he has learned and reason out what causes the change in temperature, or why a certain city is a trade center while another is merely a rural village. The institute is used as a microcosm of the world.

Probably the most useful work of all is carried on in the physics and chemical laboratories of the Institute. Nearly six hours per week are allotted to instruction in science. The physics laboratories are equipped with modern apparatus and in a way to permit individual work to be done. A powerful stereopticon machine with numerous lantern slides are employed in impressing physical geography, geology and hygiene lessons upon the minds of the students. In the chemistry classes both qualitative and quantitative analysis are taught. At Tuskeegee Institute science is taught as a means to an end rather than the end itself. Instruction in physical science is given with a view to increasing the value and efficiency of the students of agriculture and industry. It is the aim of the faculty to show the boys and girls the use of chemicals so that they may be able to get a direct benefit from this instruction in their farm, laundry, domestic and industrial work.

Work in the Academic department is planned with a view to synchronizing school life and real life. Everything is arranged in such a manner that the student is able to pay all his expenses while learning his trade. The aim of the industrial department of the school is to train the boy or girl thoroughly. The pupil is not taught merely to know how to make things, but by actually being made to make them, is rendered proficient. Shops for teaching mechanical industries like carpentry, wood-turning, blacksmithing, printing, wheelwrighting, harness making, carriage trimming, painting, plumbing, steam-fitting, mechanical and electrical engineering, founding, shoemaking, brick masonry, plastering, brickmaking, tinsmithing, tailoring, mechanical and agricultural drawing are thoroughly equipped for practical work. The Institute teaches industries and trades by employing the student to make things of practical

utility and commercial value. Their sale accomplishes many objects. The student is inspired with confidence that his products are of intrinsic value and it may be pointed out here that the constant aim of the teacher at Tuskeegee is to so develop the pupil that the boy or girl is enabled to make things without his oversight or guidance. The second object is to enable the student, by giving him the benefit of his labour, to pay his expenses of living while at school. Another object is to afford the pupil instruction in practical book-keeping and selling the goods manufactured by him and the farm products.

Such a thorough drilling is given in whatever is taught that those who graduate from the school or even take a partial course at the Institute become potent factors for good in the community and self-supporting men and women. Ten schools modelled on similar plans have been founded by Tuskeegee men where more than 4,000 coloured boys and girls are being trained in thrift, arts, industries and sciences that will make them self-supporting and self-respecting men and women. Two hundred Tuskeegee graduates are engaged in teaching trades and domestic arts in other institutions. Many Tuskeegee men have even gone to Africa to teach the Negro how to modernize and civilize himself.

It is hard to estimate the value of the training which the student receives at Tuskeegee. Thousands of skilled men and women have been sent out of the Institute who, to-day, are valuable and productive members of society. Most of them own their own homes, and thorough training in a useful industry gives them steady, profitable employment. Their intelligent work and provident habits render them trustworthy. Tuskeegee-trained women have gone forth into the world as teachers of feminine industries and trades, of farm work, dairying, nursing and domestic arts. Thorough training in sewing, dress-making, millinery, cooking, laundering, mattress making, basketry, broom-making and soap making assures them a profitable living. The course in cooking, housekeeping, hygiene, care of the sick and first aid to the injured is making them peculiarly valuable as wives, mothers, housekeepers and servants. Many of them have learned landscape gardening, fruit growing and vegetable raising and are reaping plentiful harvests from profitable instruction.

The girls at the Institute, besides being afforded the opportunity of developing their muscles while engaged in domestic or industrial work, exercise in the scientifically built and perfectly equipped gymnasium. The boys are required to wear the regulation military uniform and a fully qualified instructor drills them in military tactics. The endeavour is made to render both the boys and the girls capable of defending themselves and to be supple and alert in their work and of a pleasing figure and graceful carriage.

Many thousands of men and women have been trained by Booker T. Washington and his corps of teachers in habits of thrift, industry, sobriety and helpfulness. They have not only gone out into the various parts of the United States, but to many foreign countries inhabited by Negroes. Their influence is many-sided, broad in its sweep and far-reaching in its effect.

In the life and work of Booker T. Washington there is a lesson for those patriotic Indians who are anxious to add their mite to the uplift of the Indian masses.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

THE GREAT WAR IN BENGAL, 1658-1660.

(Based on original Persian sources.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR IN MALDAH.

For this, preparations were quickly made, and events moved apace.

Mir Jumla reinforced

Daud Khan had now arrived at a place on the left bank of the Ganges, some 16 miles north of Rajmahal. A contingent of 2,500 Afghans under Dilir Khan had been sent by the Emperor to reinforce the Bengal army.* These crossed the Ganges (9th January) at the ferry of Kadamtali† and joined Daud

* Khafi Khan, ii. 93.

† *Kadamtala* is 9 m. due N. N. E. of Rajmahal (*Indian Atlas*, sh. 112) The *Alamgirnamah* gives its alternative name as *Dodha* (which I cannot find in the maps).

Khan. Another equally necessary sinew of war reached Mir Jumla in the form of seventeen *lakhs* of Rupees from the Court.*

His new plan of war.

Last year Mir Jumla had attempted to cross the Ganges near Suti and march north-eastwards on Tanda, *i.e.*, to attack Shuja from the south-west. This was a bad plan as it involved the crossing of one large and many smaller rivers close to the enemy's position and in the teeth of his powerful flotilla. It was rendered impossible by Mir Jumla's lack of boats. This year his plan of campaign was brilliantly novel; he would attack the enemy from the opposite point, *i.e.*, the north-east. He would make a wide detour round the enemy's position. He would cross the Ganges 10 miles above Rajmahal, join Daud Khan near Akbarpur (due east of Sikrigali), pass over the shallow upper courses of the Mahanada and some *nullahs*, reach Maldah, and then turn sharply south, cross the Mahanada again, swoop down upon Tanda from the east, and thus completely encircle Shuja in his net. All the while he would keep a screen of men in front of the enemy's trenches along the Kalindi river, and deceive him with feints.

Shuja's position.

Shuja's position was a long line, stretching north-west to south-east., from Samdah† (opposite Rajmahal) to his base at Tanda (south-west of the ruins of Gaur). His head-quarters were at Chauki-Mirdadpur, in the middle of this line. There was an off-shoot of defences north-eastwards to Maldah. Mir Jumla's plan, therefore, was to describe a semi-circle round this line, from the north of Rajmahal through Maldah to Tanda or Turtipur. It was only his immense superiority in number (five times the strength of his enemy) that enabled him to carry out such a vast turning movement while holding the western bank of the Ganges in force.

Mir Jumla's base at Samdah.

The Mughal general first posted troops at various points from Sikrigali to Suti, to guard the right bank and prevent a repetition of the enemy's blow of last year. Then, with the help of the 160 boats brought from Patna by Daud Khan, he carried his army over the three streams into which the Ganges is split up near Kadamtali, some 9 miles north of Rajmahal (15th Jan.—7th Feb.), and joined hands with Daud Khan. But the big *chur* (island) of Samdah, east of Rajmahal, remained his headquarters till the 29th February, 1660.‡ The two generals now co-operated to distract the enemy and converge on Maldah.

The rest of the story is soon told. Shuja offered an obstinate resistance along the banks of the Kalindi and Mahanada. But he was hopelessly outnumbered from the first. The Imperialists were delayed only by their lack of boats, and by the dense jungles and countless *nullahs* that barred their path; their only losses were from drowning. The enemy were too few to face them in the open plain, and no more pitched battles took place. The details of the marching and counter-marching through this labyrinth of *nullahs* are neither interesting nor instructive to the student of the art of war. It would suffice to trace the outline only.

His advance on Maldah.

Shuja had built a wall and a double line of entrenchments along the Kalindi (a branch of the Mahanada), barring Mir Jumla's direct route to Tanda. But the latter made a feint in front, turned the enemy's flank by a swift march northwards, and safely crossed both the easternmost branch of the Ganges and the Mahanada. He now despatched a column towards Maldah on the eastern bank of the Mahanada, (8th February.)‖

Prince Muhammad leaves Shuja.

Ruin now stared Shuja in the face. On his west stretched the Mughal lines from Rajmahal to Suti; on his north they occupied various points from Samdah to the Mahanada, and now another force was moving southwards to hem him round on the east and finally to cut off his only line of retreat in the south. At this time Prince Muhammad deserted him and sneaked back into the Mughal camp at Dogachi as secretly as he had left it (8th February).¶ The luckless youth was sent closely guarded to his relentless father and doomed

* *Alamgirnamah*, 533 & 534.

† *Samdah* is given in Rennell, sh. 2 & 16. *Chauki Miradadpur (Indian Atlas*, 112) is 8 m. east of Rajmahal. Tanda is *Tarrah* in Rennell, sh. 16, about 4 m. west of the Fort among the Ruins of Gaur. *Turtipur* is the *Toorteepoor* of Indian Atlas, sh. 119.

‡ *Alamgirnamah*, 534-536, Aqil Khan 103, Masum 134, *b*.

‖ *Alamgirnamah*, 537-541, Masum 135 *a* & *b*.

¶ *Alamgirnamah*. 542-544, 546, Khafi Kh., ii, 99 & 100.

to sigh out the remainder of his life in a captive cell of the rock-prison of Gwalior. Only two years before his death did he gain even a limited amount of liberty and transfer to the prison of Salimgarh (Delhi).

Mir Jumla's final preparations.

On the 29th February Mir Jumla finally left Samdah, and on the 6th March he reached Maldah. At Mahmudabad, a few miles below Maldah, he spent a month in active preparation for his crowning stroke. "He bade adieu to ease and rest, spending days and nights in exertion, in order to dispose of Shuja, and prevent the war from being dragged on till the coming rainy season",—which would mean the loss of another year.* A short distance further down the stream was the ferry of Bholahat,† where a detachment under Dilir Khan was entrenched. Four miles below it an obscure ford was discovered, which the enemy had neglected to guard well. The water was shallow for only a thin strip across, but very deep on both sides.

Disastrous fording of the *Mahanada*.

Everything being ready, Mir Jumla left Mahmudabad at 3 A.M. on the 5th April, 1660, united with Dilir Khan's force on the way, and after a march of 10 miles down the bank came to the ford at dawn. The enemy were taken by surprise; they had posted only a small force with some guns on the opposite bank. Without a moment's delay the Imperialists began to ford. The leaders drove their elephants into the water, then the cavalry plunged in. "The soldiers rushed into the river from right and left, front and rear, troop after troop like a succession of waves." All order was gone; many swerved aside to avoid the enemy's shower of shot and bullet. In the rush of so many men and beasts the water was thrown into tumult, the sand was kicked away, the two lines of sticks which marked the borders of the ford were knocked off, and the right track was lost. The smoke of gunpowder filled the air. Vast numbers went beyond their depth on the two sides. Swimming was impossible for mail-clad troopers on barbed horses. More than a thousand brave soldiers‡ were drowned, Fatih, the son of Dilir Khan, a heroic Afghan youth of 20, being among them. ‖

But even this heavy price was worth paying for the passage across. ¶ It was the decisive move of the campaign. All was now over with Shuja. His men, after some hours' fight, evacuated their trenches on the bank, leaving all their guns behind. Reinforcements under Syed 'Alam and Prince Buland Akhtar arrived when it was too late, and they fled at the sight of the triumphant Mughals. The Prince hastened to Tanda in distraction. Syed 'Alam carried the dismal news to Shuja at Chauki Mirdadpur.

Shuja's flight from Tanda.

The Imperialists were now on the right bank of the Mahanada with nothing but eleven miles of road and the narrow brook of Bhagirathi (or Bagmati) between them and Tanda. Swift must be Shuja's flight to Dacca, if he did not wish to see the net completely drawn round him and his only path of retreat cut off from the south. Dazed with the news, he held a hurried consultation with Mirza Jan Beg, who gave the only advice possible in such a case. "You should cling to nothing here, but flee at once to avoid capture." So, at nightfall he hastened back from Chauki-Mirdadpur to Tanda.§

Then ensued all the sad and sickening scenes which attend a sudden fall from power and the hurried flight of vanquished princes. Shuja reached Tanda at dawn, (6th April,) alighted in a garden outside the city, and immediately proceeding to the *harem* ordered his *Begams* to come away at once "without waiting even to change their dress." **By great exertions and constant supervision he

* *Alamgirnamah*, 547 & 548.

† *Alamgirnamah* (544, 545, 547, &c.) spells the name as *Baglaghat*. From the bearings given it must be *Bholahat* (*Indian Atlas*, sh. 119, & Rennell, sh. 16).

‡ This is the estimate of the *Alamgirnamah* (550). Masum has "about 2,000," and Aqil Khan "nearly 3,000 men."

‖ Graphic descriptions of this disastrous fording are given in Masum 161 *a* and *b*, Khafi Khan ii., 94-97, and *Alamgirnamah* 548-551. Aqil Khan, 104, is very brief.

¶ The heavy loss of men, however, did one harm to Mir Jumla. He could not with decency leave the dead uncared for, and so he had to spend the whole of that day in "aredging the river for the corpses of the drowned men" to give them burial. Otherwise, he could have made a dash for Tanda immediately after fording, and captured Shuja's capital in the afternoon of the 5th April, while Shuja was still at Mirdadpur, ignorant of Mir Jumla's crossing. Then Shuja would have been caught instead of gaining a day for the escape to Dacca (6th. April). Thus, the loss of a single day at this critical time altered the history of the Prince and saved Aurangzib from another act of fratricide.

§ Masum, 162, *a*.

** Masum, 162 *a*. Here the work ends abruptly. The author did not complete it. For the remaining portion of this history, the *'Alamgirnamah* is our sole authority.

loaded his treasures in two strong boats (*ghurabs*) and a selection from his property and stores in two others, and sent them off. Then, leaving Tanda for ever, he went to the river-bank at 4 P.M. and embarked. His two younger sons, (Buland Akhtar and Zain-ul-'Abidin), his chiefs, Mirza Jan Beg, Syed 'Alam Barha, Syed Quli Uzbak, and Mirza Beg, a few soldiers, servants, and eunuchs,—300 men in all,—accompanied him in 60 boats (*kosas.*) This was the sole remnant of the splendid Court amidst which he had ruled three provinces, and the vast army with which he had twice contested the throne of Delhi! The other officers and servants parted from the victim of misfortune, and went their own way. *

Mir Jumla marches on Tanda

The 6th April was a very busy day with Mir Jumla. Early in the morning he set out from the fatal ford towards Tanda, but on the way turned sharply to the left to cut off Shuja's retreat at Turtipur on the Ganges. Hastening thither with a light division, he seized 400 loaded boats of the enemy's flotilla, left a detachment in charge, and then with only 400 troopers, made a forced march backwards to Tanda, arriving there at midnight.

He was not a minute too early. All through that day Tanda had been a scene of wild terror and confusion. The soldiers, deserted by their master, roved about in disorder, plundering his unguarded property. Treasure loaded on 6 elephants and 12 camels and taken by the eunuch Sandal (the custodian of his *toshakkhanah*) to the bank for embarkation, was looted by the ruffians, as also were some led-horses of the Prince. "Men ran about in disorderly groups. Great tumult and confusion prevailed. Everyone plundered what he could lay hold of."

and restores order there.

But next day (the 7th April) Mir Jumla restored order; he seized for the government what property he found, and worked hard to recover what the ruffians of the army had looted. The women left behind were taken care of; guards were posted round the *harem*, and its officers and eunuchs ordered to do their duties as before †

Shuja's heavy losses.

The fugitive prince could not keep all that he was carrying off. Mughal troops had now hastened to the bank along his route down the river. His two treasure-laden *ghurabs* were seized at Turtipur, and 30 boats of his flotilla (with many officers and men on board) were captured at Shirpur and Hazrahati. His servants, who had refused to part from their families merely to show an unavailing devotion to a ruined man, now submitted to the victor (9th April), and were graciously taken into the Imperial service. Two of them, Mir Murtaza of the artillery and Ibn Husain‡ of the flotilla, afterwards covered themselves with glory in the Assam War and the Capture of Chatgaon. ‖

After spending twelve days in settling matters at Tanda and organising an administration for the conquered districts, Mir Jumla left it for Turtipur (19th April.) Thence he set off next day by and to Dacca. ¶

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST PHASE.

Shuja's flight from Dacca.

On the 12th April, Shuja reached Dacca, a bankrupt in fame and fortune. But it was to be no asylum to him. The *Zemindars* were all up against him and he was too weak either to chastise them or to face Mir Jumla who was coming hot foot on his trail. He had already begged succour from the pirate king of Arracan, but no reply had yet come. The near approach of the Imperialists, however, left him no choice. On the 6th May, he bade farewell even to his eastern capital, and with his family and a few faithful nobles and servants glided down from Dacca to Dhapa, 8 miles southwards. Next day he reached Sripur (shorter =Srirampur.) At every stage soldiers and boatmen deserted him in large numbers; even his old ministers and confidential servants forsook their doomed master. On the 8th, shortly after leaving Sripur, he met 51 Magh and Feringee boats (*jalbas*), sent by the Governor of Chatgaon by order of the king of Arracan.

* *'Alamgirnamah*, 552

† *Alamgirnamah*, 551-553.

‡ The *Alamgirnamah*, 554, speaks of Ibn Husain as the *darogha* of the artillery. But in Shihabuddin Talish's work he is repeatedly described as the *darogha* of the *nawwara*. Evidently he changed his branch of the service after entering into Mughal pay.

‖ *Ibid*, 554.

¶ *Ibid*, 555.

Fails to capture Bhalua.

Next morning starting from the *parganah* of Lakhi-deh (=Lakhipur) he halted 8 miles from the fort of Bhalua,* and made a mad effort to secure its surrender by inviting its commandant to an interview and then treacherously imprisonning him. But the party sent by him with the captive commandant's letter ordering his men to surrender the fort, was attacked and imprisoned by the garrison.

His Arracanese allies

On the 11th May a Magh General arrived from Chatgaon with three more ships. Seeing Shuja's power hopelessly broken and his fortune gone, he refused to support his wild plan of an assault on the fort of Bhalua. An open quarrel broke out between the fallen prince and his barbarous allies. They frankly told him, "Our king had ordered us to help you in fight, if you had any chance of success or held a single fort. But you cannot take even Bhalua unaided! So, you had better at once start in our ships for Arracan, or we shall leave you and return to our country." The cup of Shuja's misery was now full. He abandoned all hope and steeled his heart to accept the former of these terrible alternatives and embark for Arracan.†

Terror and hatred inspired by the Maghs.

The news spread consternation among his family and followers. The piracy of the Arracanese of Chatgaon in the rivers of East Bengal had made them too well-known to the people. Whole districts in Noakhali and Bakarganj had been depopulated through their ravages and remained deserted even so late as 1780, when Rennell drew his maps. Their daring attacks, ferocious cruelty, uncouth appearance, barbarous manners, lack of religion and caste, and practice of eating unclean animals, all made the people of East Bengal, Hindus and Muslims alike, regard them with a mixture of terror and loathing, of which history affords the only parallel in the Hun invasion of the Roman Empire and the Cossack raid into France after Leipzig. The dread of captivity under them was enhanced by the unknown dangers of their mysterious country, which was believed to be full of pestiferous jungles and separated by the perilous ocean from all civilised lands.‡

Shuja's fear of Aurangzib

And now Shuja was to go there! But to him it was a lesser evil than to fall into Aurangzib's hands. The fate of his father and two brothers made him shun the idea of submission. Shah Jahan, the kindest of fathers, was pining away in dishonoured old age as a prisoner in the very fort where he had once held Court as the "King of Kings." The liberal and accomplished Crown Prince, Dara Shikoh, had been brought in chains to Delhi, paraded through the streets with every mark of humiliation and then, after the mummery of a trial, murdered by a slave. The gallant and generous Murad Bakhsh had been sentenced to a felon's death by his disinterested helper, his "Dervish brother" Aurangzib! The handsome, young and heroic Sulaiman Shikoh had been buried in the dungeon of Gwalior to die a secret and unhonoured death at the base hand of the executioner, or—worse still,—to be poisoned by inches, to be daily given a small dose of opium (*pousta*)‖ till at length his intellect would disappear and he would live on a driveller, a grotesque mockery, God's own image with the vacant mind of a beast!

He leaves India for Arracan

No! better, better far the cruelest death in the most barbarous of foreign lands than such an end as that of Dara or Sulaiman. Farewell, a long farewell to Hindustan, that earthly paradise (*bihisht-nishan*), with all its wealth, joys and culture, if Aurangzib was to be its king. Shuja's mind was soon made up. Others might stay behind, but for *him* Hindustan was a home no longer.

So, on the 12th April, 1660, he bade a final adieu to the province he had ruled for twenty years and the country where he had spent 43 years of his life, and sailed for Arracan with his family and less than forty followers. History has preserved some account of these men who were faithful unto the

* *Dhapa* is given as *Daapeka Kella* in Rennell, sh. 12. Sripur is evidently *Serampur*, and Lakhideh *Luckipour* of Rennell, sh. 9. Bhalua is Rennell's *Bullooah*, 10m. S. E. of Luckipour

† For the last month of Shuja's stay in India, our only authority is the *Alamgir namah*, 556-561. There are a few additional details in Talish's *Continuation*.

‡ For the Bengali view of the Arracanese, see Shihabuddin Talish's *Continuation*; as translated in "The Feringee Pirates of Chatgaon," *J. A. S. B.*, June, 1907.

‖ Constable's Bernier, p. 106, Kambiu, 24, *b*.

last. Ten of them were Syeds of Barha under Syed 'Alam, and twelve others were Mughals under Syed Quli Uzbak ;* the rest were evidently servants. To the Syeds of Barha belonged the hereditary right of occupying the place of honour in the Emperor's line of battle.† It was only fitting, therefore, that Syeds of Barha were found ready also to stand by their master's side in his supreme misfortune and danger.

Conclusion.

Mystery shrouds the end of the ill-fated Prince whose history we have pursued so long. The author of the *'Amal-i-Salih*, ‡ writing in 1671, says, "up to this time none knows anything about Shuja's fate in Arracan. It is utterly unknown in what country he is and what he is doing, or whether he has been sent to the realm of the dead." Sixty years later, Khafi Khan was no better informed.‖ He remarks, "In Arracan all traces of Shuja disappeared,—none [in India] got any sign of him." Nothing save the vaguest rumour passing through many intermediaries ever reached Aurangzib. For years afterwards wild tales came to India of Shuja having gone to Persia ; and sharpers counterfeiting his son Buland Akhtar appeared in different parts of India. One such was arrested near Allahabad as late as 1699. A false Shuja headed a rising near Murang in 1669 and another in the Yusufzai country in 1674.¶

To remove the uncertainty, Aurangzib desired that Mir Jumla, the new Viceroy of Bengal, should after conquering Assam lead an army into Arracan to recover Shuja's family if possible.§ When Shaista Khan, Mir Jumla's successor, conquered Chatgaon from the Maghs (1666), he evidently got no certain news of Shuja, or it would have got into history. The Feringees who had free access to Arracan were likely to be best informed, and I believe that the truth lies in what they told Bernier of Shuja's fate.**

* *Alamgirnamah*, 561, Khafi Kh. ii. 110.
† Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 225.
‡ *Amal-i-Salih*, 21 *a*.
‖ Khafi Khan, ii. 109.
¶ *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 405 and 84. Orme's *Fragments* p. 50.
§ Shihabuddin Talish's *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya*.

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17 and 18. Shihabuddin Talish's *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya* and its *Continuation* as given in the Bodleian MS. (see J. A. S. B., June 1906).

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19. Indian Atlas, scale 1″=4 m., issued by the Surveyor General, Calcutta.
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Stewart's *History of Bengal* and Bernier's *Travels* have been of no use, as the former is professedly based on Dow and the latter merely reproduced the bazar gossip.

Laboramus.

** Constable's Bernier, pp. 109—114.

An American farmer one day last year found a score of men putting up telegraph poles all over his best field. He ordered the men away, but they wouldn't go. They showed him a paper that gave them authority to put up their poles wherever they wished. The old man looked at the paper, saw it was lawful, walked away in silence. He went to the barn and turned a savage red bull into the field. The bull made for the men, the men fled at top speed, and the farmer shouted after them : "Show him your paper ! Show him your paper !"

THE YELLOW GOD

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By H. Rider Haggard,
Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER X.

THE DAWN.

JEEKI looked up and down the river, and saw that in the centre of it, about half a mile away, there was an island, on which grew some trees.

"Little Bonsa will camp yonder," he said. "Go, make her house ready, light fire and bring canoe to paddle us across. Now leave us all of you, for if you look too long upon the face of The Yellow God, she will ask a sacrifice, and it is not lawful that you should see where she hides herself away."

At this saying the cannibals departed like one man, and at top speed, some to their canoes, and others to warn their fellows who were engaged in the congenial work of hunting and killing the dwarfs, not to dare to approach the white man and his companion. A third party ran to the bank of the river that was opposite to the island, to make ready as they had been bidden, so that presently Alan and Jeeki were left quite alone.

"Ah!" said Jeeki, with a gasp of satisfaction, "*that* all right, everything arranged quite comfortable. Thought Little Bonsa come out top somehow and score off dirty dwarf monkeys. They never get home to tea any way; stay and dine with Ogula."

"Stop chattering, Jeeki, and untie this infernal mask, I am almost choked," broke in Allan in a hollow voice.

"Not say 'infernal mask,' Major, say 'face of angel.' Little Bonsa woman, and like it better; also true, if on this occasion only, for she save our skins," said Jeeki as he unknotted the thongs and reverently replaced the fetish in its tin box. "My!" he added, contemplating his master's perspiring countenance, "you blush like garden carrot; well, gold hot wear in afternoon sun beneath Tropic of Cancer. Now we walk on quietly and I tell you all I arrange for night's lodging and future progress of joint expedition."

So gathering together what remained of their few possessions, they started leisurely down the slope towards the island, and as they went Jeeki explained all that had happened, since Ogula was not one of the African languages with which Alan was acquainted, and he had only been able to understand a word here and there.

"Look," said Jeeki when he had finished, and turning, he pointed to the cannibals, who were driving the few survivors of the dwarfs before them to the spot where their canoes were beached. "Those dwarfs done for, capital business, forest road quite safe to travel home by; Ogula best friends in world; very remarkable escape from delicate situation."

"Very remarkable indeed," said Alan, "I shall soon begin to believe in the luck of Little Bonsa."

"Yes, Major, you see she is anxious to get home and make path clear. But," he added gloomily, "how she behave when she reach there, can't say."

"Nor can I, Jeeki, but meanwhile I hope she will provide us with some dinner, for I am faint for want of food, and all the tinned meat is lost."

"Food," repeated Jeeki. "Yes, necessity for human stomach, which unhappily built that way, so Ogula find out, and so dwarfs find out presently." Then he looked about him, and in a kind of aimless manner lifted his gun and fired. "There we are," he said, "Little Bonsa understand bodily needs," and he pointed to fat buck of the sort that in South Africa is called Duiker, which his keen eyes had discovered in its form against a stone, where it now lay shot through the head and dying. "No further trouble on score of grub for next three days," he added.

"Come on to camp, Major. I send one savage skin and bring that buck."

So on they went to the river bank, Alan so tired, now that the excitement was over, that he was not sorry to lean upon Jeeki's arm. Reaching the stream, they drank deep of its water, and finding that it was shallow at this spot, waded through it to the island without waiting for a canoe to ferry them over. Here they found a party of the cannibals already at work, clearing reeds with their large, curved knives, in order to make a site for the hut. Another party, under the command of the chief himself, had gone to the top end of the island, a hundred yards or so away, to cut the stems of a willow-like shrub to serve as uprights. These people stared at Alan, which was not strange, as they had never before seen the face of a white man, and were wondering, doubtless, what had become of the ancient and terrible fetish that he had worn. Without entering into explanations, Jeeki in a great voice ordered two of them to fetch the buck which the white man, whom he described as "husband of the goddess," had "slain by thunder." When these had departed upon their errand, leaving Jeeki to superintend the building operations, Alan sat down upon a fallen tree, watching one of the savages making fire with a pointed stick and some tinder.

Just then from the head of the island where the willows were being cut, rose the sound of loud roaring and of men crying out in affright. Seizing his gun Alan ran towards the spot whence the noise came. Forcing his way through a brake of reeds, he saw a curious sight. The Ogula in cutting the willows which grew about some tumbled rocks, had disturbed a lioness that had her lair there, and being fearless savages, had tried to kill her with their spears. The brute, rendered desperate by wounds and the impossibility of escape, for here the surrounding water was deep, had charged them boldly, and as it chanced, felled to the ground their chief, that yellow-toothed man to whom Jeeki gave his orders. Now she was standing over him looking round her royally, her great paw upon his breast which it seemed almost to cover, while the Ogula ran round and round shouting, for they feared that if they tried to attack her she would kill the chief. This indeed she seemed about to do, for just as Alan arrived she dropped her head as though to tear out the man's throat. Instantly he fired. It was a snap shot, but, as it chanced, a good one, for the bullet struck the lioness in the back of the neck forward of and between the shoulders, severing the spine, so that without a sound or any further movement she sank stone dead upon the prostrate cannibal. For a while his followers stood astonished. They might have heard of guns from the coast people, but living as they did in the interior where white folk did not dare to travel, they had never seen their terrible effects.

"Magic," they cried, "Magic!"

"Of course," exclaimed Jeeki, who by now had arrived upon the scene. "What else did you expect from the Lord of Little Bonsa? Magic, the greatest of magic. Go, roll that beast away before your chief is crushed to death."

They obeyed and the man sat up, a fearful spectacle, for he was smothered with the blood of the lioness and somewhat cut by her claws, though otherwise unhurt. Then feeling that the life was still whole in him, he crept on his hands and knees to where Alan stood, and kissed his feet.

"Aha!" said Jeeki, "Little Bonsa score again. Cannibal tribe our slave henceforth for evermore. Yes, till kingdom come. Come on, Major, and cook supper in perfect peace."

The supper was cooked and eaten with gratitude, for seldom had two men needed a square meal more, and never did venison taste better. By the time that it was finished darkness had fallen, and before they turned in to sleep in the neat reed hut that the Ogula had built, Alan and Jeeki walked up the island to see if the lioness had been skinned as they directed. This they found was done; even the carcase itself had been removed to serve as meat for these foul-feeding people. They climbed on to the pile of rocks in which the beast had made her lair and looked down the river to where, two hundred yards away, the Ogula were encamped. From this camp there rose a sound of revelry, and by the light of the great fires that burned there, they perceived that the hungry savages were busy feasting, for some of them sat in circles, whilst others, their naked forms

looking at that distance like those of imps in the infernal regions, flitted to and fro against the glowing background of the fires, bearing strange-looking joints on prongs of wood.

"I suppose they are eating the lioness," said Alan doubtfully.

"No, no, Major, not lioness; eat dwarf by dozen, just like oysters at seaside. But for Little Bonsa *we* sit on those forks now and look uncommon small."

"Beasts!" said Alan in disgust, "they make me feel uncommon sick. Let us go to bed. I suppose they won't murder us in our sleep, will they?"

"Not they, Major, too much afraid. Also we their blood brothers now, because we bring them good dinner and save chief from lion's fury. No blame them too much, Major, good fellows really with gentle heart, but grub like that from generation to generation. Every mother's son of them have many men inside, that why they so big and strong. Ogula people cover great multitude—like Charity in Book. No doubt sent by Providence to keep down extra pop'lation. Not right to think too hard of poor fellows who, as I say, very kind and gentle at heart and most loving in family relation, except to old women whom they eat also, so that they no get bored with too long life."

Weary and disgusted by this abominable sight though he was, Alan burst out laughing at his retainer's apology for the sweet-natured Ogula, who struck him as the most repulsive blackguards that he had ever met or heard of in all his experience of African savages.

Then wishing to see and hear no more of them that night, he retreated rapidly to the hut, and was soon fast asleep with his head pillowed on the box that hid the charms of Little Bonsa.

When he awoke it was broad daylight. Rising, he went down to the river to wash, and never had a bath been more welcome, for during all their journey through the forest no such thing was obtainable. On his return he found his garments well brushed with dry reeds and set upon a rock in the hot sun to air, while Jeeki in cheerful mood was engaged cooking breakfast in the frying pan to which he had clung through all the vicissitudes of their flight.

"No coffee, Major," he said regretfully, "that stop in forest. But never mind, hot water better for nerve. Ogula messengers gone in little canoe to Asiki at break of day. Travel slow till they work off dwarf, but afterwards go quick. I send lion skin with them as present from you to great high priestess Asika, also claws for necklace. No lions there, and she think much of that. Also it make her love mighty man who can kill fierce lion like Samson in Book. Love of head woman very valuable ally among beastly savage peoples."

"I am sure I hope it won't," said Alan with earnestness, "but no doubt it is as well to keep on the soft side of the good lady if we can. What time do we start?"

"In one hour, Major. I been to camp already, chosen boat canoe and finest men for rowers. Chief—he called Fanny—so grateful that he come with them himself."

"Indeed, that is very kind of him; but I say, Jeeki, what are these fellows going to live on? I can't stand what you call their 'favourite chop.'"

"No, no, Major, that all right. I tell them that when they travel with Little Bonsa, must keep Lent like pious Roman Catholic family that live near Yarleys. They catch plenty fish in river, and perhaps we shoot game, or rich 'potamus, which they like 'cause he fat."

Evidently the Ogula chief, Fahni by name, not Fanny, as Jeeki called him, was a man of his word, for before the hour was up he appeared at the island in command of a large canoe manned by twelve splendid looking savages. Springing to land, he prostrated himself before Alan, kissing his feet as he had done on the previous night, and making a long speech.

"That very good spirit," exclaimed Jeeki. "Like to see heathen in his darkness lick white gentleman's boot. He say you his lord and great magician who save his life, and know all Little Bonsa's secrets, which many and not repeatable. He say he die for you twice a day and go on dying tomorrow and all next year. He say he take you safe till you meet Asiki, and for your sake, though he hungry, eat no man for one whole month, or perhaps longer. Now we start at once."

So they started up the river that was called Katsena, Alan and Jeeki seated in a

lordly fashion near the stern of the canoe beneath an awning made out of some sticks and a grass mat. In truth, after their severe toil and adventures in the forest, this method of journeying proved quite luxurious. Except for a rapid here and there over or round which the canoe must be dragged, the river was broad and scenery on its banks parklike and beautiful. Moreover the country, perhaps owing to the unholy appetites of the Ogula, appeared to be practically uninhabited except by vast herd of every sort of game.

All day they sat in the canoe which the stalwart rowers propelled, in silence for the most part, since they were terribly afraid of the white man, and still more so of the renowned fetish which they knew he carried with him. Then when evening came they moored their craft to the bank and camped till the following morning. Nor did they lack for food, since, game being so plentiful, it was only necessary for Alan to walk a few hundred yards and shoot a fat eland or hartebeest, or other buck which in its ignorance would allow him to approach quite close. Elephants, rhinoceros and buffalo were also common, while great herds of giraffe might be seen wandering between the scattered trees ; but as they were not upon a hunting trip and their ammunition was very limited, with these they did not interfere.

Having their daily fill of meat which their souls loved, the Ogula oarsmen remained in an excellent mood ; indeed, the chief Fahni informed Alan that if only they had such magic tubes wherewith to slaughter game, he and his tribe would gladly give up cannibalism except on feast days. He added sadly that soon they would be obliged to do so, or die, since in those parts there were now few people left to eat, and they hated vegetables. Moreover, they kept no cattle, it was not the custom of that tribe, except a very few for milk. Alan advised them to increase their herds, take to the growing of corn, and leave men alone, since, as he pointed out to them "dog should not eat dog," or the human being his own kind.

The chief answered that there was a great deal in what he said, which on his return he would lay before his headmen. Indeed Alan, to his astonishment, discovered that Jeeki had been quite right when he alleged that these men, so terrible in their mode of life, were yet "kind and gentle at heart." They preyed upon mankind because for centuries it had been their custom so to do, but if any one had been there to show them a better way, he grew sure that they would follow it gladly. At least they were brave and loyal and even, after their first fear of the white man had worn off, fulfilled their promises without a murmur. Once, indeed, when he chanced to have gone for a walk unarmed and to be charged by a bull elephant, these Ogula ran at the brute with their spears and drove it away, a rescue in which one of them lost his life, for the " rogue " caught and killed him.

So the days went on, while they paddled leisurely up the river, Alan employing the time by taking lessons in the Asiki tongue from Jeeki, a language which he had been studying ever since he left England. The task was not easy, as he had no books, and Jeeki himself after some thirty years of absence, was doubtful as to many of its details. Still, being a linguist by nature and education, and finding in the tongue similarities to other African dialects which he knew, he was able to speak it a little, if in a halting fashion.

On the fifth day of their ascent of the river they came to a tributary that flowed into it from the north, up which the Ogula said they must proceed to reach Asikiland. This stream was narrow and sluggish, widening out here and there into great swamps through which it was not easy to find a channel. Also it was so unhealthy that even several of the Ogula contracted fever, of which Alan cured them by heavy doses of quinine, for fortunately his travelling medicine chest remained to him. These cures were effected after their chief had suggested that they should be thrown overboard, or left to die in the swamp as useless, with the result that the white man's magical powers were henceforth established beyond doubt or cavil. Indeed, the poor Ogula now looked on him as a god superior even to Little Bonsa, whose familiar he was supposed to be.

The long journey through that swamp was very trying, since in this wet season often they could find no place on which to sleep at night, but must stay in the canoe tormented by mosquitoes, and in constant danger of being upset by the hippopotami that lived

there. Moreover, as no game was now available, they were obliged to live on these beasts, fish when they could catch them, and wild fowl, which sometimes they were unable to cook for lack of fuel. This did not trouble the Ogula, who ate them raw, as did Jeeki when he was hungry. But Alan was obliged to starve until they could make a fire. This it was only possible to do when they found drift or other wood, since at that season the rank vegetation was in full growth. Also the fearful thunderstorms which broke continually, and in a few minutes half filled their canoe with water, made the reeds and the soil on which they grew sodden with wet. As Jeeki said :—

"This time of year only fit for duck and crocodile. Human should remember uncontrollable forces of Nature and wait till winter come in due course, when quagmire bear sole of his foot."

This remark he made to Alan during the progress of a particularly fearful tempest. The lightning blazed in the black sky and seemed to strike all about them like stabbing swords of fire, the thunder crashed and bellowed as it might be supposed to do on that day when the great earth, worn out at last, shall reel and stagger to its doom. The rain fell in a straight and solid sheet; the tall reeds waved confusedly like millions of dim arms, and while they waved uttered a vast and groaning noise; the scared wildfowl in their terror, with screams and the sough of wings, rushed past them in flocks a thousand strong, now seen and now lost in the vapours. To keep their canoe afloat the poor naked Ogula oarsmen, shivering with cold and fear, baled furiously with hands, or bowls of hollowed wood, and called back to Alan to save them as though he were master of the elements. Even Jeeki was depressed and appeared to be offering up petitions, though whether these were directed to Little Bonsa or elsewhere it was impossible to know.

As for Alan, the heart was out of him. It is true that so far he had escaped fever or other sickness, which in itself was wonderful, but he was chilled through and through, and practically had eaten nothing for two days, and very little for a week, since his stomach turned from half-cooked hippopotamus fat and wild fowl. Moreover, they had lost the channel and seemed to be wandering aimlessly through a wilderness of reeds broken here and there by lines of deeper water.

According to the Ogula they should have reached the confines of the great lake several days before, and landed on the healthy rising ground that was part of the Asiki territory. But this had not happened, and now he doubted whether it ever would happen. It was more likely that they would come to their deaths there in the marsh, especially as the few ball and shot cartridges which they had saved in their flight were now exhausted. Not one was left; nothing was left except their revolvers with a few charges, which, of course, were quite useless for the killing of game. Therefore they were in a fair way to die of hunger, for here if fish existed they refused to be caught, and naught remained for them to fill themselves with except water slugs and snails, which the boatmen were already gathering and crunching up in their great teeth. Or perhaps the Ogula, forgetting friendship under the pressure of necessity, would murder them as they slept, and revert to their usual diet.

Jeeki was right, he should have remembered "uncontrollable forces of Nature." Only a madman would have undertaken such an expedition in the rains. No wonder that the Asiki remained a secret and hidden people when their frontier was protected by such a marsh as this upon the one side and, as he understood, by impassable mountains upon the other.

There came a lull in the tempest, and the boatmen began to get the better of the water, which was now up to their knees. Alan asked Jeeki if he thought it was over, but that worthy shook his head mournfully, causing the spray to fly as from a twirling mop, and replied :

"Can't say, cats and dogs not tumble so many for present, only pups and kittens left, so to speak ; but think there plenty more up there," and he nodded at a portentous fire-laced cloud which seemed to be spreading over them, its black edges visible even through the gloom.

"Bad business, I am afraid, Jeeki. Shouldn't have brought you here, or those poor beggars either," and he looked at the scared, frozen Ogula. "I begin to wonder—"

"Never wonder, Major," broke in Jeeki in

alarm. "If wonder, not live, if wonder not be born, too much wonder about everywhere. Can't understand nothing, so give it up. Say, 'Right O ! and devil take hindermost !' Very good motto for biped tight place. Better drown here than in City bucket-shop. But no drown. Should be dead long ago, but Little Bonsa play the game, she not want to sink in stinking swamp when so near her happy home. Come out all right somehow, as from dwarf. Every cloud have silver lining, Major, even that black chap up there. Oh ! my golly !"

This last exclamation was rung from Jeeki's lips by a sudden development of "forces of Nature" which astonished even him. Instead of a silver lining the "black chap" exhibited one of gold. In an instant it seemed to turn to acres of flame ; it was as though the heaven had taken fire. A flash or a thunderbolt struck the water within ten yards of their canoe, causing the boatmen to throw themselves upon their faces through shock or terror. Then came the hurricane, which, fortunately, was so strong that it permitted no rain to fall. The tall reeds were beaten flat beneath its breath ; the canoe was seized in its grip and whirled round and round, then driven forward like an arrow. Only the weight of the men and the water in it prevented it from overturning. Dense darkness fell upon them, and although they could see no star, they knew that it must be night. On they rushed, driven by that shrieking gale, and all about and around them this wall of darkness. No one spoke, for hope was abandoned, and if they had, their voices could not have been heard. The last thing that Alan remembered was feeling Jeeki dragging a grass mat over him to protect him a little if he could. Then his senses wavered, as does a dying lamp. He thought he was back in what Jeeki had rudely called a "City bucket-shop," bargaining across the telephone wire, up which came all the sounds of the infernal regions, with a financial paper for an article on a little Bonsa Syndicate that he proposed to float. He thought he was in the Court woods with Barbara, only the birds in the trees sang so unnaturally loud that he could not hear her voice, and she wore Little Bonsa on her head as a bonnet. Then she departed in flame, leaving him and Death alone in the world.

Alan awoke. Above the sun shone hotly, warming him back to life, but in front was a thick wall of mist, and rising beyond it in the distance he saw the rugged swelling forms of mountains. Doubtless these had been visible for days, but the tall reeds through which they travelled had hid the sight of them. He looked behind him, and there in a heap lay the Ogula around their chief, insensible or sleeping. He counted them and found that two were gone, lost in the tempest, how or where no man ever learned. He looked forward, and saw a peculiar sight, for in the prow of the drifting canoe stood Jeeki, clad in the remains of his white robe, and wearing on his head the battered helmet and about his shoulders the torn fragments of the green mosquito net. While Alan was wondering vaguely why he had adopted this ceremonial garb, from out of the mist there came a sound of singing, of wild and solemn singing. Jeeki seemed to listen to it ; then he lifted up his great musical voice and sang as though in answer. What he sang Alan could not understand, but he recognized that the language which he used was that of the Asiki people.

A pause and a confused murmuring, and now again the wild song rose and again Jeeki answered.

"What the deuce are you doing? Where are we?" asked Alan faintly.

Jeeki turned and beamed upon him ; although his teeth were chattering and his face was hollow, still he beamed.

"You awake, Major?" he said. "Thought good old sun do trick. Feel your heart just now and find it beat. Pulse, too, strong, though temp'rature not normal. Well, good news this morning. Little Bonsa come out top as usual. Asiki priests on bank there. Can't see them, but know their song and answer. Same old game as thirty years ago. Asiki never change, which good business when you have been away long while."

"Hang the Asiki," said Alan feebly, "I think all these poor beggars are dead," and he pointed to the rowers.

"Look like it, Major, but what that matter now since you and I alive ? Plenty more where they come from. Not dead though, think only sleep, no like cold, like dormouse. But never mind cannibal pig. They serve our turn : if they live, live ; if they die, die, and God ha' mercy on souls, if cannibal have

soul. Ah! here we are," and from beneath six inches of water he dragged up the tin box containing Litte Bonsa, from which he extracted the fetish, wet but uninjured.

"Put her on now, Major. Put her on at once and come sit in prow of canoe. Must reach Asiki-land in proper style. Priests think it your reverend uncle come back again, just as he leave. Make very good impression."

"I can't," said Alan feebly. "I am played out, Jeeki."

"Oh! buck up, Major, buck up!" he replied imploringly. "One kick more and you win race, mustn't spoil ship for ha'porth of tar. You just wear fetish, whistle once on land and then go to sleep for whole week if you like. I do rest, say it all magic, and so forth—that you been dead and just come out of grave, or anything you like. No matter if you turn up as announced on bill, and God bless hurricane that blew us here when he expect die. Come, Major, quick, quick! mist melt and soon they see you." Then, without waiting for an answer, Jeeki clapped the wet mask on his master's head, tied the thongs, and led, or rather carried, Alan to the prow of the canoe, where he sat him down on a little cross bench, stood behind supporting him, and again began to sing in a great triumphant voice.

The mist cleared away, rolling up like a curtain and revealing on the shore a number of men and women clad in white robes, who were marshalled there in ranks chanting and staring out at the dim waters of the lagoon. There upon the waters driven forward by the gentle breeze, floated a canoe, and lo! in the prow of that canoe sat a white man, and on his head the god which they had lost a whole generation gone. On the head of a white man it had departed; on the head of a white man it returned. They saw and fell upon their knees.

"Blow, Major, blow!" whispered Jeeki, and Alan blew a feeble note through the whistle in the mouth of the mask. It was enough, they knew it. They sprang into the water and dragged the canoe to land. They set Alan on the shore and worshipped him. They haled up a lad as though for sacrifice, for a priest flourished a great knife above his head, but Jeeki said something that caused them to let him go. Alan thought it was to the effect that Little Bonsa had changed her habits across the Black Water, and wanted no blood, only food. Then Alan remembered no more; again the darkness fell upon him.

CHAPTER XI.

BONZA-TOWN.

When consciousness returned to Alan, the first thing of which he became dimly aware was the slow, swaying motion of a litter. He raised himself, for he was lying at full length, and in so doing felt that there was something over his face.

"That confounded Little Bonsa," he thought. "Am I expected to spend the rest of my life with it on my head, like the man in the iron mask?"

Then he put up his hand and felt the thing, to find that it was not Little Bonsa, but something made apparently of thin, fine linen, fitted to the shape of his face, for there was a nose on it, and eyeholes through which he could see, yes, and a mouth whereof the lips, by some ingenious contrivance, could be moved up and down.

"Little Bonsa's undress uniform, I expect," he muttered, and tried to drag it off. This, however, proved to be impossible, for it was fitted tightly to his head, and laced or fastened at the back of his neck so securely that he could not undo it. Being still weak, soon he gave up the attempt and began to look about him.

He was in a litter, a very fine litter hung round with beautifully woven and coloured grass mats, inside of which were a kind of couch and cushions of soft wool or hair, so arranged that he could either sit up or lie down. He peeped between two of these mats and saw that they were travelling in a mountainous country, over a well-beaten road or trail, and that his litter was borne upon the shoulders of a double line of white-robed men, while all around him marched numbers of other men. These seemed to be soldiers, for they were arranged in companies, and carried large spears and shields. Also some of them wore torques and bracelets of yellow metal that might be either brass or gold. Turning himself about, he found an eyehole in the back of the litter, so contrived that its occupant could see without being seen, and perceived that his escort amounted to a veritable army of splendid-looking, but

sombrefaced savages of a somewhat Semitic cast of countenance. Indeed, many of them had aquiline features and hair that, although crisped, was long and carefully arranged in something like the old Egyptian fashion. Also, he saw that about thirty yards behind, and separated from him by a bodyguard, was borne a second litter. By means of a similar aperture in front, he discovered yet more soldiers, and beyond them, at the head of the procession, what appeared to be a body of white-robed men and women bearing strange emblems and banners. These he took to be priests and priestesses.

Having examined everything that was within reach of his eye, Alan sank back upon his cushions and began to realise that he was very faint and hungry. It was just then that the sound of a familiar voice reached his ears. It was the voice of Jeeki, and he did not speak, he chanted in English to a melody which Alan at once recognised as a Gregorian tone, apparently from the second litter.

"Oh, Major," he sang, "have you yet awoke from refre-e-shing sleep? If so, please answer me in same tone of voice, for remember that you de-e-vil of a swell, Lord of the Little Bonsa, and must not speak like co-o-ommon cad."

Feeble as he was, Alan nearly burst out laughing; then, remembering that probably he was expected not to laugh, chanted his answer as directed, which, having a good tenor voice, he did with some effect, to the evident awe and delight of all the escort within hearing.

"I am awake, most excellent Jee-e-eki, and feel the need of food, if you have such a thing abou-ou-out you, and it is lawful for the Lord of Little Bonsa *to* take nu-triment."

Instantly Jeeki's deep voice rose in reply.

"That good tidings upon the mountain tops, Ma-ajor. Can't come out to bring you chop because too i-i-infra dig, for now I also biggish bug, the little bird what sit upon the rose, as poet sa-a-ays. I tell these Johnnies bring you grub which you eat without qualm, for Asiki A1 coo-o-ook."

Then followed loud orders issued by Jeeki to his immediate *entourage*, and some confusion.

As a result, presently Alan's litter was halted, the curtains were opened, and kneeling women thrust through them platters of wood, upon which wrapped up in leaves, were the dismembered limbs of a bird which he took to be chicken or guineafowl, and a gold cup containing water pleasantly flavoured with some essence. This cup interested him very much, both on account of its shape and workmanship, which, if rude, were striking in design, resembling those drinking vessels that have been found in Mycenian graves. Also, it proved to him that Jeeki's stories of the abundance of the precious metal among the Asiki had not been exaggerated. If it were not very plentiful, they would scarcely, he thought, make their travelling cups of gold. Evidently there was wealth in the land.

After the food had been handed to him, the litter went on again, and seated upon his cushions he ate and drank heartily enough, for now that the worst of his fatigue had passed away, his hunger was great. In some absurd fashion this meal reminded him of that which a traveller makes out of a luncheon basket upon a railway line in Europe or America. Only there the cups are not of gold, and among the Asiki there were no paper napkins, no salt and mustard, and no three-and-sixpence to pay. Further, until he got used to it, luncheon in a linen mask with a moveable mouth was not easy. This difficulty he overcame at last by propping the imitation lips apart with a piece of bone after which things were easier.

When he had finished he threw the platter and the remains out of the litter, retaining the cup for further examination, and recommenced his intoned poetical converse with Jeeki.

To set it out at length would be wearisome, but in the course of an hour or so he collected a good deal of information. Thus he learned that they were due to arrive at the Asiki city, which was called Bonsa Town, by nightfall or a little after. Also he was informed that the mask he wore was, as he had guessed, a kind of undress uniform without which he must never appear, since for any one except the Asika herself to look upon the naked countenance of an individual so mysteriously mixed up with Little Bonsa, was sacrilege of the worst sort. Indeed, Jeeki assured him that the priests who had put on the headdress when he was insensible, were first blindfolded.

This news depressed Alan very much, since the prospect of living in a linen mask for an indefinite period was not cheerful. Recovering, he chanted a query as to the fate of the Ogula crew and their chief Fahni.

"Not de-ad," intoned Jeeki in reply, "and not gone back. All alive-O, somewhere behind there. Fanny very sick about it, for he think Asiki bring them along for sacrifice, poo-or beg-gars."

Finally he inquired where Little Bonsa was, and was answered that he himself as its lawful gurdian, was sitting on the fetish in its tin box, tidings that he was able to verify by groping beneath the cushions.

After this his voice gave out, though Jeeki continued to sing items of interesting news from time to time. Indeed, there were other things that absorbed Alan's attention. Looking through the peepholes and cracks in the curtains he saw that at last they had reached the crest of a ridge up which they had been climbing for hours. Before them lay a vast and fertile valley, much of which seemed to be under cultivation, and down it flowed a broad and placid river. Opposite to him and facing west a great tongue of land ran up to a wall of mountains with stark precipices of black rock that seemed to be hundreds, or even thousands of feet high, and at the tip of this tongue a mighty waterfall rushed over the precipice, looking at that distance like a cascade of smoke. This torrent, which he remembered was called Raaba, fell into a great pool and divided itself into two rushing branches that enclosed an ellipse of ground, surrounded on all sides by water, for on its westernmost extremity the branches met again and after flowing a while as one river, divided once more and wound away quietly to north and south further than the eye can reach. On the island thus formed, which may have been three miles long by two in breadth, stood thousands of straw-roofed, square-built huts with verandahs, neatly arranged in blocks and lines, and having between them streets that were edged with palms.

On the hither side of the pool was what looked like a park, for here grew great, black trees, which from their flat shape Alan took to be some variety of cedar, and standing alone in the midst of this park, where no other habitation could be discovered, was a large, low building with dark-coloured walls and gabled roofs that flashed like fire.

"The Gold House," said Alan to himself with a gasp. "So it is not a dream or a lie!"

(To be continued.)

WHAT THE WORLD IS DOING AND WHAT WE MAY DO

A Japanese woman's enterprise and programme of uplift.

THE charge is often made against Japan that its modernization is a mere outer-gloss—that its Westernization is but a surface veneer. The subjects of the Mikado, it is frequently urged, have shown a remarkable genius for imitating certain features of occidental civilization; but it is asserted that all indications point to the fact that they have shown but little aptitude to assimilate what they have aped—much less the inventive faculty to originate new methods.

Statements to this effect may be heard constantly in the occident. They are no doubt inspired by the concentrated hauteur and superciliousness so characteristic of the "white" people, when discussing the character and abilities of the black, brown and yellow races. So long as the Anglo-Saxon arrogates to himself the overlordship of the world on the "survival of the fittest" theory, the Asian and African people will be labelled "inferiors."

Beyond this extenuation, if an excuse has to be found for the insinuation that it is only the outer crust of Japan that has been touched by modernism, and that, beneath it, infernal fires of conservatism and fatalism rage and roar, the Japanese can proudly point out that the era of modernization dawned upon his country less than half a century ago, that already he has attained

unprecedented success in metamorphosing the race, freeing it from the trammels of tradition and caste and setting its face toward progress and prosperity.

More than this, Japan is not once again lapsing into an abject slavery to the past; nor has the process of modernization come to a full stop in the country. It is proceeding apace. Every day the arrow of progress is burrowing deeper into the erstwhile reaction of Japan and all departments of life in the Sunrise Kingdom increasingly testify that the people are alive and manfully marching on the stony path of progress.

The Japanese sociologist, educator and statesman are afraid of nothing save standing still. They realize that they must either go forward or stand the chance of being shoved back—that there is no such thing as "standing pat." The world depicts the Japanese as self-satisfied—vain-glorious of their recent achievements. The occidental caricaturist gives, in his cartoons, the impression that the Jap is "biggity"—supercilious and vain. Contact with the over-bearing Anglo-Saxon may have done its work and the Oriental may have become imperious; but the Japanese is fully alive to the gravity of the situation and his boastfulness of his attainments, in the past few decades, is no bar to his future progress.

The most assuring sign of Japan's present and future prosperity is found in its attitude towards womanhood. The modern woman of Japan is less and less treated as a serf. Already she is fast coming into her own and is being dealt with as a rational human being.

The greatest revolution that has taken place in our times has been wrought in the Orient. The Asian has changed his attitude in two important respects. He has learned that the corner-stone of his future well-being is a righteous and equitable treatment of women. He has also realised that the most valuable asset of a nation consists of its children and young folks. How revolutionary is this attitude toward the rising generation which Asia is increasingly assuming it is difficult for the occidental to grasp. Virtually it means the reversal of the whole sociological order in the Orient. So far the patriarchal ideals have been the fetiches before which the Oriental has bowed and scraped. The children have been the property, so to speak, of the *pater familias*—the young folks, apart from the family, have had no rights. The joint family system has exercised an absolute sway over the people as individuals. The parents or the legal guardians of the young persons have educated them according to their own conceptions—the marriage has been solemnized by them without the consent of the contracting parties—the newly-wedded bride has gone into the family of the parents of the bridegroom and submitted herself to the autocracy of the mother-in-law—the son has earned his wages and turned them over to the head of the family, and, like a school-child, has been given a small portion of his earnings as pocket-money. The spirit of our times has been antagonistic to such arrangements as these. The Orient is giving way, tardily and somewhat ungracefully, but nevertheless surely; with the result that the social order is changing. The individual is beginning to assert his or her rights; and the spirit of slavishness to tradition and the past, to the dictum of the priest and to the methods of the forebears, is gradually becoming a thing of the days gone by. This revolution has but commenced and has yet to accomplish a great deal. The lead in the propaganda has been taken by Japan, and, of all oriental nations, therefore, the Japanese are providing the best opportunities for the development of children and for the uplift of woman.

Were it not for these new cross-currents, which to-day are tumultuously agitating the Japanese, vanquishing the surges of custom, caste and precedent, the Woman's English Literature School of Tokyo, Japan, which forms the subject matter of this sketch, could not have been conceived, much less conducted. Two decades ago such an institution could not have been started; and if some enterprising person had taken the initiative, it would have died away through lack of patronage. Not only financial failure would have been the doom of such a school; but it would have been impossible to fill the class-rooms with pupils.

It speaks volumes for the courage, initiative, persistence and tireless energy of the woman who brought this institution into being and who has for a little more than

half a dozen years steered the barge clear of shoals and breakwaters and guided it into a safe haven. Miss Ume Tsuda (Suda), the founder and present Principal of the institution, who has accomplished this by no means easy or sinecure task, is, herself, a product of our times, and is doing her level best to shape the destinies of the Japanese woman with a view to render them capable of using their God-given talents to the best advantage.

Prior to judging her work, a word regarding Miss Tsuda's personality will be opportune. She is somewhat taller than the average Japanese woman, cheerful, bright and vivacious, with intelligent, kindly eyes that seem to pry into the inmost recesses of one's soul and a decided expression on her face, toned down with the grace peculiar to a cultured Japanese woman, but none the less significant, reminding an interviewer with imagination, that the purpose of this woman in life is, like that of the Poet Goethe, to seek "more light"—more knowledge. Miss Tsuda speaks English fluently and with an accent so perfect that one of the Japanese professors of her school told me, in confidence, that she speaks her native language with a distinct "Yankee" accent. As to the accuracy of this remark, I can not personally vouch, not being enough of a connoisseur of the Japanese language; but if this statement is true, it is a correct index of Miss Tsuda's character. It shows that she is thoroughgoing in whatever she undertakes to do. This is the first impression she unwittingly makes on the person who comes in contact with her; and better acquaintance merely deepens it.

This trait of character, to do a thing well once and for all, so marked in Miss Tsuda, is reflected everywhere in the school. The immaculate cleanliness preserved in the classrooms, corridors, gymnasium, playgrounds, pathways and avenues of her well-appointed school, which is in close proximity to the English Legation at Tokyo; the pains taken by the physical directors to teach the girls to carry themselves properly while walking, to sit in a graceful, dignified and healthy manner; the constant effort made by every teacher, without a single exception, to exclude everything from the curriculum except what would be of use to the pupils in their after-life; and the conscientious manner in which the students are taught to pronounce, enunciate and accentuate words in the most orthodox style, and the special attention bestowed on penmanship, all testify to the thorough-going manner in which everything is done at the Woman's English Literature School.

About one hundred and fifty girls attend the school regularly. Thirty of this number are residential pupils, the boarding-house department being in charge of a cultivated Japanese matron, specially trained for that office by Miss Tsuda. Miss Tsuda herself resides on the premises and is personally responsible for the proper oversight of the dormitories. In addition to the girls doing regular work, fifty others attend the school and take instruction in one or two courses of their choice. The land on which the institution stands, the buildings and the furniture are approximately worth Rs. 60,000 and all are paid for. The courses taught are, English, Japanese, Chinese, Theory of Education, Psychology. Graduates from the primary schools established by the Japanese government in almost every village of the country are eligible for admittance in the preparatory department of the school, which consists of the junior and senior classes, each comprising one year's work. Successful students from the preparatory courses are promoted to the collegiate or the "higher" department—as it is called—where the pupil is required to study for three years before obtaining the diploma. The fee charged the pupils in the preparatory classes is thirty-six rupees per annum. The students in the higher department pay forty-five rupees a year.

Miss Tsuda's school occupies a preeminent position in teaching languages. The Berlitz method is used. For the information of the lay reader, a word may be added regarding what the Berlitz way of imparting instruction in languages really is. The system was invented to offer the same facilities to the student of foreign languages that he would have were he to make a long visit in the country whose language he was learning. The idea is to furnish at home or in the class-room, the opportunity to hold prolonged conversation with one to whom the language is native, and thus obviate the expense and botheration of a sojourn in a foreign country. As the teacher of the Berlitz system treats the pupil with kindness and

consideration, speaks slowly in the early period of the novitiate and guides and directs him, placing at his command the mature experience of years, study by the Berlitz method proves more gratifying and successful than even going abroad. The system aims at turning out linguists in contradistinction to the universities endeavouring to turn out philologists. The teacher who employs the Berlitz method does not bend his efforts to instruct the student in the science of critical comparison, but employs the art in enabling the pupil to perfectly master the language he is learning. The fundamental principles employed are: "Direct association of perception and thought with the foreign speech and sound; and constant and exclusive use of the foreign language." The concrete is taught by object lessons; the abstract by the association of ideas; and grammar by means of example. The opportunity is afforded for the pupil to be taught the same language by a number of teachers in order that he may become accustomed to different intonations and familiarize himself with various voices and gestures, so that he will not experience any difficulty in following actual talk in the language in the every day world.

For one who is not familiar with actual conditions in Japan, it will be hard to understand what a blessing this method is conferring on the students that attend Miss Tsuda's school. The Japanese have a genius for mastering foreign languages, so far as reading and writing are concerned; but their knowledge of the spoken language is exceedingly deficient and their enunciation of it still worse, except in the case of those few who have lived abroad for a number of years. The Japanese themselves admit this grave defect so universally met with in those of the nation who have mastered foreign languages, and wherever a traveller who has familiarized himself with several languages goes to Japan, eager students and their teachers will ask him how he was able to master the tongue so he could speak it without accent.

To continue:

The ideal of Miss Tsuda is to introduce the Japanese woman to Western thought. She, herself, spent several years in the United States, is a graduate of a leading American college and is well-versed in the standard authors of both Europe and America. Her friend and patron, the Marchioness of Oyama, likewise is a graduate of an American college—Vassar. The aim of Miss Tsuda's school is naturally to tend the Japanese girls to westernisation. However, this is being accomplished without denationalising the Japanese woman. Effort is being made to weed out the Japanese prejudices and superstitions; to do away with the ugly and reactionary features of the old order of things; but the task is being performed in a conscientious and responsible manner. Great care is being exercised to retain that portion of the past which is uplifting and essential to the well-being of the nation. The endeavour is made to encourage independence of thought in the girl-pupils, endow them with the capability of taking good care of themselves both at home and in life, teach them self-control, self-dependence and self-help; render them able to make use of their faculties to benefit themselves and society. All this is accomplished, not with the intent of inspiring the girls to remain unmarried all their lives; but with a view to enable the Japanese women to keep pace with the Japanese men and be their compeers. The axe is laid at the root of early marriage. Miss Tsuda is of the opinion that, within a very few years, the marriageable age of girls, which averages 17 or 18 in Japan to-day, will be considerably raised; and in this respect nearly all the learned scholars in Japan bear testimony to the correctness of Miss Tsuda's dictum.

The action of western civilisation on the Japanese institutions is bringing about a coalescence of oriental and occidental wisdom; the resultant being neither occidental nor Japanese, but of a hybrid character. This new civilisation is more wholesome than either of the component factors. The nirvanism and fatalism of the east is melting away like a snowflake under the heat of the spirit of grab and gain introduced by the west, yielding place, not to extreme sordid selfishness, but an aggression somewhat shorn of its brutal worldism. A thousand Japanese institutions are bringing about the coalition of the orient and occident in this manner. To this category belongs Miss Ume Tsuda's school, occupying an honourable position in the ranks.

In presenting our readers with accounts of what other people are doing for their own advancement, it is not our object that our countrymen should slavishly *copy* what foreigners are doing. Our object is to stimulate them to intelligent effort. With our lethargy shaken off, half the battle would be won.

THE FEUDAL CRAFTSMAN IN INDIA AND CEYLON

LET us turn to look at the Indian craftsman as the feudal servant of the king, a baron, or of a religious foundation. In the so-called dark ages of the east and of the west the patronage of art and craft by kings was a matter of course, and no court was complete, lacking the state craftsmen. He would have seemed a strange king who knew nought of art and craft and cared less. Even Alfred the Great, amidst all the cares of protecting his troubled land, found time to care for craftsmanship and craftsmen, especially goldsmiths, and we are all familiar with the Alfred jewel that bears the legend, 'Alfred had me made'; and this interest in jewellery reminds us of the eastern proverb, that asks 'who but the Raja and the goldsmith should know the value of the jewel?' Still earlier evidence of the traditional royal interest in craft in the west may be gathered from such books as the Mabinogion. When Kilhwch rode to Arthur's hall and sought admittance, 'I will not open,' said the porter. 'Wherefore not?' asked Kilhwch. 'The knife is in the meat, and the drink is in the horn' said the porter, 'and there is revelry in Arthur's hall, and none may enter therein but the son of a king of a privileged country, or a craftsman bringing his craft.'

So too, in ancient Ireland we find it said to a similar applicant at the king's door, 'no one without an art comes into Tara.'

Still later on, in the dark ages, we find as one may learn from Professor Lethaby's 'Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen,' that the royal masons, carpenters, smiths and painters were attached to the palace as much as a matter of course as the chief butler and cook, and that under the chief master-mason or carpenter a body of skilled journeymen was permanently engaged. We are wiser now, of course, and know that only the chief butler and cook are essential to the royal dignity; the craftsmen have gone, and only the butler, the cook and the clerk remain. Perhaps it is only worldly wisdom after all.

The royal craftsman in the east however is our immediate interest, and to him we must return.

We find him well established at a very early date. In the reign of the great Asoka (275-231 B.C.),

'Artisans were regarded as being in a special manner devoted to the royal service, and capital punishment was inflicted on any person who impaired the efficiency of a craftsman by causing the loss of a hand or an eye.'—' ship-builders and armour-makers were salaried public servants, and were not permitted, it is said, to work for any private person. The woodcutters, carpenters, blacksmiths and miners were subject to special supervision, of which the nature is not defined.'*

Upon this subject of the regulation of the crafts I shall have more to say later.

Passing over a millenium and a half without endeavouring to trace the royal craftsman's footsteps one by one, we come to the time of the great Mughal Emperors in the North. From the Ain-i-Akbari or Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, one of the three great rulers in whose mind the conception of a united India had taken shape, and one of the greatest rulers that the world has seen, we are told of the skilled Indian and foreign craftsmen maintained in the palaces of the Moghals. The Emperor Akbar took a great delight in painting: he is reported to have said that,—

'There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God; for in sketching anything that has life, and devising its limbs one after the other, he must feel that he cannot bestow a soul upon his work, and is forced to think of God, the only giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge.'

No wonder that great art flourished under such conditions; and it is very certain that Musalman puritanism did not, as a matter of fact, injure Indian art in the way that the contact with western civilization has in-

* Vincent Smith, 'Early History of India,' p. 120.

jured it. Akbar had in his service many artists, to the end that they "might vie with each other in fame, and become eminent by their productions". Weekly he inspected the work of every artist, and and gave due reward for special excellence. He also personally superintended the making of the weapons forged and decorated in in the armoury. He was very fond of shawls, of which many kinds were made in the palace, and classified according to date, value, colour and weight. He had also jewellers and damasceners, inlayers and enamellers, engravers and lapidaries and craftsmen of all kinds. It is to be observed that all this did not represent in Akbar, any more than it did in Alfred, the mere luxury of an idle or weak monarch, but belonged to a definite conception of the kingly state and duty recognized by one of the greatest rulers the world has seen.

The thing which perhaps most interests us from the craftsman's point of view is the security and hereditary character of the craftsman's own position. Sir John Chardin tells us of the Persian kings in the 17th century that they

"entertain a large number of excellent masterworkmen, who have a salary and daily rations for all their lives, and are provided with all the materials for their work. They receive a present and an increase of salary for every fine work they produce."

Sir George Birdwood says:

"In the east the princes and great nobles and wealthy gentry, who are the chief patrons of these grand fabrics, collect together in their own houses and palaces all who gain reputation for special skill in their manufacture. These men receive a fixed salary, and daily rations, and are so little hurried in their work that they have plenty of time to execute private orders also. Their salaries are continued even when through age or accident they are past work; and on their death they pass to their sons, should they have become skilled in their father's art. Upon the completion of any extraordinary work it is submitted to the patron, and some honour is at once conferred on the artist, and his salary increased. It is under such conditions that the best art work of the east has always been produced."

There is, for example, in the India Museum an engraved jade bowl, on which a family in the employ of the Emperors of Delhi was engaged for three generations. In these days when churches are built by contract and finished to the day or week, it is difficult to realise the leisurely methods of the older craftsmen. Do not mistake leisure for laziness; they are totally and entirely different things. The quality of *leisure* in old work is one of its greatest charms, and is almost essential in a work of art. Haste and haggling have now almost destroyed the possibility of art, and until they are again eliminated from the craftsman's work it will not be possible to have again such work as he once gave to his fellows. In other words, society must either decide to do without art, as it mostly does decide at the present day, though as I think mistakenly, or else it must make up its mind to pay for art and endow its craftsmen. You cannot both have art and exploit it.

The royal appreciation of art and craft in the east at various times is further illustrated by the existence of kings who themselves practised a craft. I have collected two or three of these instances, but have no doubt that many more could be found by searching the pages of Indian history.

In the Kusa Jataka, it is recorded that Prince Kusa, not wishing to marry, conceived the idea of having a beautiful golden image made, and of promising to marry when a woman of equal beauty should be found. He summoned the chief smith, and giving him a quantity of gold, told him to go and make the image of a woman. In the meanwhile he himself took more gold, and fashioned it into the image of a beautiful woman, and this image he had robed in linen and set in the royal chamber. When the goldsmith brought his image, the prince found fault with it and sent him to fetch the image placed in the royal chamber. At first mistaking this image for a daughter of the gods, he feared to touch it; but being sent to fetch it a second time, he brought it; it was placed in a car and sent to the Queen Mother with the message, 'When I find a woman like this, I will take her to wife'.

This story is no doubt legendary, but shows at least that at the time of its composition, the practise of a craft was not considered derogatory to the honour of a prince. A more historically reliable mention of a royal craftsman is the reference to King Jetthatissa of Ceylon, in the Mahavamsa. He was, says this chronicle,

"a skilful carver. This monarch, having carried out several arduous undertakings in painting and carving, himself taught the art to many of his subjects. He

sculptured a beautiful image of the Bodhisatta, so perfect that it seemed as if it had been wrought by supernatural power; and also a throne, a parasol and a state room with beautiful work in ivory made for it".

For a later instance, we may turn to the Muhammadans. Sir Richard Burton, speaking of the conversation between the fisherman and the Caliph in the tale of Nur-al-din Ali and the Damsel Anis al-Jalis, says:

"Most characteristic is this familiarity between the greatest man then in the world and his pauper subject. The fisherman alludes to a practice of Al-Islam, instituted by Caliph Omar, that all rulers should work at some handicraft in order to spare the public treasure. Hence Sultan Mu'Ayyad of Cairo was a calligrapher who sold his handwriting, and his example was followed by the Turkish Sultans Mahmud, Abd al-Majid and Abd-al-Aziz".

So much for princely craftsmen in the east.

Let us examine in slightly greater detail the organisation of the King's craftsmen, that is the State Craftsmen, in Ceylon, as it existed up to the day on which the British Governor replaced the Kandyan king. It must be first understood that the organisation of society was altogether feudal. The possession of land was the foundation of the King's right to the services and contributions of the people, and *vice versa*. For all land held, service was due from the tenant to the King, that is to the State. The lands and services were inseparably associated, and as a rule descended from father to son in the same family and this remained the same even when the services were bestowed by the king on individuals or given to religious foundations. There was thus no free trade in land; and every man had his place in the society,and his work. Landholders were classed in accordance with the services due from them. The vast majority were cultivators, whose duty it was to keep the State granaries well supplied; others were the soldiers, the musicians, the washermen, the servants, the potters, and weavers, and the craftsmen proper, *viz.* the carpenters, goldsmiths, masons, ivory carvers, armours, founders and painters, altogether perhaps a tenth of the population. All of these owed service to the king in respect of the lands they held. The lands descended in the family from generation to generation, and were cultivated by the holders. Everyone was thus directly dependent on the land for his living.

The State craftsmen fell into two groups, those of the Four Workshops, who worked always at the palace, and those of the separate districts, who had to do certain shares of work at the palace, but were more often at home, where they had to work for the local officials. The best of the higher craftsmen, those of the 'Four Workshops,' formed a close, largely hereditary corporation and the position was highly valued. From their number were chosen the foremen of the district craftsmen. The four shops were known as the 'Regalia,' the 'Crown', the 'Golden Sword', and the 'Lion Throne' workshops respectively, but the craftsmen seem to have passed from one to another according to the work required of them. These families were of considerable standing, often possessing very valuable landed property settled upon them by the king on the occasion of their first arrival from India, if as was often the case they were of Indian origin, or granted as a reward for subsequent services. There are some families of craftsmen, whose history can be traced from at least the 14th century by means of the original aud subsequent grants which they received from the Sinhalese kings. I will give an example of one of these grants dated 1665 A.D.

"During the reign of His Majesty the Mighty Emperor Raja Simha,...as Marukona Ratna Abharana Vedakaraya reported himself at the Palace, orders were given to make certain pieces of jewellery required for the royal dress; and when he had made and submitted these pieces of jewellery to the Great King, he stated that he needed the Mottuvela Nilapanguve Badavedilla in Pallesiya Pattuva of Asgiri Korale, in the Disavanaya of Matale for his maintenance...and His Majesty...did...in the year of Sake 1587, absolutely grant the high and low lands in Mottuvela Badavedilla...to Marukona Ratna Abharana Vedakaraya, to be possessed without any disturbance or hindrance during the existence of the Sun, the Moon, Kandy and the Mahaveli river."

Besides such grants of land, the king used to reward individual craftsmen with gifts of cloth, money, etc. and by the bestowal of honours and titles. For the most part, of course, there was no wage payment of the state craftsmen, for they were otherwise provided for under the admirable land system I have referred to; but in the case of the many religious buildings undertaken by the Sinhalese kings, it was otherwise, as the King in these cases always desired to remunerate the craftsmen himself directly, in order that the meritorious work might be his

very own, and not anybody else's. Thus we read of the builder King Duttha Gamani, in the second century B. C., that when setting about the building of a great monastery called the Brazen Palace, that—

"The generous Raja at the very beginning of the undertaking, laid down eight hundred thousand pieces of money at each of the four gates, and announced that on this occasion it was unfitting to exact unpaid labour; setting therefore a value on the work performed, he paid in money"

Nearly all the later kings were builders too, and it was in the building of Buddhist temples that the state craftsmen were chiefly occupied when the requirements of the court and the armoury had been met. And on all of these occasions the craftsmen were liberally and specially rewarded. I wish I could give some adequate idea of the passion for religious building which possessed the Sinhalese kings, and of the way in which this stimulated the production of works of art and craft. Perhaps I shall best do this by quoting from a typical temple charter. At Degaldoruva, in the 18th century, the King's younger brother had a cave temple enlarged, and he—

"caused stone walls to be put up, and doors and windows to be set with keys and bars, and an image of Buddha of twelve cubits in length to be made in a reclining posture, and six other images in a sitting posture to be placed at the head and feet of the image and also caused 24 Buddha's images to be depicted on the ceiling and on the walls within and without, and other workmanship and paintings to be made thereon and upon the stone pillars, the roof of the front court to be put up with beams and rafters and covered with tiles, and on the cross walls thereof a representation of hell and heaven. . . . and having furnished the temple with curtains, ceiling cloths, umbrellas, flags, drums, oboes etc. . . His Majesty. . ordered the ceremony of painting the eyes to be performed, and His Majesty also furnished all the necessaries thereto, and having granted much riches in clothes, money and other things to the artificers, the painters, and the stone-cutters, His Majesty received merit and was filled with ecstacy".

The King, the nobles and the people, especially the craftsmen, were brought into intimate and even affectionate association on these occasions.

But not all of the craftsmen in Ceylon were servants of the king or the state directly. Every religious foundation of importance had its own lands, occupied by husbandmen and craftsmen, who owed service to the temple, just as the tenants of a royal manor owed service to the king. Let us examine a few instances of such tenancies. One of the goldsmith-tenants of the Dalada Maligava, the great Buddhist temple in Kandy, for example, held three acres of land. For this his services, light enough, were to go to the temple and polish the gold and silver vessels and implements of the temple during six days in the year, and to give a nut-slicer and two silver rings to the lay-chief of the temple every New Year. When on duty at the temple, the tenant received his meal three times a day. The blacksmith tenant of another temple held half an acre, and owed somewhat harder service; he was to give iron utensils for the kitchen, work as a blacksmith, clean the palanquins and lamps, nail laths, give a pair of scissors and a nut-slicer, clean the court-yard and put up booths for the annual festival, and give a measure of lamp oil for another annual celebration, and at each festival to present to the lay officials of the temple a nut-slicer each. So much indeed were the crafts bound up with the temples, so much occupied were the craftsmen, whether royal craftsmen, or temple tenants, in either building, restoring or supplying the requirements of temples, that, the art was really as distinctively religious, as the Gothic art of the middle ages, and in the same way too, it was an art for, and understood by the whole people.

But besides the royal and religious manors, and their tenants, craftsmen included, there were also manors in the possession of chieftains and officials, held by them either for life or office, or for ever; granted in the first instance for public service in peace or war. So it came about that just as there were craftsmen working always for the king at court, or bringing in to court the work done for the king at home; so at the local chieftain's manor-house were to be seen craftsmen working for him patiently and contentedly, receiving only their meals, while their families cultivated the lands for which service was due to the chief; and amongst the tenants of the chief's demesne, these craftsmen were by no means the least important or the least honoured.

I give one instance of such a tenant's holding and services. At Paldeniya, in Ceylon, a tenant held land of something over an acre in extent; for this he had to pay eight-pence annually as a fee; to appear

twice a year and give a piece of silversmith's work worth 3-4; to work at the manor-house 30 days a year, being supplied with food and charcoal; to accompany the Lord of the Manor on important occasions twice a year.

The craftsmen in Ceylon were to a great extent associated in villages, that is to say a whole village or manor would be sometimes entirely a village of craftsmen. This would not generally apply so much to potters, washermen and others whose services were required everywhere, but rather to the carpenters, goldsmiths and painters, who were in especial the king's craftsmen. In this we trace a survival of old conditions. In the Suci Jataka, for example, we get a picture of just such a village of craftsmen:—

"The Bodhisatta was born in the kingdom of Kasi in a smith's family, and when he grew up became skilled in the craft. His parents were poor. Not far from their village was another smith's village of a thousand houses. The principal smith of the thousand was a favourite of the king, rich and of great substance. ...People came from the villages round to have razors, axes, ploughshares and goads made" (Jataka No. 387)

In another Jataka, the Alinacitta Jataka, (No. 156), we read that there was

"once upon a time a village of carpenters not far from the city, in which five hundred carpenters lived. They would go up the river in a vessel, and enter the forest, where they would shape beams and planks for house-building, and put together the framework of one-storey and two-storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the mainpost onwards: these then they brought down to the river bank, and put them all aboard; then rowing down stream again, they would build houses to order as it was required of them; after which when they received their wage, they went back again for more materials for the building, and in this way they made their livelihood."

A delightful picture; and if things were not exactly like that in 18th century Ceylon, still it is interesting to remember that buildings were put together in much the same way; for when the king required a new building, it was given into the charge of four master-carpenters, who had to prepare the timber separately, and the whole, when brought together, had to fit, and this implied no little skill and accuracy in the work. I am also reminded of the story of an 18th century craftsman named Devendra Mulacariya, who had a grudge against certain chiefs, and is said to have first deliberately shortened, and then rejected as too short, a quantity of timber supplied by them. The craftsmen were wealthy and powerful enough to have their quarrels with the chiefs, even if, as happened in this case, the craftsman got the worst of it in the end.

The craftsmen indeed were very high-spirited and proud. Robert Knox, whose book published in 1682 is still the best written and most interesting account of Ceylon, gives an amusing account of them, incidentally mentioning an interesting form of *regulation* whereby to each smith a monopoly of the work in a special district was reserved.

"These Smiths", he says. "take much upon them, especially those who are the King's Smiths; that is, such who live in the King's Towns, and do his work. They have this privilege, that each has a parcel of towns belonging to them, whom none but they are to work for. The ordinary work they do for them is mending their tools, for which every man pays to his smith a certain rate of corn in harvest time according to ancient custom. But if any has work extraordinary, as making new tools or the like, besides the aforesaid rate of corn, he must pay him for it. In order to this, they come in an humble manner to the smith with a present, being rice, hens, and other sorts of provision, or a bottle of rack, desiring him to appoint his time, when they shall come to have their work done. Which when he hath appointed them, they come at the set time and bring both coals and iron with them. The smith sits very gravely upon his stool, his anvil before him, with his left hand towards the forge and a little hammer in his right. They themselves who come with their work must blow the bellows, and when the iron is to be beaten with the great maul, he holds it, still sitting upon his stool, and they must hammer it themselves, he only with his little hammer knocking it sometimes into fashion. And if it be anything to be filed, he makes them go themselves and grind it upon a stone, that his labour of filing may be the less; and when they have done it as well as they can, he goes over it again with his file and finisheth it. That which makes these smiths thus stately is because the townspeople are compelled to go to their own smith, and none else. And if they should, that smith is liable to pay damages that should work for any in another smith's jurisdiction."

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPEANS IN INDIA

"GIVE them an inch and they will ask for an ell," is a well known saying of the natives of England. They have always tried to act upon it. Ever after the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, in 1813, in which the natives of England were granted the concession under certain conditions to freely come out to India, they commenced agitating to be further granted the privilege of colonizing India. Although it was mentioned by all the witnesses examined in 1813 before the Committees both of the Houses of Parliament, that the free resort of the British to India would cause oppression and unhappiness to the Indians, yet, in order "to promote the happiness" of those dusky people, the British were granted, to a certain measure, the concession which they had been clamouring for. But the concession was not deemed sufficient for them. So they commenced agitating for the colonization of India. And unhappily for India, some of the highest Anglo-Indian authorities of those days, lent their support to this agitation. Thus Sir Charles T. Metcalfe in a Minute, dated 19th Feb., 1829, wrote:—

"Concurring cordially in the proposition for extending to Europeans, engaged in the cultivation of indigo, and in other speculations, the privileges already granted to coffee planters, I beg leave to submit my reasons for advocating that proceeding; as I am not quite satisfied with those stated in the Resolution of Government."

"I have long lamented that our countrymen in India are excluded from the possession of land, and other ordinary rights of peaceable subjects.

"I believe that the existence of these restrictions impedes the prosperity of our Indian Empire, and of course, that their removal would tend to promote it.

"I am also of opinion that their abolition is necessary for that progressive increase of revenue, without which our income cannot keep pace with the continually increasing expense of our establishments.

"*I am further convinced that our possession of India must always be precarious, unless we take root by having an influential portion of the population attached to our Government by common interests and sympathies.*

"Every measure, therefore, which is calculated to facilitate the settlement of our countrymen in India, and to remove the obstructions by which it is impeded, must, I conceive, conduce to the stability of our rule, and to the welfare of the people subject to our dominion.

"The proceeding now adopted being a step forward in what appears to me to be the right course, has my hearty concurrence."

Lord William Bentinck was also of the same opinion as expressed in his Minute, dated 30th May, 1829.

"The sentiments expressed by Sir Charles Metcalfe have my entire concurrence; and when he adopted the recent Resolution to permit the occupancy of land by Europeans, it was by no means my intention to rest upon that measure as a final one, still less that the grounds assigned for its adoption should be regarded as embracing the general question of the policy to be observed in respect to British settlers. Believing the diffusion of European knowledge and morals among the people of India to be essential to their well being and convinced that the development of the natural resources of the country depends mainly on the introduction of European capital and skill, it has always been my wish and intention that the above question should be fully considered and discussed, and that the result of our inquiries and deliberations should be submitted at an early period to the authorities at home. But the resolution referred to did not seem to require that we should enter upon so wide a field; our immediate purpose was merely to enlarge the operation of certain rules already partially in force, and the effect of our determination will only be to permit that which is now done covertly, to be done openly. * *

"We need not, I imagine, use any laboured argument to prove that it would be infinitely advantageous for India to borrow largely in arts and knowledge from England. * * Nor will it, I conceive, be doubted that the diffusion of useful knowledge, and its application to the arts and business of life, must be comparatively tardy, unless we add to precept the example of Europeans, mingling familiarly with the natives in the course of their profession, and practically demonstrating by daily recurring evidence the nature and the value of the principles we desire to inculcate, and of the plans we seek to have adopted. It seems to be almost equally plain, that independently of their influencing the native community in this way, various and important national advantages will result from there being a considerable body of our countrymen, and their descendants, settled in the country. To question it is to deny the superiority which has gained us the dominion of India: it is to doubt whether national character has any effect on national wealth, strength and good Government: it is to shut our eyes to all the perils and difficulties of our situation: it is to hold as nothing community of language, sentiment and

interest, between the Government and the governed: it is to disregard the evidence afforded by every corner of the globe in which the British flag is hoisted: it is to tell our merchants and our manufacturers that the habits of a people go for nothing in creating a market, and that enterprise, skill and capital, and the credit which creates capital, are of no avail in the production of commodities.

"* * * * Is there anywhere the prospect of our obtaining, in a season of exigency, that co-operation which a community, not avowedly hostile, ought to afford to its rulers? Is it not rather true that we are the objects of dislike to the bulk of those classes who possess the influence, courage and vigour of character which would enable them to aid us? Do our institutions contain the seeds of self-improvement? Has it not rather been found that our difficulties increase with length of possession?"

* * * * *

"The answers to these questions must, I apprehend, be such as to imply that the present condition of things is far from being that with which we could justifiably sit down contented. They must equally, I am satisfied, if rendered in full sincerity and truth, evince that the required improvement can only be sought through the more extensive settlement of European British subjects, and their free admission to the possession of landed property."

It was from political considerations that Metcalfe and Bentinck favored the settlement of Europeans in India. This is evident from their Minutes. But it would not have served their purpose to have given out their real reasons for permitting Europeans to settle in India. So they had to use the mask of philanthropy to cover their ulterior designs. It was said that the natives of India would be benefited by the settlement of Europeans and that capital would flow into India to fertilise it. But these advantages were myths pure and simple. Mr. David Hill, on being examined before the Parliamentary Committee on 30th March 1832, was asked:—

"367. You are aware that the idea is entertained by many persons, that the introduction of European settlers into India is not only practicable but would be advantageous; are you able to state to the Committee any general ideas upon that subject?"

In reply, Mr. Hill said:—

"The advantages to arise from the settlement of Europeans in India have been wonderfully exaggerated; I estimate them very low indeed. The process used to go by the name of Colonization; now, I believe, the principal recommendations of the scheme are considered to be the transfer of British capital, and skill and enterprise, for the purposes of drawing forth the resources of India. I have no conception that any British capital would ever find its way to India: it never did when the temptation was much greater than it can now be expected to be; and the distance of our empire, the uncertain tenure by which we hold it, the alarms continually springing up as to events endangering its stability, will effectually prevent British capitalists from transferring their funds to India. In that case, there remain only the skill and enterprise of Englishmen. According to my conception, they will be very far behind the natives in most departments to which skill can be applied. There are physical difficulties in the way of their undertaking manual labour, which must exclude them from being agriculturists or mechanics in India; for I imagine that a farmer who never held the plough in his hand, and who was transferred to a country where the climate, and the system of agriculture and the products of the earth are all different from what he has been accustomed to, could never cope, in point of skill, with the natives of the country. I imagine that the ryots of India are much better husbandmen than European settlers would be. So it would be as to mechanics also. There remains only the object of stimulating and directing the exertions of the natives themselves; an object which falls very far short of the sanguine expectations of the advocates of the system of free resort of European settlers to India, and an object which, under the present system, seems to me to be attained to its full extent, or under the present system admits of being carried to any further extent which may be deemed necessary. Then there will arise objections to the system connected with the bad characters which would go: if none but good characters went, they would be doing harm to themselves, but would not do any harm to India. A man of good conduct and capacity could not injure India; but my impression is, that as it would be a bad speculation to the settlers, many would forfeit the good character they took out with them, and many others would find their way to India who were bad subjects, difficult to govern, and not capable of conferring any benefits on the country they visited."

The further questions on the subject and the answers which Mr. David Hill gave to them are reproduced below:—

"369. At what period was there more facility or temptation for exporting British capital into the provinces of India than at this moment?—When the rate of profit was much higher than it now is, or is likely ever to be again; when with the greatest ease 20 per cent. might be made in the money market of India, where five or six now is a fair remuneration.

"370. Did not the system of the Company, by impeding Europeans from settling in India, oppose obstructions to the introduction of European capital into that country?—Probably the obstructions to the resort of Europeans may, in some measure, have tended to prevent British capital from being transferred there; but I should think, if the inducements had been sufficient, there were no obstructions that would have been effectual.

"371. Are there now Europeans in the presidencies who, if greater facilities were allowed, would engage in agricultural or manufacturing speculations in the interior of the country?—I am not aware that there are, or that there is useful scope for a greater number. I think they would supplant better men in the persons of natives who are now employed in those pursuits.

"372. In point of fact, are there not many Europeans at the presidencies who are calling out for greater

facilities?—There are a great many more Europeans in India now than can find useful employment.

"373. Are they not cut off from a great variety of the employments of the country?—I think not: they are prevented from acquiring real landed property. * * * *

"376. When you say that in some cases Europeans, if allowed to go into the interior, might supplant the natives, how do you reconcile that statement with your former opinion, that the natives generally will be found to cope successfully with the Europeans in regard to the produce of the interior?—Still I conceive that through the patronage of their countrymen, connection by blood, or by friendship, or recommendation, they would be preferred to situations that might be more fitly occupied by natives. * * There are higher situations which are at present filled by natives that might be transferred to Europeans, through favour shown to them by their countrymen.

"377. WHERE DOES THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED BY THE INDIGO PLANTERS COME FROM?—IT IS ACCUMULATED IN INDIA EXCLUSIVELY."

Besides Mr. David Hill, several other witnesses stated also that no capital would be brought out from England to India. Thus Mr. W. B. Bayley, in his examination before the Parliamentary Committee on the 16th April 1832, in answer to question No. 919, said :—

"My opinion that no capital will be brought from England into India arises from little or none having been brought hitherto, even at periods when interest has been at a much higher rate than it now is."

Then he was asked :—

"920. Do you think more capital would not go to India if the restriction on Europeans resorting to India was altogether taken away?—I do not think that capital would be sent from England, but I think that capital which would be otherwise remitted to England would probably remain in India.

"921. Do you not think that Europeans without capital, persons of broken fortunes and character, might be tempted to go out as adventurers?—That is a mischief to be apprehended; * *"

Then in answer to a further question he said :—

"Europeans might be guilty of violent, insulting and offensive conduct, which though not perhaps punishable by law, might be extremely irritating and distressing to the natives."

Captain T. Macan also in his examination on 22nd March, 1832, was asked :—

"1435. Would Europeans be likely to invest their capital in works of that sort?—I think there is much error upon the subject of European capital in India.

"1436. Under the existing law that restricts intercourse with India, is it probable, in your opinion, that any companies would be found to undertake such works?—I think Europeans who have *acquired capital in India*, might undertake such [public] works, with proper encouragement; but I scarcely can anticipate so much enterprise and risk as to take capital from England to invest in such speculations; *in truth, capital is, I believe, never taken from England to India; it is made there, and remitted home.*"

It was a myth then that European settlers would bring any capital from England to India. Mr. Rickards truly said in his Evidence before the Commons' Committee on East India affairs, in 1830, that :—

"Any improvement which may have arisen in consequence of the introduction of British capital and enterprize into India, is nothing in comparison with what would be the case if the natives were sufficiently encouraged, and proper attention paid to their cultivation and improvement. India requires capital to bring forth her resources; but *the best and fittest capital for this purpose would be one of native growth*, and such a capital would be created if our institutions did not obstruct it." *

He also said :—

"In many branches of art also, their skill is unrivalled; several of their fabrics, such as muslins, shawls, embroidered silks, and pieces of workmanship in gold, silver and ivory, have never yet been equalled by British artists. In many other arts connected with the comforts and conveniences of life, the natives of India have in some made great progress, and in others attained perfection, without being in the smallest degree indebted to European patterns or examples. * * * *

"The natives are much given to commercial and industrious pursuits, and exceedingly well qualified to succeed in them. They are sufficiently commercial to answer the highest expectations that can be formed, or desired, in respect to trade between the two countries but our local institutions must be greatly altered before they can become wealthy or prosperous: if the condition of the natives, their habits, wants, rights, and interests were properly attended to, all the rest would follow." †

Regarding the native capital, Mr. Forbes also said :—

"The native capital is considerable, though it has not been increasing of late years, owing to over-taxation. The natives want encouragement to apply it."‡

According to General Lionel Smith :—

"The native merchants are not so prosperous as they were; *they* WERE *very rich.*" ‖

The Government of India of that period did all it could to prevent the natives of the country from accumulating capital. The land was the principal source of revenue to the Government and so it was very heavily assessed. This is borne out by the evidence of the witnesses examined before the Com-

* P. 308, Vol. I. (Public). Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the E. I. Coy. Published by order of the House of Commons, 1832.

† Loc. cit. p. 308.

‡ Loc. cit. p. 306.

‖ Loc. cit. p. 308.

mons' Committee on East India Affairs, in 1830. Thus M. Rickards said :—

"Without a suitable reform of the system of taxation, and a better administration of justice, the progress of prosperity among the natives cannot be great. Where the revenue is collected, as it is in India, on the principle of the government being entitled to one-half of the gross produce of the soil, and vast numbers of officers are employed in the realization of it, it is a moral impossibility for any people whatever to live or prosper so as to admit of a very extensive commercial intercourse."

According to Mr. Mill,

"Generally in India more than enough has been collected by the government from the cultivators; * *"

Mr. Bracken said :—

"The large proportion of the gross produce, which the government take from the land, interferes with the rate at which the cultivators of the soil can borrow money."

Mr. Gordon said :—

"The natives of the Coromandel Coast would not be benefited by free trade and settlement, if the same revenue system were enforced. In taking the land tax, as little as possible is left for the subsistence of the people. It is impossible to look for improvement in any way, unless there is a moderate assessment of the land."

Mr. Chaplin said :—

"Almost the only thing to be done to improve the character and condition of the inferior classes, is to lower the assessment, and fix it for a long period. By taking a moderate rent, we shall contribute more to the prosperity of the people, and to the suppression of crime, than by the most perfect code of regulations; * * *"

Had the suggestions of the abovementioned witnesses been acted upon there would have been no need of the so-called introduction of foreign capital into India. Permanent Settlement had been granted to Bengal and so, according to Mr. Mill,

"In Bengal there has been a considerable increase of capital and extension of cultivation." †

But to increase the prosperity or happiness of the natives of India, was not an object dear to the heart of the authorities. They wanted to increase the number of their own kith and kin in India and so they made use of the pretext that the European settlers would bring capital into this country.

In the Minute of Lord Bentinck, from which extracts have been given above, his lordship expressed his belief that "the diffusion of European knowledge and morals among the people of India" was "essential to their well being." It was one of his reasons for favoring the settlement of Europeans in this country. But what were the European morals which were held out before the natives to imitate? It was to substitute the luxurious and artificial existence of the Westerners for the plain and simple living of the Indians. It was to make drunkards of sober and abstemious Asiatics. Mr. Holt Mackenzie, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, on the 23rd February 1832, said :—

"I believe intercourse with Europeans leads to indulgence in the use of wine and spirits, which, though it may be lamented on the score of morals, must be beneficial to the revenue; their servants are generally better clothed, and the articles of clothing being subject to taxation, that would increase the revenue. * * * *

"Judging from Calcutta, there has been, I think a marked tendency among the natives to indulge in English luxuries; they have well-furnished houses, many wear watches, they are fond of carriages, and are understood to drink wines."

Yes, it gladdened the hearts of many a Christian Anglo-Indian, that the natives had taken to the drinking of wines. In his evidence before the Commons' Committee, on the 24th March 1832, Mr. Bracken said that

"Liquors,* in Calcutta are now consumed in large quantities by natives who can afford to purchase them."

In answer to another question, the same witness said :—

"I heard from a native shopkeeper in Calcutta, who is one of the largest retail shopkeepers, that his customers for wines, and brandy, and beer, were principally natives.

"1936. What should you say was the favorite wine among the natives?—Champaigne.

"1937. Formerly they did not consume any wine? —Very little, I believe.

"1938. Is it not contrary to their religion?—I do not know whether it is contrary to their religion, but it is contrary to their habits; * * It is not done openly, but when done it is a violation of their custom rather than of their religion."

The Christian Anglo-Indians were very glad that the heathens had taken to wine-drinking, because this was 'beneficial to the revenue'! Even Lord Bentinck was jubilant over the change that had come over those who were brought in contact with the Europeans. In the course of the Minute already referred to above, his Lordship wrote :—

"I need scarcely mention the increasing demand which almost all who possess the means evince, for

* Loc. cit. P. 306.

† *Ibid.*

various articles of convenience and luxury purely European; it is in many cases very remarkable. Even in the celebration of their most sacred festivals a great change is said to be perceptible in Calcutta. Much of what used, in old times, to be distributed among beggars and Brahmins is now in many instances devoted to the ostentatious entertainment of Europeans, and generally the amount expended in useless alms is stated to have been greatly curtailed."

What his Lordship considered a change for the better was decidedly a change for the worse. To replace the feeding of the beggars by the "ostentatious entertainment" of the rich White was certainly degradation and demoralization and not improvement of the native character. But then it was the policy of Lord Bentinck and others in high authority to denationalize the aristocracy of the country and to create a chasm and want of sympathy and good feeling between them and the masses of the people.

Then it was said that the skill of the European settlers would be beneficial to Indian agriculture. Dr. Nathaniel Wallich, Superintendent of the East India Company's Botanic Garden at Calcutta, in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, on 13th August 1832, was asked :—

"2341. What is your opinion with respect to the general character of the husbandry of Bengal?—I should say, that upon the whole, the husbandry of Bengal has in a great measure been misunderstood by the Europeans out of India. The Bengal husbandry, although in many respects extremely simple, and primeval in its mode and form, yet is not quite so low as people generally suppose it to be; and I have often found that very sudden innovations in them have never led to any good results. I have known, for instance, European iron ploughs introduced into Bengal with a view of superseding the extremely tedious and superficial turning of the ground by a common Bengal plough. But what has been the result? That the soil, which is extremely superficial, * * which was intended to be torn up, has generally received the admixture of the under soil, which has deteriorated it very much.

"2342. Do you consider that the husbandry is susceptible of any great improvement?—Certainly; but not to so great an extent as is generally imagined: for instance, the rice cultivation, I should think, if we were to live for another thousand years, we should hardly see any improvement in that branch of cultivation. Other cultivations are more or less susceptible of improvement, but not to that extent, that is generally supposed. The indigo plant, as it is now cultivated, (I do not speak of manufacture) is probably not susceptible of any great improvement."

But even assuming for the sake of argument that the settlement of Europeans in India would have improved agriculture, would that have been beneficial to India? This was very well answered by Mr. Thomas Fortescue, who appeared as a witness before the Commons' Committee, on the 17th April, 1832. He said :—

"There is, I believe, a strong opinion in the Indian service in favor of the introduction of Europeans, but it is to be considered whether the improvements in India shall be based upon its institutions, or sought for through our own. I think the natives of India are entitled to have their interests favoured in preference to those of this country. I look to the further introduction of Europeans, and the other arrangements that are going on, as tending ultimately to the abolition of the present laws of India, their language and religion too. There is no doubt that the intelligence of the Europeans and their skilful application of capital will very much improve the country at large, and in respect of cultivation and population, but I have great doubts *whether the result of all such improvements will not be vastly on the side of our own country.*"

Yes, by favouring the settlement of Europeans in India, the interests of the children of the soil were intended to be sacrificed for the benefit of the whites.

But the Charter Act of 1813 had sufficiently encouraged the influx of the whites to India. The natives of England however did not consider the provisions of that Act good enough for their purpose. Mr. T. Hyde Villiers, Secretary to the Commissioners for the affairs of India, in his circular letter dated India Boards, February 11th, 1832, included the following question :—

"4. The settlement of Europeans in India. Whether it has of late years been promoted or encouraged. What particular classes of persons should be particularly encouraged to proceed to India. What are the dangers to be guarded against in the admission without license of British settlers, and under what conditions Europeans should be allowed to settle in India."

Before proceeding to reproduce the replies of some of those to whom the circular letter was addressed, it is necessary to point out the defects in the above questions. It was not sufficient to know what had been done to promote or encourage the settlement of Europeans in India, but also how many natives of India, if any, had been polished off and launched into eternity, assaulted, maltreated and insulted by the European adventurers who had proceeded to India under the provisions of the Charter Act of 1813. The information on this subject should have been elicited by including it in the above questions. But probably it was not the desire of the authorities to protect Indians from the insults and injuries of the white settlers.

The circular letter above referred to was answered by four gentlemen. The most important reply was that of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone. He had risen from the lowest rung of the ladder of the Indian Civil Service to the Governorship of Bombay and so his opinion on the settlement of Europeans in India ought to have carried greater weight than that of any other person. He wrote :—

"I think the establishment of a colony in India would be an evil, because the increased numbers of Europeans, and their more frequent collisions with the natives, would render general those feelings of distinction between the two classes which seem to prevail in all other colonies.

"A much greater evil would be that a colony would draw off the attention of the Legislature from the natives, whose interests would never be separately considered, though they would often be directly opposed to those of the colonists. The danger of this undue attention to the European settlers exists even now when there are only 3,000 or 4,000 in all India.

"The unrestricted settlement of Europeans, though not sufficiently numerous to form a colony, would do much harm, from their getting into disputes with the natives, and thus rendering our government unpopular, even if they did not excite open disorders. The manners and habits of the lower orders would also be offensive to the natives, and would increase their dislike to the European character, while it diminished their respect for it.

"They would be turbulent and difficult for the Government to manage. The settlement of Europeans would likewise do much harm, and create much discontent, by supplanting the natives in the middle class of employments. This I should consider the greatest danger of all, if it were not that it might be guarded against as far as the public was concerned by legislative enactments.

"It does not require a very great number of Europeans to produce most of the ill consequences I have stated. Even when I speak of a colony, I do not suppose the present numbers (of 3,000 or 4,000) to be increased tenfold. The formation of such a colony as should be able to make head against a revolt of the natives I consider to be out of the question, both from the nature of the climate, and from the difficulty in finding room for them in a country like India, without pressing so much as to lead to insurrections and to their extirpation before they were strong enough to offer resistance."

Another gentleman whose name is not divulged in the pages of the Report, but who belonged to the Indian Civil Service, in reply to Mr. T. Hyde Villiers, wrote :—

"I am of opinion that the visits of merchants to India are advantageous; but, *with a view to preserve our Empire there*, no Europeans should be encouraged to settle in India. Without attempting to detail the many reasons which have led me to form this conclusion, I shall merely allude to the following obvious objections :—

1. Degeneracy, both moral and physical, seems inevitable when the inhabitants of northern climates become resident in tropical regions. * * * * 2. If English settlers were to obtain offices, it would displace the natives, * * for whom there is already so little encouragement. 3. They would probably be of such a class, that there would be frequent collision between them, and the civil authorities as well as the natives, (which the interior of a camp proves) which would add greatly to the business of the Courts, and prevent the possibility with justice of extending the system of having native instead of English Judges, as has been lately brought to the test of trial. 4. Finally there is not much field left for profitable labour in the present state of the country."

Mr. Sullivan of the Madras and Mr. Warden of the Bombay Civil Service were the two other gentlemen who replied to Mr. Hyde Villiers' circular letter. Both of them were in favour of the free settlement of Europeans in India.

The restrictions on those natives of England who were desirous of proceeding to India were very reasonable.

"When the Court comply with the application of a person wishing to proceed to India, they require him to enter into a regular covenant, with a penalty bond and two sureties, for all of which payment is required. The covenant confines him to a particular town or presidency. The charge on a covenant is 12 £s, of which 7 £s is for stamps, which would not be required if a simple permission to reside were given. For free merchant's indentures the charge is, £27 10*s*; free mariner's, £9 10*s*.

"No British subject can reside in India without a license from the East India Company; and no British subject, even with a license, can go beyond 10 miles of the Presidency without a new license. British subjects having licenses are liable to have them cancelled at the discretion of the different governments; and after two months' notice, to be deemed persons in India without a license. They must be furnished with a fresh license at every removal from district to district. There is no practical inconvenience in this, because the license is never refused; but there is some trouble, and a fee of 32 rupees is attached to each license.

"According to the East India calendar, the number of private British settlers in India was,

	1813.	1830.
Bengal ...	1,225	1,707
Madras ...	187	134
Bombay ...	469	308
	1,881	2,149

"Since 1821 the annual number of licenses is nearly doubled. * *

"The number of European settlers in Bengal has increased since the opening of the trade. * *

"The number of considerable European mercantile establishments at Bombay has, since 1826, increased from 5 to 10 or 12. There are very few British settlers in Bombay.

* * * *

"Throughout the Madras provinces, there are about 20 British-born subjects not in the Company's service, chiefly shop-keepers. The reason why there are so many more in Bengal is, that the Supreme Government have systematically been favorable to interlopers. The laws against free settlement are more rigorously executed at Madras than at Bengal, and still more so at Bombay. No country officer is allowed to sail out of Bombay without having free-mariner indentures; in Calcutta not one in a hundred has them. Regulations with respect to passports are very strict in the Madras territories. British subjects travelling without passports are considered as vagrants.

"British residents are required by regulation to furnish themselves with passports on proceeding into the interior, but the regulation is by no means strictly attended to.

"Persons do get out to India when refused a license by the Court, and reside unmolested. There are many respectable and industrious British subjects now in India without license. Many unlicensed persons reside undisturbed."*

From the above which is a summary of the evidence of several distinguished witnesses who appeared before the Commons' Committee on East India affairs, in 1830, it is quite clear that the Regulations regarding the resort of Europeans to India were not harsh and did not cause any inconvenience to those who wished to proceed to India to make their fortunes. Yet they agitated for the repeal of these regulations. They complained that

"The inconveniences and obstacles to which the European cultivator in India is subject are many; the prohibition to hold lands, the power of deportation vested in the Government, the state of the administration of justice, and the condition of the police. None can engage in the inland trade of salt, betelnut, tobacco or rice, except on account of the Company; and British subjects are not permitted to hold lands in property, lease or mortgage."†

Well, if the whites would not submit to the regulations, which were meant to protect the interests of the dark-skinned people of India, they could have stayed in their own country and need not have come out to India.

It was a wise regulation which prohibited the natives of England from holding land in India. Mr. David Hill, in his examination as a witness before the Commons' Committee on 30th March, 1832, was asked:—

"387. What is your idea with respect to giving Europeans power of holding land in India?—I see no possible benefit to accrue from it, and a great deal of embarassment. * * *

"389. Would a law authorising them to hold land in India produce any positive mischief?—According to my apprehension, it would. The English settlers belonging to the ruling party in the state, would have influence enough to have laws framed and executed so as to favor them at the expense of the land-holders, who belong to the conquered part of the community; and in that way I think it would be a serious evil to India, a wrong committed against the natives of that country, and for no advantage, as far as I am aware. They have the fruits of the land as it is; and, considering what physical disadvantages they labour under, and what political evils would ensue from allowing a free resort of Europeans to India, I think nothing would be gained, and only loss would be incurred by changing the law in that respect."

Equally wise was the regulation authorising the deportation of mischievous Europeans from India. Regulation III of 1818 was framed in order to deal with the Europeans let loose on India by the peace of 1815. It affected only the bad characters, yet the guilty conscience of the would-be settlers urged its repeal. Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, in his examination before the Commons' Committee on the 16th April, 1832, was asked:—

"1679. In how many cases has the extreme force of the law been called into action during your experience of Indian administration, or during your knowledge of it historically?—I only recollect five cases; * * * *

"1680. Do you conceive that power, the existence of which has been known only in the few cases to which you have called the attention of the Committee, has had any material effect in preventing the ingress of British capital and British enterprise into India, so far as capital and enterprise were required?—No; I do not think it has had any such effect, nor that it is calculated to have, because no one will go there under the anticipation of placing himself in a situation to incur that penalty."

So it was a pure myth to say that because there existed the Deportation Law, therefore Englishmen fought shy of bringing their capital to India.

Regarding the state of the administration of justice, and the condition of the police, which were considered to be obstacles to which the European cultivator in India was subject, it is worth while to quote the opinion of Mr. W. B. Bayley, who in his examination before the Commons' Committee on 16th April, 1832, said:—

"I think that we ought not to legislate with a special regard for Englishmen, and that the natives have a superior claim to consideration in questions of improving our system for the administration of justice in India. At the present moment foreign Europeans, Frenchmen, Dutchmen and Germans, of whom there are many individuals in the interior of our provinces, are subject to our laws and tribunals, civil and crimi-

* Pp. 316-317 of Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I. (Public) London, 1832.

† Loc. cit. p. 317.

nal, on precisely the same footing as the natives of India, and I have never heard of any serious complaints upon that point; * *"

In answer to a further question, he said :—

"I think that of late years those who were desirous of settling there have had little or no difficulty in doing so. The Government of Bengal has rarely, if ever, refused the application (however contrary to law) of individuals who wished to go into the interior of the country; and the Board of Control have, I believe, granted permission in instances in which it had been refused by the Court of Directors. My opinion that no capital will be brought from England into India arises from little or none having been brought hitherto, even at periods when interest has been at a much higher rate than it now is."

There existed every facility then for those natives of England who wished to settle in India and under the circumstances it is difficult to understand why they were clamoring for more privileges and greater encouragement.

From the manner in which the indigo factors behaved towards the natives of this country, the authorities should have done everything in their power to discourage Englishmen of that class from coming out to settle in India. The conduct of the indigo planters and factors should have been a warning—an object lesson, to teach the Indian authorities that it was highly undesirable to encourage natives of England to come out to India for purposes of exploitation. Of course there were apologists for the misconduct of the indigo factors. But those apologists were given to special pleading on behalf of their worthless clients. Thus Mr. Peter Auber in his examination before the Commons' Committee on the 29th March, 1832, was asked :—

"1557. It has been stated as one of the causes why Europeans have borne an inferior reputation in India, that the indigo factories managed by them have been necessarily left to an inferior class of persons, persons not qualified for so great a trust, the persons who own or support such factories not having been allowed to send home for any persons whom they thought likely to be good managers; can you state to the Committee any and what obstacles now existing which prevent the owners and supporters of of indigo factories from sending home for any persons whatever?"

Of course Mr. Peter Auber had no difficulty in exposing the fallacies (to use a mild expression) contained in the above question. He answered :—

"I am not aware of any restriction upon individuals who possess indigo manufactories in India from sending home for parties in any way; and I believe that, with comparatively few exceptions, all applications that have been made in this country by individuals to proceed to India as indigo planters, or to assist in indigo manufactories, have been complied with."

Then he was asked :—

"1558. Has the Court of Directors been in the habit of granting or refusing permission to persons to proceed to India, on their producing any applications from managers or owners of indigo factories in the East, desiring such persons to proceed to India in their employment?—I believe there is a Return before this Committee of the number of licenses granted by the Court of Directors, and it appears by that Return, that of the requests of parties to join indigo planters, from the year 1814 to the year 1831, 106 were granted by the Court of Directors. I think 11 parties were refused, of which 11, four were granted by the Board; but the number of indigo manufactories in India generally, comprising the whole of the country from Delhi to Calcutta, is about 899. The number of European proprietors is 119, and of European assistants about 354. The total Europeans connected with those, are 473."

Mr. David Hill, in his examination before the Commons' Committee on the 30th March, 1832, was asked :—

"391. Have many disputes arisen between the indigo planters and the natives?—There are constant disputes.

"392. What is that attributable to?—It is not easy to say; it seems to me very like the condition of society in Ireland, where the law derives no aid from popular feeling; there is continual warfare.

"393. Is it owing to the misconduct of the settlers?—That has only an accidental share in it; that is not the root of the evil. It seems to originate in the necessity of making advances to the poor cultivators; and then the produce, which ought to be delivered in return for those advances, is bought up by some interloper, and armed parties are taken out to carry it off by force, or repel the intruder. * * *

"395. Has the settlement of the indigo planters been productive of benefit to those portions of India where they are settled?—I have no means of knowing myself, but I have understood it has. The appearance of the country has improved; *I believe the condition of the people has not.*"

Mr. Neil Benjamin Edmonstone examined before the Commons' Committee on the 17th April, 1832, said :—

"It has always appeared to me that the admitting Europeans generally to hold lands as proprietors and renters in that country, would be calculated rather to interfere with and obstruct, than to encourage and promote the interests of the native landholders. * * They (Europeans) will become the rivals and competitors of the native landholders, and progressively supplant them in the possession of their lands. * * There must be a constant collision between them, as well as between the Europeans themselves and their respective agents and adherents; * * *

"Finding it difficult to describe concisely the facts represented in the extracts which I hold in my hand, I desire to refer to the detailed narrative contained in them, as bearing me out in the statement that I have given. 'As magistrate of Nuddea, (says Mr. Turnbull) I have had some opportunity of witnessing

the scenes of contention and strife ensuing from the various and conflicting interests to which that competition gave rise. The disorders which then prevailed in that and neighbouring indigo districts have, I believe, nothing abated to the present day, and they are certainly such as to call for the serious interposition of government. From the moment of ploughing the land and sowing the seed, to the season of reaping the crop, the whole district is thrown into a state of ferment; the most daring breaches of the peace are committed in the face of our police officers, and even of the magistrate himself. * * *

"The Magistrate of Dacca says, 'I will not here put on record acts which have come to my knowledge of the open daring violence directed to the destruction of rival factories; but will ask, where is the instance in this part of the country of the native Zemindar, who, unaided by European partners or influence, has erected indigo factories, and successfully carried on the speculation, without being in the end either entirely ruined or obliged to admit his powerful neighbour to share in his concern, or being himself perhaps cast into gaol for standing up in defence of his own rights?' Mr. Ross states, that 'armed men are kept by the planters to enforce the ryots' contracts'; and Mr. Sealy, another officer, speaks of 'the number of affrays that now annually take place for indigo lands, which are invariably attended with severe wounding, and frequently with loss of life, in consequence of the planters entertaining bodies of fighting men for the express purpose of fighting their battles on these occasions.' These are facts, independently of my own observation and reflection, on which my opinion of the inexpediency of admitting Europeans generally as settlers into the interior of the country, is mainly founded. * *"

In the face of the facts cited above, no encouragement should have been held out to natives of England to settle in India.

The military aspect of this question of the settlement of the English in India was also discussed by some of the military officers, to whom the following question was put :—

"Whether advantage or disadvantage to the public interests connected with the army might be expected from encouraging the settlement of British subjects in India, * *."

A synopsis of the replies is given in the military volume of the Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company in 1832, from which the following extracts are reproduced :—

"Colonel Limond thinks that 'the introduction of promiscuous settlers by bringing in collision the vices of our country, would be destructive of the impression on the mind of the Native of European superiority and perfection and ultimately, by the increase of that description of offspring, accelerate a crisis yet far distant.'

"Sir John Malcolm observes,—

'I cannot think that settlers in India would ever fill our ranks with recruits equal to those which are freshly imported from England; and there is no other mode in which I can contemplate any benefit to the public interests, as connected with the army, from such colonization.'

"Colonel Stannus remarks, that the danger resulting from colonization,—

'In enabling Native powers to attach Europeans to their service with greater ease than at present, is more of a political than a military question.' * *

" Lieut. Colonel Mayne,—

'I cannot see how any advantage to the public interests connected with the army, should be expected from encouraging the settlement of Europeans in India. A general colonization would endanger the safety of the Empire. Our strength is in the high opinion the Natives entertain of the European character; weaken that high opinion, and you undermine the foundation of our power.'

" Major Nutt says,—

'The permanent residence of British subjects in India, I am decidedly of opinion, should rather be discouraged than promoted. It must be recollected that the soil in India is not like that of New South Wales, unappropriated, but, generally speaking, private property, and therefore not at the disposal of Government. It should also be our policy gradually to introduce the Natives of the country into the administration of its affairs, which would never be accomplished, at least amicably, if Europeans were allowed to settle there in any considerable number, as they would naturally look, and soon become clamorous, for the introduction of English laws and an English legislative assembly, to the exclusion or suppression of the Hindoos and Mahomedans. The Anglo-Indians would also desire to have their representatives, and share in the government, and hence would probably ensue a contest that would be alike fatal to the interests of all, and possibly the existence of two parties out of three'."

Of all the replies given, that of Captain James Grant-Duff, the well-known author of the History of the Marathas deserved careful consideration. He wrote :—

" The settlement of British subjects in India * * is one of deep interest to the welfare of the natives generally, and I cannot see how the British nation could sanction unrestricted intercourse without danger to the permanency of its own dominion, and injustice to the natives—an injustice extending to the infraction of treaties and the usurpation of individual rights. * * * If we give way to clamour or sophistry on this great question, shall we not justify the character for selfishness with which we shall be branded; and ultimately lament our weakness in the ruin of a country, which, if we properly support and foster it, will be a mine of unfailing prosperity to Britain.

" I would recommend that the natives themselves be consulted on the subject,

"——I have heard it observed, that our greatest dangers in India are to be apprehended from three causes: first, disaffection of our Native Troops; second, the increasing number of half-castes; third, Russian invasion. * * *

" It is, perhaps, absurd to reply to such very shallow assertions as some of these. General disaffection amongst our Native troops is only to be dreaded by excitement on the subject of their religious prejudices, or a reduction of their pay. Colonisation is more

likely to engender the first than to repress it; for, if once aroused by injudicious zeal, ill-timed discussions and publications, or any other cause, it is the extreme of folly to suppose the colonists a counterpoise; they might as well talk of extinguishing a conflagration in the forests of the Western Ghauts with a bucket of Thames water, or of smothering the eruption of a volcano by the fire of a blank cartridge.

"As to the second, it is ludicrous to aver, that the inconvenience (for I do not in a long period estimate it as a danger) would not, in every view, be increased; and that the evil would not, in fact, be augmented by the colonists themselves, owing to their communion of interests with those East Indians.

"With regard to the third, what revolutions must happen before the many generations of colonists, having of course by various means ejected or bought out the Natives of India from the more productive lands; what time must elapse before they could become the defenders of the banks of the Indus? Moreover, after having admitted all these moral impossibilities, let us advert to the probablity, nay certainty, of our European colonists becoming a poor, lank, puny race, inferior both to Natives and half-castes.

"As to an America, as no one at least avows his wish for extirpation, we may suppose they contemplate something rather resembling a Spanish than an English America; but what is there in the condition of that society so desirable? I mean, not in allusion to what they have escaped, but in comparison with what is, or will be, the rule of British India. I say *will be*, because in regard to a more liberal importation of its products to the country, which has ruined its manufactures and is draining its resources, a change *must* be made. It were, indeed barbarous to think otherwise; regardless of minor obstacles it is clearly the bounden duty of Britain to adopt those measures from which must emanate a paramount benefit to the common subjects of its realm. If, as is true, circumstances have left there great interests unrepresented and unprotected, it would be unfair and unmanly, unlike generous and honest England, to permit them to be sacrificed. That statesman adorns the annals of his country, and places an unfading laurel on his brow, who, after making himself master of the subject, in defiance of short-sighted views and selfish interests, shall successfully advocate and protect the real rights of India's Natives. * * *

"I shall therefore only remark of colonists that, before they become the defenders of the commonwealth, they generally shake off the mother-country. As colonists, so far from standing forth as champions when the existing government is in any real jeopardy, they merely look to the preservation of person and property, and if they can, of laws. Like the passive Hindoo cultivator, they submit their necks to the yoke, on the best terms they can obtain from the victors."

But that the settlement of the English in India was to be encouraged by all means was a foregone conclusion with the authorities, and so all the weighty and reasonable arguments urged against the measure were not paid any attention to. It was also from political motives that they were influenced to favor the scheme of the settlement of the natives of England in India. The minutes of Metcalfe and Bentinck, extracts from which have been given above, support this view. Mr. Holt Mackenzie also in his examination before the Commons' Committee on the 23rd Feb., 1832, said that the European settlers in India

"would be very useful agents of police. They would be centres of information we now want, and would have great influence over those connected with them. They would be bound to us by a common feeling, * *." *

The political considerations prevailed, and in the Charter Act of 1833 were added sections 81 and 82, which declared:—

"And be it enacted, that the said Governor-General in Council shall, and he is hereby required. as soon as conveniently may be, to make Laws or Regulations, providing for the prevention or punishment of the illicit entrance into or residence in the said territtories of persons not authorized to enter or reside therein.

"And whereas the removal of restrictions on the intercourse of Europeans with the said territories will render it necessary to provide against any mischiefs or dangers that may arise therefrom, be it therefore enacted, that the said Governor-General in Council shall and he is hereby required, by Laws or Regulations, to provide with all convenient speed for the protection of the Natives of the said territories from insult and outrage in their persons, religions, or opinions."

The license being removed, great encouragement was thus given to the settlement in India by the adventurers of England to whose tender mercies the children of the Indian soil were exposed. The increase in the number of crimes against the persons, if not the property, of the people of India by Europeans may be said to date from this period† and for this state of affairs the poor natives of India have to thank to a great measure Bentinck and Metcalfe.

* P: 12 of Vol. II. (Finance).

† In his speech on the Government of India delivered in the House of Commons on the 10th of July, 1833, Macaulay said:—

"Next to the opening of the China trade, Sir, the change most eagerly demanded by the English people was, that the restrictions on the admission of Europeans to India should be removed. In this change there are undoubtedly very great advantages. I cannot deny, however, that the advantages are attend with some danger.

"The danger is that the new comers, belonging to the ruling nation, resembling in colour, in language, in manners, those who hold supreme military and political power, and differing in all these respects from the great mass of the population, may consider themselves a superior class, and may trample on the indigenous race. Hitherto there have been strong restraints on Europeans resident in India Licenses were not easily obtained. Those residents who were in the service of the Company had obvious motives for conducting themselves with propriety. * * Even those who were not in the public service were subject to the formidable power which the Government possessed of banishing them at its pleasure.

"The license of the Government will no longer be necessary to persons who desire to reside in the settled provinces of India. The power of arbitrary deportation is withdrawn. Unless, therefore, we mean to leave the natives exposed to the tyranny and insolence of every profligate adventurer who may visit the East, we must place the European under the same power which legislates for the Hindoo."

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN EDUCATION

THE present year—the Jubilee year of Calcutta University—marks in all probability the parting of the ways for Educated India. It may be safely predicted that changes of a radical nature will be put forward and carried out in the next few years either inside our Universities, or, if that be found impossible, outside their sphere altogether. Dissatisfaction with present results is becoming more and more expressed, not only by Indian but also by English leaders of opinion. When authorities of eminence, such as Sir Henry Craik on the one hand and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose on the other, to mention two names only, agree that the system now in vogue is most seriously defective, it is clear that an overhauling must take place and new methods be introduced. The National Education movement, undertaken with such vigour in Bengal, is itself a clear indication of the turning of the tide. The interesting experiment of the Arya Samaj Gurukula at Hardwar is an example in another direction of the new spirit that is abroad. The practical question must be faced in earnest,—how can the best results that have been achieved be preserved, and at the same time full scope for development be given to the new forces.

The present article is fragmentary and sets forward for consideration detached comments rather than attempts a full discussion. It deals with underlying principles rather than points out practical remedies. The comments start from a passage in Seeley's 'Expansion' which deeply interested me long ago and has a still greater interest to-day. The passage is long, but it makes the historical setting so clear, that I shall abbreviate it but little in quotation. It must be remembered that Seeley was writing more than twenty years ago, when very few writers in England realised the true position of India in 'world-politics'. Seeley begins—

> Were we not bound by a sort of tacit contract to hold our own views of civilisation in abeyance in framing our Indian Educational policy....This view was the more winning as the new and mysterious world of Sanskrit learning was revealing itself to the first generations of Anglo-Indians. They were under the charm of a remote philosophy and a fantastic history. They were, as it was said, Brahminised and would not hear of admitting into their enchanted enclosure either the Christianity or the learning of the West....We were gradually led to give up this view and to stand out boldly as teachers and civilizers. The change began in 1813 when on the renewal of the Company's Charter a sum was directed to be appropriated to the revival of learning and the introduction of useful arts and sciences. Over this enactment an Education Committee fought for twenty years. Were we to use our own judgments or were we to understand learning and science in the Oriental sense? Were we to teach Sanskrit and Arabic, —or English?"

Seeley continues—

> *"Never on this earth was a more momentous question discussed.* A famous man was on the spot to give lustre to and take lustre from a memorable controversy. It was Macaulay's Minute that decided the question in favour of English. Only remark that a strange oversight was made! The question was discussed as though the choice lay between teaching Sanskrit and Arabic on the one hand, or English on the other. Now, all these languages alike are to the mass of the population utterly strange. Arabic and English are foreign; and Sanskrit is to the Hindus what Latin is to the natives of Europe. It is the original language out of which the principal spoken languages have been formed, but it is dead....Now over Sanskrit, Macaulay had an easy victory. But why should there be no choice but between dead languages? Under some vague impression that the Vernaculars were too rude to be made the vehicles of Science and Philosophy, Macaulay almost refuses to consider them: but against these his arguments in favour of English would have been powerless. But though this great oversight was made, the decision to which Macaulay's Minute led remains the great landmark in the History of our Empire considered as an institute of civilisation. It marks the moment when we deliberately recognized that a function had devolved on us in Asia, similar to that which Rome fulfilled in Europe.

Four points call for special comment in the above passage.

(i) Note what stress a scientific historian lays upon the decision made. I confess that, when I first read the statement 'never on this earth was a more momentous question discussed' I wondered at the unique importance given by Seeley to the event; but I am not so inclined to marvel now,

though, as will be seen later, my own feelings as to the benefits to India involved would be much more qualified than his. The relation of East and West is probably the greatest 'world-question' of the future. Broadly speaking there are two types, and two types only, of civilisation, which go back to a remote antiquity and still survive to-day. On the one hand, there is that which the West has inherited from Greece, Rome and Judaea: on the other, there is that which the East has inherited, in its most vital relations, from India.* India may have fallen on evil days, but she has been in the past and will be in the future, the Thinker of Asia, and it is Thought which ultimately rules. Though, for the present, the contact between East and West is more noticeable on its practical and material side, this cannot last. The greater and more permanent contact, the contact of principles and ideas, is already coming into prominence, and the future resultant for the human race will depend more on the quality and character of the Indian contribution of thought, than on the material development of Japan. Now that the whole East is awakening under the impulse of the new national spirit, we can see with some clearness the wonderful future before Asia—greater, it may be, than her own wonderful past,—but when Seeley wrote in 1885, Japan was still an unknown quantity and India had but few signs of a great national uprising. His estimate therefore of the world-importance of an educational decision in India ("never on this earth was a more momentous question discussed") amounted to a prophecy which is now being fulfilled. It is true that Seeley's imagination was mainly attracted by the benefits to India which were to flow from Western civilisation, and that he hardly hints at the other side of the picture; still he had the vision of a world-problem, of which India was the centre, and for this reason the second part of his 'Expansion', though written more than twenty years ago, is of fresh and living interest to-day.

(ii) Of all the great Englishmen of last century Macaulay was, in many ways, most under the spell of the one-sided material progress of the West, and therefore least capable of judging at its true value Eastern culture and philosophy. His knowledge of India was that of a pamphleteer rather than a scholar. No one who has read his essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, with their inaccuracies of detail, their one-sided views and harsh and supercilious judgments of Indian character, could doubt that such an essayist was treading on dangerous ground, when he undertook to decide the delicate problem of the higher education of a country like India. We could be almost certain beforehand that there would be, in his Minute, that contempt for Eastern culture, which is so paralysing to a Western mind—and such we find to be the case. The illustrious critic, whose knowledge of Sanskrit was second hand and very second rate, regarded himself as quite competent to sit in judgment on the whole range of Sanskrit Literature, which he had never studied, and to sum up its demerits in a sarcastic paragraph. Feeble as this judgment was, it was yet powerful enough to carry conviction at the time; and even Seeley, writing fifty years later, does not see clearly that its deficiency lay rather in its contempt of the East than its neglect of the Vernaculars. But the revenges of time were bound to come sooner or later. Western scholars to-day, who have received a thorough training in Oriental languages, have not failed to point out the utter inadequacy of Macaulay's estimate of their contents. I can vividly remember in a Fellow's Common Room at Cambridge the heat of a kindly Professor at the mention of Macaulay's name in this connexion. 'Macaulay', he cried, 'Macaulay! The Philistine! It was a sad day when he set foot in India and posed as an authority on Eastern Literature, trying to turn the Garden of the East into a wilderness of second-hand London Universities!" It may not be necessary to agree with this academic after-dinner sentiment. India owes too much to the generous liberalism of the man, who looked forward with joy to the time of her independence as "the proudest day in English History," not to forgive a mistaken literary judgment, or even a vulgar and cruel reference to the most intellectual of Indian races. The study of English—even a one-sided study—was after all, at that critical moment of great importance, if Indian

* Cf. a remarkble paper by Mr. J. N. Farquhar of Calcutta in the April number of the 'Hindustan Review' entitled 'The Influence of India on Japan.'

national and political aspiration was to be awakened. A violent remedy is sometimes necessary to cope with a violent disease, and Indian national life had sunk to so low an ebb that nothing less than a shock from without could revive it. We may regret the excessive 'Anglicising' that followed and the neglect of India's own wealth of learning in the scramble for western knowledge. We may regret above all the somewhat sordid, mercenary tone which came over Indian Education under the new conditions and the office-seeking that ensued and set the tone and type. These are serious evils and if no new spirit had arisen in the land their bad effects might have been irremediable. But the seed was being sown at the same time of national aspiration and and desire for social and moral freedom, and the great awakening of educated India came at last. The new spirit that is now abroad is correcting and destroying the evil and is producing a younger generation, more earnest, less mercenary, more patriotic: it is also sending Indians back to their own national history with a great and strong enthusiasm which did not exist in earlier days. It is very noticeable to-day that the most thoroughly English-educated Indian is frequently the most keenly awake to the new national spirit. Theoretically Macaulay's position was one-sided, practically it was probably the right one for the time.

(iii) Seeley's comparison between British India and the Roman world is instructive, though not perhaps in the sense he intended. A great deal of new light has been thrown upon the effects of Roman Education in the Provinces by historians since Seeley's time and there has now been made clear a darker side of the picture which Seeley hardly realized. As a matter of fact Rome's method of education in her dependencies contains one of the most startling warnings in history as to the danger of Imperialism. A very brief summary is all that can here be attempted.

The Roman educational system was very wide-spread indeed in the first three centuries of the present era. Small villages and country districts boasted of their grammar-schools, and all the larger towns were College centres. The education given was State-aided, purely secular, and devoid of local and national traditions. It was penetrated through and through with the glorification of Rome and Roman Ideals. It prepared for the Roman provincial service and the Roman Bar. Latin was the medium of teaching throughout. 'Rhetoric', which might almost be translated 'Roman culture,' was the chief subject of study and a knowledge of Roman Literature was essential. The training was entirely on the Arts' side; there was nothing industrial, technical or scientific. This system, as it spread like a net-work over the conquered countries, united the Briton, Gaul, Spaniard and African by common interests and made them Romanized to a remarkable degree. The effects of this were twofold and should be carefully noted. (a) The educated classes in the Provinces became more and more separated from their own countrymen. They gradually lapsed into Roman ways and when they entered Roman service adopted as far as possible Roman names and struggled for Roman titles. So taken up were they with Roman culture and Roman ideas, that they could not even look forward to a resurrection of their own countries. They wrote bad complimentary verses to one another in Latin, while their own people were sinking deeper and deeper into debt and servitude. The artificial culture, called Romania, spread like a hard crust over them, and all national, as distinct from imperial sentiment, decayed. (b) Owing to the exotic nature of the education given and its lack of appeal to indigenous instincts, the highest talents of the conquered Provincials became sterilised and unfruitful. An imitation of Roman manners gave a superficial appearance of culture, but did very little to improve character. Morals sank to a low ebb beneath a covering of outward refinement. "The Romans schools in the Provinces" says Bigg, "aimed at producing good Government Officials; and the Officials whom they sent forth in crowds were corrupt, insolent, servile and incapable. They aimed at producing poets, historians, orators and men of letters. *Yet the more they perfected their system, the more did Art and Learning decline*.....What was wanted was a Literature of the people. There were plenty of men who might have written it, but they were condemned to silence by the tyranny of this windy, vapouring 'Rhetoric.'" The writer goes on to point out how the remedy

came at last from the rising spirit among the common people themselves and the spread of a new religion, Christianity, which appealed primarily to the democratic side of provincial life and was independent of State control.

The above picture is of course inadequate as a strict parallel. The Briton and Gaul had no great treasures in their past history such as India possesses. But the danger of an education on imperial rather than on national lines is one that all may read in the decline and fall of Rome. We can see vividly the evils of a culture which, however civilized, is yet exotic. We can see the danger of a system, which is both secular in its religious bearing and neglectful of all local and national traditions. We can see the harmful effect produced by cutting off the educated classes from their own countrymen and divorcing them from the forces of democracy, which are ever fresh and inspiring.

(iv) Seeley's criticism of Macaulay, for his neglect of the Indian vernaculars, contains a considerable amount of truth and as the area of education extends, this question will become more prominent. It will probably be found that primary, industrial and technical education can be carried on among the masses entirely in the vernaculars. Japan has already gone still further and acclimatized European scientific terms in her own language. The whole modern teaching of Japan is given in Japanese. In Europe also scientific knowledge has become, through abundant translation, international. If it were only the question of translation, India herself might change her English vehicle of instruction, as soon as the necessary translations could be prepared. But there are other issues involved which cannot be so lightly settled. If an Indian national sentiment is to be built up, the political and national ideas of the West must be learnt at first hand; above all, a unification of the educated classes by means of a common language must be effected. India is not like Japan, a single race with a single language, but a land of conflicting races and creeds. For present practical purposes English is the *lingua franca*, and there is no more convenient instrument of communication. Theoretically, as a wholly foreign language, English is very defective; practically, as the common factor in a multitude of competing interests, it is found indispensable. Macaulay's mistake was not so much the neglect of the vernaculars, which Seeley criticises, as the neglect of Indian tradition. The evils of our present education are due, not so much to the vehicle of English as to the English 'atmosphere' which pervades that education. A union of Eastern and Western culture should have been essayed. Macaulay proposed instead a dominance of the West. He treated India as a *tabula rasa*, a blank page, to be filled up with the new writing from Europe. But India is no blank page; India is rather an illuminated manuscript, whose well worn leaves are rich with the spoils of time and inscribed with the wisdom of the ages. To neglect the past in India is to neglect the deepest springs of national life and to place the whole fabric of instruction on an insecure foundation.

Three further comments and comparisons suggest themselves, arising out of what has been already written.

(i) The use of past traditions and indigenous instincts, which Macaulay did not seem to understand or appreciate, is wholly in accord with the best modern theory of teaching. We have got past the early Victorian ideas which flourished in Macaulay's time;—though, alas! in India, as Sir Henry Craik at once noticed, very little advance in educational theory seems to have been made. Modern Education in progressive countries is no longer carried on in the hard, formal groove of unintelligible rules and grammars, which are of no living interest to the pupil; but on the contrary, everything is done, from the kindergarten stage onwards, to develop the pupil's latent instincts and attractions. The teaching given is in every way suited to the environment of the taught. This, translated into Indian terms, would imply an education in which national and racial traditions were used to the uttermost, instead of being neglected altogether, or brought into the course in a perfunctory and artificial way. The true centre of appeal should be found in those very race-impulses and propensities of the Indian student which are his birth-right and possession. This might, to some degree, have been difficult in the past, when there were great internal differences and sharp divisions among Indians themselves. But at a time like the present,

when the younger generation in our Colleges is stirred by a common hope and fired with a common enthusiasm, when the thought of India, the motherland, has become a passion in student life, obliterating caste and creed distinctions,it is an unpardonable educational folly to fail to utilize these instincts in teaching, and to neglect to build up both character and learning by means of their inspiration. It is also a wrong done to India of the future, for which no efficiency in other directions can atone.

(ii) There is a remarkable little book by Froude called 'The Life and Letters of Erasmus', which every Indian, who longs to see his country break through the present fetters of superstition and custom, should read. He will find in it the story of the struggle, by which the uneducated and superstitious masses of Europe won their way to the light.* One of the striking points brought out by Froude and other writers is this, that the stimulus of a new foreign literature, such as Greek and Latin, brought with it new principles which made the old superstitions untenable and the old corrupt customs unbearable. This breakdown of the old system of ideas by means of the Renaissance was followed by an awakening of the middle classes of Europe and issued in a revival of national life. With the revival of the latter, the Vernaculars of Europe, which had been for a time over-shadowed by the cult of Greek and Latin, themselves revived and produced a noble Literature of the People. It would appear in certain directions that a similar process is going on in India today. To take the example of a single Province,—Bengal, which was most quickened originally by the English Renaissance, has witnessed a singular intellectual awakening of her middle classes. This has been followed by a no less remarkable stimulus to her national life, and this in turn has been followed by a revival of her own vernacular, Bengali, producing a vigorous growth of indigenous literature, music and art. May it not happen that the very impact of English will produce, by way of reaction, a revival in the great Indian Vernaculars, painlessly destroying at the same time the mere local dialects which are not worthy to survive?

(iii) To turn to a comparison nearer to hand than mediaeval Europe. Those who have read Mr. Justice Ranade's 'Indian Economics' will remember a chapter on the Dutch System of Economic development in Java, which presents many points of economic contrast with India. On the educational side a contrast equally striking may be drawn with different results. During the last century the experiment has been tried in Java of preventing, or at least retarding as far as possible, the spread of the Dutch language, and allowing things to proceed on what may be called the old lines. Outside Batavia the use of Dutch is still not common. I had heard of the fact and had often wished to obtain first-hand information with regard to the results of the experiment. But there is very little accessible literature on the subject, and Java lies outside the beaten track of travellers from the West. Fortunately I had the privilege recently of entertaining a Danish Professor, who has made a considerable stay in Java for the purposes of social study, and he was able to give me the comparison which I needed. I should mention first that he took no optimistic view of India's economic situation; on that side he would probably agree with Mr. Ranade's criticisms. He felt, as few foreigners are able to feel, the poverty-stricken condition of the Indian agriculturist, and he held no brief for the British Government. But with respect to intellectual and political progress, he regarded India as at least fifty years ahead of Java. He found on that island, that, in spite of considerable trade and commerce with the outside world, the awakening of the East had only been dimly felt. The enthusiasm over the events of the past five years in Asia had been deadened by the lack of western culture and western political ideas, and the old indigenous life was not strong enough, in and by itself, to pierce through the hard surface of the decay of the past. As I listened to the Danish Professor, I could not help speculating as to what would have been the result in India, if the English language and literature had been excluded, as much as possible, as a vehicle of education. Would the 'Garden of the East,' of which my friend in Cambridge

* A fuller and more careful picture is given in the 'Renaissance' Chapters in Creighton's 'History of the Papacy during the Reformation.' Lord Acton's 'Lectures on Modern Europe' also sketch with a master's hand the growth of free institutions.

spoke, have become more fragrant and fertile, or would a growth of weeds have choked the flowers? Would the indigenous life of India, without the stimulus of English, have broken through the untilled and unweeded soil, or would there have been still further decay? Would progress in the long run have been quicker or slower? The analogy of Java is of course incomplete, for Java has never possessed such a history as India. Yet at the same time there are some fair grounds of comparison; and there is very much to support the view that India has gained more than she has lost by the forceful impact of a foreign tongue, and that to-day she would be nationally and politically less active and advanced, if English education had been excluded. Her true life has responded to the stimulus, however roughly applied, and her innate vigour has been too intense to go under and succumb. Now with pulses quickened and with new blood coursing through her veins, she is rapidly recovering her own intellectual domains and rediscovering and appreciating her own past intellectual triumphs.

It will be seen from the above comments that my own sympathies are committed, in spite of drawbacks which cannot be overlooked, to a continuance of English as the main instrument of Indian Education in the immediate future. There is no logical necessity that English, if used more and more freely as a vehicle of speech, should be itself a denationalizing factor. Many of the most patriotic races, such as the Swiss, are bilingual, and to most Indians, with their remarkable language capacity, a second language is no great difficulty. In Madras English is spoken even by the coolies in the street and yet Madras is noted for its conservatism and tenacity of custom. In Bengal, English has become a unique vehicle for the spread of national ideas and the Vernacular has in no way suffered. In Bombay English has become the common language of immense business and commercial transactions. The United Provinces and the Panjab are rapidly taking to English as the new means of communication with the rest of India. The old 'Anglicising' days are now a thing of the past—the days when to become as 'English' as possible and ape the manners of an Englishman and talk of England as 'home' was considered in many quarters to be the high-water mark of Indian culture. Indeed, the danger of such 'Anglicising' is not now so great among the English-educated as among those who have only received a smattering of education and are not alive to the new ideals. Who has not known Indians, who thought in English, wrote in English, spoke in English as easily as in their mother-tongue, and yet who were Indian through and through and most deeply imbued with the national spirit? On the other hand who has not known Indians of little education who could not write or speak a word of English, and yet whose thoughts had so little moved with the times that they never seemed to rise beyond flattery towards officials and acts which degraded their own country? By this it is not for a moment implied that the dangers of denationalization are over, even among the thinking educated classes. A number of English-educated Indians to-day, far too large to contemplate with equanimity, still fail to respond to the new spirit. Nevertheless it may safely be said that the number is decreasing, and that the enthusiasm of nationality is stronger in the young generation than in the old.

But this enthusiasm needs guidance; and herein lies the great failure of our present English education. Young India asks for the bread of sympathetic national teaching and it is given the stone of cold unsympathetic neglect. It is indeed one of the most distressing features of the times, a fact which shows how painfully out of touch the educational authorities have become with the emotion and thought of the country, that in the face of the new forces which have arisen, they have nothing more to offer than generalities about students not taking part in politics. One hoped that constructive measures would have been taken to meet the new conditions, but as yet nothing positive or constructive has appeared, and a policy of drift, if it deserves to be termed a policy, is the only thing apparent. In the majority of schools and colleges a conspiracy of silence is maintained between teachers and students on matters of most vital interest. This can bode no good and can only end in divorcing education from life. What is needed instead of this negative position, which

leaves no room for sympathy, guidance or instruction, is that Indian teaching should be as frankly patriotic in its tone and character in India as English teaching is in England; that boys should be taught positively and systematically, as one of their first duties, to love their country, and should be sympathetically guided in the principles of a reasoned and intelligent patriotism. At present they are far too often led to look upon their teachers with suspicion and distrust, because they do not lead them, or even speak to them, on such subjects.

If instruction is to be carried on with that sympathy and *rapport* with the pupil which modern educational theory requires; if India's great and distinctive contribution to the world of thought is not to be stifled in its new birth; if the budding hopes of a great Indian future are not ruthlessly to be crushed, then reform must be undertaken on what may be called 'national' lines. From the primary stage onwards a revision and re-writing of text-books will be needed —a series of 'Readers,' Histories, etc., which do not, as is too often now the case, depreciate the pupil's ideas of his own country, in order to make him appreciate another.* But above all and beyond all there would be the need of Teachers, whose hearts were with their pupils, who would not look upon their work as a drudgery and upon India as a place of exile. This would mean and should rightly mean, that Indians themselves would be more and more entrusted with the work and given more responsibility, both in reforming the present system and laying down new lines of advance.

I am painfully aware that the title of this paper fails to express its contents, and that the future of Indian education cannot possibly be dealt with adequately without considering the bearing and importance of the new and independent movement of National Education to which I have already referred. No one who loves India can fail to wish such an experiment every success on lines of true, indigenous development. My reason for not giving this new movement a larger share in the present paper is not due to any failure to appreciate its importance in the future, but simply, to the fact that my own daily routine of teaching lies wholly within the Panjab University course, and I have drawn conclusions from that practical experience. The problem before the present generation is twofold, on the one hand to give the fullest scope to that originality and independence which is the very salt of life and thought and character, and at the same time to preserve and carry on to a further stage the educational advances which have already been made, correcting the abuses. If the latter problem has more occupied my attention, it has been due to my position; the substance of all that I have recently written in this Review will show that the former problem is continually before me.

DELHI. C. F. ANDREWS.

* While teaching the present University course, I have come across passages so degrading for an Indian to be taught, that I have had to turn over the page and begin further on in the book.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES

I BELIEVE, there is no question of more vital importance to the Indian Economist as well as to the Indian Patriot than the question of agriculture and the amelioration of the wretched condition of our poor agriculturists. This question not only involves the condition of these fellow-countrymen of ours but is a momentous question which concerns the whole of India. The Swadeshi manufactures are themselves almost entirely dependent for their success on the success of agriculture. The manufacture of Swadeshi piece-goods can only be successfully established when it has been found possible to grow suitable cottons. "Few people talk of the Swadeshi movement," the Hon'ble V. D. Thackersay said, "in connection with agriculture. But really that is the industry which most requires the application of the true Swadeshi spirit, for on it are based all our possibilities of manufacturing industries." Many ascribe the flourish-

ing state of the mill-industries in Western India to the fact that the Gujerati is acknowledged on all hands to be the most efficient cultivator of cotton in India. Further, when the growing and manufacturing problems will be solved, the question of markets will be found also to depend on agriculture, for the ostensible reason that 80 to 90 p. c. of our population are agriculturists, and the more flourishing the population is, the more can it spend on manufactures.

It is evident, then, that agriculture and manufacture must develop *pari passu*. The one cannot thrive without the other, and if we are to bring in a real regeneration of India by "the industrial development of the country, by the utilization of its many and varied resources, the promotion and the encouragement by the rich and the poor alike, of its indigenous manufactures," it is our bounden duty to see that our agricultural possibilities are properly developed. It is admitted even by Protectionist Economists that agricultural industry must reach a high state of development before manufacturing industries can be established. Does it not then seem not only expedient but our duty to our motherland as well as to posterity, to see that agriculture, on which depends the future of our country, thrives to bring about the industrial regeneration of India?

But how to do this? Our agricultural classes are proverbially poor. The question which faces all small agriculturists—as in India—is the question of money, *i.e.*, how to obtain the money which is necessary for his operations at a rate of interest which would suit his purpose. We call a rate of interest which suits one's purposes that which, besides making him draw the greatest amount of profit out of the sum by employing it in his business, would enable him to pay his creditor without any burden to himself (*i.e.*, the borrower). Even in Europe the state of affairs is the same. But in India, the problem is aggravated by the fact that Indian rates of interest are to some extent survivals from times when the security which the agriculturist had to offer was of far smaller value than at present and also by the fact that the money-lender has not been slow to take advantage of the unwillingness of the civil courts to go behind the terms of a written bond.

This then is the situation. It has been aggravated by the fact that though the country is on the verge of ruin, the rate of interest prevails in the inverse ratio. In Europe the general rate is 6 p.c.,—in India it is not less than 24 p.c., at least for small sums. The raiyats here borrow for the ostensible purpose of living anyhow, with the inevitable result that they very often have to leave their homesteads to seek a living in some other part of the country, or in some cases, many live throughout their lives as debtors and transmit their unpleasant heritage to their descendants. Not only this. The raiyats go very often against the economic maxim that to thrive in a trade one must buy cheap and sell dear, for not only do they pay an exorbitant rate of interest but they are often compelled to part with their produce at an unreasonable season to meet the demands of money-lenders, and this evidently is the cause of what has been called a "Corner in rice".

In order to make matters smooth for these poor agriculturists, Government passed an Act, the Co-operative Credit Societies Act (Act X of 1904), having for its twofold object to help the poor agriculturists as well as the poor artisans. Our object will be to deal with the operation of the Act with regard to the agriculturists only.

Now, as a rule when a poor agriculturist goes to borrow from a local *Mahajan* he is required to produce a surety to stand as security for him to prove that the borrower is solvent. When a security cannot be had, the Shylock generally takes advantage of this, and imposes an exorbitant rate of interest. I can cite instances where the interest charged was 2 annas per rupee per mensem. But if a number of men combine together into a society and all become jointly and severally responsible for one another (and herein lies the essence of rural Co-operative Credit Societies), these men acquire a corporate capacity and are enabled to procure money at a considerably lower rate of interest, as the credit (*i.e.* the borrowing power of the members of the Society who previously *severally* had little or no credit) would be great (*i.e.* the confidence which can be imposed on them in their joint capacity would be great), and the less the risk, the less the interest would be. Now the money which these men, formed

into a corporate body, procure (the sources will be dealt with hereafter), they will lend among themselves according to each member's individual absolute necessity at a slightly higher rate than that at which they had been able to borrow. Thus those men who severally could not have got money even at 24 p.c. would be able to borrow jointly, say at 8 or 10 p.c. and then take it out of the funds at say 12 p.c. As the rate of interest would be lower in this way, the raiyat would be in a position to meet it and would also be able to dispose of his surplus produce at a favourable season which he was formerly unable to do as he had to meet the exhorbitant demands of his *Mahajans* in and out of season. The evil effects of the advance (*Dadan*) system would thus be fully counteracted, and we shall not have any more the necessity of asking questions regarding the so-called "corners in rice" in the Legislative Councils.

Whence is the money, then, wherewith to finance these Societies, to come from? In a rural Society where the nominal admission fee of 4 annas per head would amount to a very small sum, there will be, first, the deposits—however small—paid by the members as well as by the raiyats of the neighbouring villages. For apart from the advantages which the members themselves will derive, the wholesome effect of such a Society on the neighbourhood will be also great. For the Bank of the Society will act as the Savings Bank of the neighbourhood. Every one has the natural inclination to spend such small sums as 2 or 4 annas, but when one comes to know that even such small sums, if placed with the Bank of the Society, will pay something in the way of interest—however small it may be—there will grow up a natural tendency to deposit them, thus checking to a certain extent, habits of extravagance. The Society will, in its turn, lend these sums among its members when occasion arises. The neighbouring *Mahajans* will also be willing to lend to the Society—for reasons stated above, as the stability of such a Society will be great owing to its being countenanced by Government, as also by the nature of its unlimited liability (*i.e.* the members being jointly and severally responsible for the debts contracted).

The next source is the Government. As soon as a society is registered the Government will lend a sum to the extent of Rs. 2,000 with the only reservation that it will grant loans to the Society not exceeding the total amount which the Society might itself collect. I believe, our capitalists who get $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. interest for Government Papers, would also find this an opportunity to employ their capital more profitably. As the result of my experience in watching the progress of such Societies in Bengal and also elsewhere, I find that generally all Societies are paying at an average 9 to 12 p.c. interest to those capitalists who are advancing them money.

The terms of the Government are also favorable. For the first three years Government will not have to be paid any interest whatever and it will not ask for repayment even, before the expiration of these 3 years. After that an interest at 4 p.c. only will have to be paid and the Society will be required to pay off Government within the very long period of 10 years. No fees will be required for registration and no income tax will be imposed on the Society. Throughout India, in the different provinces, Registrars of Co-operative Societies have been appointed whose duties are to propagate the doctrines and to supervise the workings of such Societies.

The economic advantages of the co-operative system have been dealt with above. The moral and educative advantages will also be great. It will infuse a spirit of unity, it will inculcate business habits, as the affairs will have to be managed by the members themselves, it will stimulate thrift and it will encourage the industrious and the sober, because it is they alone that will reap its benefits. It is a standing invitation to the idle and the spend-thrift to mend their ways, for until they do so, they will not be permitted to enter its sacred precincts.

I have tried in these few paragraphs to deal with the general principles. I have also explained the privileges which Government is willing to grant to such Societies. In short, it is one of the most beneficent acts of Government. But will mere Government help do? Certainly not.

"It is the expressed intention of Government that the co-operative movement shall have every chance of success that Government can afford and the expenses which it has already incurred and is further prepared

to incur together with the privileges which it has accorded to societies are an indication of the measure of its importance."

Government thinks that it has done enough for it and that the rest rests with the public. The time has come for industrial and agricultural development. Government is willing to help us to some extent. Let us not be slow but let us avail ourselves of this opportunity to improve the condition of 80 p. c. of our people, as well as of the remaining 20 p. c.

JOGINDRA SAMADDAR.

ANARCHISTS IN THE WEST

THE recent outbursts of terrorist activity in Bengal, recall to our minds the outrages perpetrated by similar organizations in Europe and America. Secret societies of anarchists and nihilists have existed in the West during nearly the last half a century and their propaganda has been very often convulsing society by its horrible deeds of violence. The grim regicidal tragedy of Lisbon is still fresh in our minds.

The wrath of the anarchists has been directed not only against royalty, but also against the rulers of the most radical of democratic states. Kings and Emperors, Cabinet Ministers and Presidents of Republics have alike fallen a prey to their unreasoning fury. Many of their attempts have met with dismal failure and have sometimes even recoiled upon themselves, but the movement has to its credit an amount of crime which must strike terror into the heart of society. Their policy of assassination has disturbed the peace of many a country in the West and has been exhibiting itself to the world every now and then.

One of the most tragic anarchist assassinations is the bomb outrage which resulted in the death of Czar Alexander II of Russia —the "Czar Liberator" as history has styled him—on the 13th March, 1881. At about a quarter to three o'clock on the afternoon of that fatal day, the Emperor was returning from a grand military parade, by the Catherine Canal in the direction of the Theatre Bridge, St. Petersburg, when a young man, the anarchist Nicholas Doanovitch Rissakov, coming along side the carriage, threw beneath it a bomb wrapped up in a handkerchief. It exploded with a tremendous boom, but the Emperor was left uninjured, though two of his bodyguard and a young boy who was a bystander met with their death. Providence seemed to have interfered for the moment, to save the life of the ruler who was held in affection and esteem by his subjects all over Russia. The prey of the anarchists was however not destined to escape their bloody hands, and when the Emperor got down from the carriage to examine the place of explosion, a Pole, named Grinevetzki, threw another bomb at his very feet. There was the consequent explosion and a number of the dead and wounded lay on the pavement to bear witness to the havoc committed by the explosion of two bombs within five minutes of each other. "Leaning his back against the railings of the canal," says a writer describing the event in the *Historians' History of the World*, "without his cap or riding cloak, half sitting on the footpath was the monarch; he was covered with blood and breathing with difficulty; the bare legs of the August Martyr were both broken; the blood flowed copiously from them, and his face was covered with blood. The cap and cloak that had fallen from the Emperor's head and shoulders, and of which there remained but blood-stained and burnt fragments, lay beside him." The Emperor was immediately carried to the Winter Palace and expired at 25 minutes to four o'clock to the sorrow of his loving subjects. The victim chosen for this anarchist outrage was one who had spent a quarter of a century in unremitting toil to exalt Russia and secure the happiness and prosperity of her inhabitants. It was thus that an "incarnation of goodness, love and clemency,"—as a historian calls Alexander—was murdered in cold blood by anarchist assassins.

Another European sovereign, as good-

natured as the great Alexander of Russia, had to meet with a violent death only a few years back at the hands of an anarchist. Humbert "the Good," of Italy was returning on the 29th July, 1900, after distributing prizes at an Athletic carnival at Monza when he was cruelly murdered by an Italian anarchist, Gaetano Bresci by name. His death aroused genuine grief among his subjects, as he had endeared himself to them by his acts of generosity and self-sacrifice on various occasions. When parts of Italy were devastated by floods in 1882, when calamities like the great earthquake of 1883, and the epidemic of the next year, visited the country, the good king made heroic efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the people, and it was upon this humane ruler that the bloody anarchist laid his hands.

Rulers of democratic States have not by any means enjoyed immunity from anarchist violence. President Carnot of France was one of its victims. It was on the 24th June 1894, that the President, when he was staying at Lyons, was stabbed to death by an Italian Caserio Giovani Santo.

The assassination of President McKinley of the United States of America, is another instance of a republican ruler on whom the anarchists have vented their "red-fool fury." The outrage was perpetrated on the 6th September 1901, and it is one of the most merciless assassinations on the anarchist list. The President had been elected to a new term of office only a few months previous to the tragedy; he was attending the Pan-American exposition at Buffalo, which was held to exhibit the progress made by the American nations in agriculture and industries and to unite them in closer commercial intercourse; it was while shaking hands with his guests at a public reception given by him in the Music Hall of the exposition that he was cruelly fired at twice by a young anarchist name Leon F. Czolgosz. It will be remembered that two of McKinley's predecessors in the President's office were assassinated, but the assassins in the two cases were not professed anarchists. Abraham Lincoln was shot by John Wikes Booth, an actor, while watching the performance of a play at Ford's Theatre, Washington, on April 14th, 1865; a disappointed office-seeker, Charles Jules Guitean, successfully aimed at the life of President Garfield when he was on the point of taking a train at the Station of the Baltimore Potomac Railway at the Capital City.

The town of Geneva witnessed a heart-rending anarchist tragedy, of which the victim was an Empress. On the morning of September 10th, 1898, Elizabeth of Austria who was staying in the town for her health was just emerging from her hotel to enjoy a pleasure trip on the lake when the anarchist Leuccheni killed her with a steel file. Another member of the Royal House of Austria, Prince Rudolf, son and heir of Emperor Francis Joseph, met with a similar violent death on the 30th January, 1889. The words of Leuccheni, when the sentence of penal servitude for life,—there is no capital punishment in Switzerland—was pronounced on him, represent the true anarchist spirit. "Long live anarchy! Death to the aristocracy!" he exclaimed. "Let there be only two hundred such brave men as myself and all the thrones of the world will be empty."

It is no wonder that ministers of state and others in such high office have also provoked anarchist activities. A Russian minister of the interior, Von Plehve, was killed by a bomb on the 29th June, 1905; the Governor-General of Finnland, Bobrikov, was assassinated about the same time of the year; on the 2nd August, 1897, the Spanish Premier, Canovas, was pressing a legislative measure, and that moment was chosen for his assassination by another anarchist.

This black list of crimes is by no means exhaustive, but an attempt has been made to show the extent of anarchist activities in Europe and America. The vigilant investigations of the detective corps of various countries, have not succeeded in suppressing the secret movement. An International Detective Service to grapple with this evil in society, is a suggestion that might be taken up as a feasible and effective scheme of action.

P. Seshadri.

TUKARAM—A POPULAR POET OF MAHARASHTRA

IT has now become a trite remark to say that India is not one country, but is a mere geographical expression for a congeries of nations separated by differences of race, language, religion, usage and custom. And yet till recently all foreign nations treated India as one nation, and the traditions and the notions of the inhabitants of the country itself, point back to one ancient civilization as the moulder and welder of the present. No student of Indian History can deny (1) that the ancient Aryan civilization had up to the beginning of the Mahomedan inroads, succeeded in assimilating and bringing into one fold, the different races, which, like the successive eruptions of a volcano, had overrun the country, from the Dravidians on to the different tribes of Aryans, the Bactrians, the Greeks, down to the Scythians and the Gujars, (2) and that it had given them one polity, and one religion, whose tenets and ideas, expressed in Sanskrit Hindu literature and its offshoots Buddhist and Jain literatures, were followed by successive generations, and still dominate the minds of people now living. Though the ancient language is long since dead, as also her daughters, yet her daughters' daughters modelled after her, and inheriting her whole estate, and drawing but little aid from foreign sources, still look back on her with pride and reverence and seem most loth to depart from her ways. Most of the institutions, religious, social and communal, founded by that civilization, are still living, though in part they have suffered from inevitable internal changes, and may appear to have yielded, here and there, to the attacks of her more militant rivals of modern times *i.e.*, Mahomedanism and Christianity. It will thus be seen that though to an onlooker, who is a foreigner, the ocean of modern Indian civilization may appear to be diversified, this diversity is not more than superficial. Real wisdom consists in recognising and in strengthening this real unity. Among other means of attaining this object is one which I have long thought as the easiest and surest. It is to select from the works of popular Indian Poets, short typical passages and extracts, to render them into English, and present them in one collection as an anthology. Each principal modern Indian language, according to my conception, should be represented by at least two poets. It cannot, of course, be the work of a single individual, but I have confidence that so soon as help is asked for by an Editor of a Magazine, conducted by an Indian, it will be given with alacrity from all the different parts of the country.

With this idea in view, I have taken up Tukaram, the most popular poet of Maharashtra, and will present my readers with the translations of select *Abhangs* from his work. The esteem in which Tukaram is held may be gathered from an *Abhang* which is attributed to Tukaram himself. It may be thus freely rendered :—

"Jnanadeva laid deep the foundations of the edifice;
"Namadeva and Ekanath reared high the walls:
"But the Crown Tukaram himself became"

Tukaram was born according to generally received accounts in 1608 A.D. and died in 1650 A.D. He was born in a family settled at Dehu near Poona for several generations, and noted for its devotion to the god Vitthal of Pandharpur. His early life was uneventful. He looked after the shop kept by his father, and early initiated into the business, he seems to have prospered, which brought delight to his parents. But with their demise his misfortunes began. The parents were followed by the wife of his elder brother and eldest son. The widowed brother took up a pilgrim's staff and left the house for good. Famine followed. His first wife died for want of food and his cattle perished for want of fodder. Debts could not be recovered, and his credit was lost. All attempts on the part of his second wife's rich relations at Poona to set him up again in business proved futile. Tukaram had now no heart

in his old business. From this time forward he passed his whole time in religious service, or in reading old scriptures and poets, or in deep meditation on a hill near Dehu. Two events that took place during this period he records and both occurred in dreams: (1) His initiation by his *Guru*, and (2) his inspiration at the instance of Namadeva. From this time he began to preach. As he preached he often recited his own *Abhangs*. That a Kunbi should usurp the privileges of a Brahmin and expound Vedas and Shastras, was an eye-sore to orthodox Brahmins, who did their best to silence him by persecutions. But Tukaram bore all in meekness and his faith and sincerity and true worth shone out the more, the more he was persecuted. Suffice it to say, he not only silenced his persecutors, but converted some of them into his ever loyal disciples. His fame as a *Sadhu* and a preacher spread far and wide, and attracted even Shivaji, who was just rising into power. The rich gifts which the king offered Tukaram, he returned with thanks; and when Shivaji would make him his *Guru*, and abandon all worldly ambition, the *Sadhu* declined the first honour, but advised him to administer the affairs of his kingdom in the interests of the people at large.

Tukaram's second wife was a Xanthippe, who must be credited with a share in the formation of her husband's character as a *Sadhu*.

Tukaram's *Abhangs* according to authorised editions, number more than four thousand. There are others, not included in these editions, which from internal evidence appear to be his; while there are many which though attributed to him are decidedly spurious. The *Abhangs*, even in authorised editions, form a loose mass unconnected with one another, and apparently written down by disciples from memory or occasionally to dictation. A few are known to be in the handwriting of Tukaram himself. Except in the case of *Abhangs* composed on specific occasions, the majority have nothing except internal evidence to show when they were composed or in what mood they were inspired. A student of Tukaram has often to imagine not only the person or persons to whom the *Abhang* is addressed, but to imagine the position of the addressees, the mood of the poet, the occasion that gave rise to the *Abhang*, &c. These necessities must give rise to disputes about the right interpretation of a particular *Abhang*. The difficulty is heightened by the pregnancy of thought and terseness of style which characterise Tukaram's productions.

Some rough grouping of *Abhangs*, according to subjects dealt with, is possible, but all attempts to group them in a chronological order must fail in the absence of any external data. That Tukaram passed through several stages of spiritual progress is evident from the *Abhangs* themselves; so that we may roughly assign particular *Abhangs* to particular stages. But there is a danger lest in our attempt to make a rigid classification we imagine that the poet's progress was even and continuous, when probably he ran up pleasant heights, and then descended into dark valleys, and again climbed by zigzag ways to giddy heights and again descended and again rose, until at last he reached the summit, where he found rest and peace, and received inspiration and strength to work for the common good. I have made no attempt in this paper to classify the *Abhangs*. I have taken up the Nirnaya Sagar Press Edition of Tukaram, have selected from it what I considered to be the best *Abhangs* and rendered them into English giving the numbers in that edition. I have tried to be faithful to the original. The present selection is made from 375 Abhangs.

That my readers may form some idea of the contents of the Abhangs, now going to be offered in an English dress, I give below a few references. These are not however exhaustive.

Tukaram describes his Times in *Abhangs* 132 and 176.

His own spiritual progress, in its several stages, may be gathered from the following *Abhangs*:—

1st Stage	2nd Stage	3rd and final Stage
66	137	181
69	142	227
131	143	260
165	184	326
183	193-8	354
291	265	366

His own mission is described in *Abhangs* 125, 179, 180, 205, 225, 226, 317, 321, & 341.

He censures the false saints of his times in Nos. 44, 57, 112, 154, 160, 254, 255, 293

and 334 and he speaks in praise of true saints in Nos. 37, 89, 144, 151, 170 and 204. True saints to him are but manifestations of God himself, and when they come he advises you to keep away your idols while you are serving them. It is in their company, he says, that you begin to entertain noble thoughts and to learn the ways of serving God. A simple heart, tender affection, burning faith,—these he thinks will enable you to reconcile yourself with God; or to make yourself one with Him. The old, hard, and severe ways of Yoga,—the learned ways of the Vedanta,—the multitudinous rites prescribed by the Vedas in performing which you must stumble, he discards as impracticable to ordinary mortals. To these he recommends *Bhajana*—the power and might of which he celebrates in ringing verses (*vide* Nos. 119, 318, 326 and 372). Nevertheless he insists that this religious or emotional practice must always be accompanied by observance of morality. If at times he seems to lean towards leading a retired life, apart from the common world, as best suited for deep and silent meditation, he is aware that such a life is incomplete. (*Vide* his assertion "I stay in this world for the people"). The majority of his *Abhangs* consist of his preachings to the people and they embrace all subjects. He is careful to preach the sovereignity of conscience and will never ask you to bend your knees to the ignorant mob (*vide* Nos. 124 and 258). He appeals to the law of your own highest good which you are bound to seek in your own interest. Having himself passed through all stages of God-worship, from the lowest forms to the highest, he has an indulgent eye on idolatry. No sectarian himself, he is tolerant towards all; indeed he hates all wrangling about the nature of God. What his highest conception of God is, is a matter of dispute among learned scholars. Some, by far the larger number, maintain that he ended in *Nirguna* absorption, while others stoutly maintain that he worshipped a personal God to the end. Each party can bring in support of their contention *Abhangs* from the *Gatha*; but so long as there is nothing to settle the dates of their composition, the point in dispute will remain undecided.

To a student of human nature, the most interesting *Abhangs* are those which are autobiographical. Tukaram is no self-deceiver. He confesses his faults, his failings and his vices. How far this self-depreciation represents or is the result of actual weakness in him is a question. All great men, be they poets or heroes, are at times self-depreciators and have little confidence in themselves or their virtues. Viewing their life as they do from the height of the ideal which they aim at, their individuality, which wishes to reach that ideal, is dwarfed immensely in their own imagination, and we common men should err greatly if we accepted their own estimate of themselves as the true one. Another explanation of this common feature in the character of all great men which may be offered, is that great preachers in addressing the common people identify themselves with the latter, invest themselves with their failings and their vices and speak, not as one superior to another inferior, but, as one belonging to the class of the addressees.

Among the *Abhangs* will be found some in which Tukaram apparently quarrels with God. This quarrel is not real, though it exhibits true passion and wrath. The quarrel is always made up in the end by a deeply penitent apology. To readers in the West such quarrels may appear not merely childish but even degrading. To the Hindu, however, God is not only a Just Father but He is also a Loving Mother, with whom a child, in its ignorance, is at liberty to quarrel, and yet whom the child never ceases to hold in love and the highest reverence. Moreover, those who are inclined to consider the conception of God, which is involved in these quarrels, as debased and savouring of Idolatry, must consider Christianity and perhaps all religions in so far as they involve a belief in a personal God, as equally reprehensible.

I shall give a few translations of Tukaram's *Abhangs* in the next issue of this journal.

V. M. MAHAJANI.

THE ARMS ACT

IT is now more than seventy years since the Hon'ble Frederick John Shore, son of Lord Teignmouth who succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General of India, in the last decade of the 18th century, in concluding his well-known notes on Indian affairs, wrote as follows:—

"The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefit of themselves. They have been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast, how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honor, dignity, or office, which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept, while our public offices, and, as we are pleased to call them, courts of justice, have been sinks of every species of villany, fraud, chicane, oppression, and injustice; to such an extent, that men, who have been robbed of their property, and whose relations have been murdered, will often pay large sums to the police to prevent investigation, from the dread of being compelled to attend one of our courts, even in the character of a prosecutor or witness."

"But even on the score of honesty, we rather beg the question; every instance of misconduct on the part of a poor native, taken from the lower orders of society, and whose pay is actually insufficient for his maintenance, is blazed abroad; we forget to notice that of the English functionaries, most of whom are born in that rank of life which secures a good, or, at least, a very tolerable education, and who receive handsome salaries by way of securing their honesty. Yet, up to forty years since, it is well-known that there was scarcely an honest man in the service, civil or military; and even of late years, ay, up to the present time, the glaring instances of corruption, oppression, and extortion, on the part of English functionaries, which have been proved, and the many others, of which though legal proof be wanting, there is no moral doubt, would leave us little to boast of, when we consider the difference of rank and circumstances of the English and native *employes* of the British-Indian Government. The less we say on this head, indeed, the better, lest we excite the natives to retort upon us; they have us more in their power than it would be wise to give them an opportunity to exhibit."

"And for all this sum of offences against them, both national and individual what benefits have been conferred upon them to balance the amount? Partial security from foreign invasion may be said to be the sum total."

"The summary is, that the British Indian Government has been, practically, one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed in India; one under which injustice has been, and may be committed, both by the Government and by individuals, provided the latter be rich, to an almost unlimited extent, and under which, redress from injury is almost unattainable; the consequence of which is, that we are abhorred by the people, who would hail with joy, and instantly join, the standard of any power whom they thought strong enough to occasion our downfall."

Matters have improved in certain respects since the above was penned. But in others the condition of the people has probably become worse. In the days of Sir John Shore the whole of India had not been dyed red, for many independent states were still in existence, such as the Punjab and Oudh. Famine had not yet counted so many millions of victims and left so many enfeebled survivors, as it has done since then. The plague was then unheard of. The Railway lines were not constructed and so malaria had not found a safe lodging in the many provinces of India, weakening the inhabitants. Food grains were not so recklessly exported as they are now, making the people a half-starved race. And the people had not been left helpless by the operations of the Arms Act. The repeal of the Arms Act is urgently needed to reduce the discontent and unrest which now prevail in India. It is to a great extent due to the existence of the Arms Act that the poor inhabitants of India have been exposed to the tender mercies of the unscrupulous section of Anglo-India, as well as of Indian dacoits and ruffians and wild animals, rendering their lives and properties unsafe.

Sir Charles Dilke in his "Greater Britain" wrote:—

"There is too much fear that the English, unless held in check, exhibit a singularly strong disposition towards cruelty, wherever they have a weak enemy to meet. It is not only in war-time that our cruelty comes out; it is often seen in trifles during peace. Even a traveller, indeed, becomes so soon used to see the natives wronged in every way by people of quiet manner and apparent kindness of disposition, that he ceases to record the cases. * * *

"Those who doubt that Indian Military Service makes soldiers careless of men's lives, reckless as to the rights of property, and disgraceful of human dignity, can hardly remember the letters which reached home in 1857, in which an officer in high command during the march upon Cawnpore reported, 'Good bag to-day, polished off rebels', it being borne in mind that the 'rebels' thus hanged or blown from guns were not taken in arms, but villagers apprehended 'on suspicion'. During this march atrocities were committed in the burning of villages, and massacre of innocent inhabitants, at which Mahomed Toglak himself would have stood ashamed and it would be to contradict all history to assert that a succession of such deeds would not prove fatal to our liberties at home. * * * *

* * There is little of the feeling which a common citizenship should bestow, little of that equality of man which Christianity would seem to teach." (Dilke's "Greater Britain," 5th edition of 1870, p.p. 445-7.)

The Arms Act is day after day making the Indian effeminate and weak, and in proportion as he grows weaker and weaker the more helpless he becomes to resist the onslaught of the brutal section of the European adventurers in India, as well as of the official and non-official indigenous ruffians and of wild animals. Never in the history of this country were the people so helpless and emasculated as they are now, owing chiefly, if not solely, to the operations of the Arms Act.

In the interests of the good government of the country the repeal of the Arms Act is also an urgent necessity. Had there been no such Act as the Arms Act on the statute book of India some Anglo-Indian papers would not have ventured to write in the tone in which they have been writing for the last three decades or more. Since the Muzaffarpur bomb outrage it is these papers which are making the position of the Government more critical than it would otherwise have been. Imagine what effect the writings of a sporting Anglo-Indian paper would have on the people of this country when it advises its compatriots to have a big '*bag*' of natives, which means that they should be shot down like wild animals. Another Anglo-Indian paper has held out a threat that if the Government do not take repressive measures they *i.e.* the Anglo Indians, would be compelled to take the law into their own hands, which means that they would massacre Indians in cold blood. There is neither sport nor manliness in shooting down an unarmed people who cannot defend themselves in any way. But writings like these rankle in the Indians' breasts and make them discontented and disaffected towards the Government, if they find that the Government do not or cannot do anything to put down with a high hand the mischievous Anglo-Indian journalists for whose deportation Regulation III of 1818 was originally intended. The Directors of the East India Company and those Anglo-Indian administrators who framed that Act were far-seeing statesman, for they knew that if India were ever lost to England it would be through the sheer folly and arrogant rashness of English adventurers, money-grabbers and irresponsible journalists.

On the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813 all those witnesses, like Warren Hastings, Sir John Malcolm and other Anglo-Indian administrators of those days, who knew India and Indians much better than their successors of the present time, deposed that the free influx of Englishmen into India would result in violence on natives. Thus said Warren Hastings, who with all his faults was undoubtedly a most capable administrator:—

"The Englishman is quite a different character in India; the name of an Englishman is both his protection and a sanction for offences which he would not dare to commit at home."

Another witness, Mr. Thomas Sydenham, said:—

"I have always observed that Englishmen are more apt than those of any other nation to commit violence in foreign countries, and that I believe to be the case in India."

It was to safeguard the Indian against the violent conduct of these adventurers that Regulation III of 1818 was enacted, empowering the Indian Government to deport them. But by some irony of fate this act is now for all practical purposes applicable to Indians only and not to those for whom it was originally designed. Had this Act been put in motion as it was meant to be then the editors and writers of some Anglo-Indian papers would have been deported out of India.

At the time when Warren Hastings and Thomas Sydenham said what we have already quoted, the Indians had not been deprived of their arms and famine prices were not prevalent in India, and so they were capable of defending themselves against their native and foreign assailants and wild animals. But now owing to the operations of the Arms Act and frequent

recurring famines, Indians have become quite emasculated and weak in body, and so are unable to defend themselves. And hence bad characters also have become more insolent, arrogant and oppressive. Anglo-Indian criminals in particular know that as British subjects they are liable to be tried by courts of justice presided over by their own countrymen and assisted by jurors who are also their own kith and kin. The manner in which criminal justice is generally administered in this country between Englishmen and Indians is well-known. It has come to be almost a firm conviction with the people that no or very slight punishment is inflicted on the English criminal. This state of things is recognised by the Anglo-Indian administrators; yet they seem to be quite powerless to put a stop to it. And so failures of justice embitter the feelings of Indians and make them discontented and sullen and disaffected to British rule.

But if the Arms Act were not applicable to the Indians only, these crimes perpetrated by Englishmen against the persons of Indians, would be fewer in number and so there would be less discontent and more cordiality of feelings between the two races, thus making the government of the country a smoother affair.

The repeal of the Arms Act should occupy a prominent place in any scheme for reforming the administration of India. The Advisory Councils and other proposed reforms dwindle into insignificance compared with the importance of the repeal of the Arms Act.

At present matters have come to such a pass that robbers, ruffians and other bad men can procure arms, but law-abiding and peaceable citizens are without arms, and sometimes find themselves unprotected, too, by the police. It is degrading for an Indian to have to apply for a license to keep arms, whereas even a loafer can keep arms without a license if he be a white man or a Eurasian. And the licenses, too, are growing beautifully smaller in number year by year.

It is well-known that it is growing more and more difficult year by year to find good recruits for the native army. It is certain that the Arms Act has something to do with this difficulty.

The fear of more riots in case the Act were repealed is groundless. For when both parties are able to take care of themselves, men think twice before engaging in an affray. Bad characters, too, are kept in check by the knowledge that law-abiding men also have arms. There is no Arms Act in the Native States, and yet riots are not of greater frequency there. There was no Arms Act under Hindu and Mussalman rule. Yet people did not engage in riots oftener than now, as far as we are aware. Lastly, there is the fear of an armed rebellion. But this, too, is groundless. No man who is worth anything thinks armed insurrection either desirable or practicable in India. There is no Arms Act in the Native States, as we have said. Still there have been no rebellious movements there. Should there be any such movement in British India, it must necessarily be confined to an insignificant section of the people, who, like the Bengal Terrorists, can be easily suppressed. After all equal treatment of all races, and just and sympathetic government are the best preventives of disaffection, sedition and rebellion.

Our contention then is that the Arms Act should be repealed. If that be impracticable it should apply to all persons residing in India irrespective of race, creed or colour.

NEPAL CHANDRA RAY.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON INDUSTRY AND ECONOMY

UPON one's choice of an occupation depends very much the contentment or discontent of his future life. This momentous question, however, is too frequently decided in the most off-hand way, as if natural abilities and disposition were of no account whatever, and as if any profession or business would suit anybody. For industrial and commercial life, with which we have to deal here to-day, very different kinds of ability are required from those which are requisite for a professional career.

"In the education of a business man," says an American writer, "it must never be forgotten that his future life will be a life of *action* and not of study." Great care must therefore be taken that his health be not impaired in a struggle for useless honours in the University nor the mind lose its spring and elasticity under a load of cumbrous and unpractical learning. University education is all very good for professional men and teachers. But a counting-house is the business man's college, and a factory is the University for those who desire to learn a manufacturing industry. Each book on trade or kindred subjects should be carefully read, more specially by youths when commencing their business life and by all engaged in commerce, before commencing business for themselves. Political Economy, Books on Banking, Book-keeping, Business Methods, Export and Import Trade, &c., are all useful in implanting, confirming or supporting rules of conduct that will prevent failure or be productive of success. Mr. Carnegie's advice to young men is "create a taste for reading." A young man should not be content to let a knowledge of one or two subjects carry him through life, but should make a point of knowing as much as possible of his own particular line of business and of anything connected with it. He can never acquire too much of such knowledge.

Few decisions are more important than that which determines what business a person is to follow. Every individual starting in life should consider what are his natural tastes, opportunities for education, and habits of thinking and the general plane of life whereon one begins. A man who possesses eminent mechanical ingenuity had better be a mechanic ; he who is thoroughly fitted by nature and education to teach is justified in being a public teacher ; and he who is born to be a distributor of the earth's products may be a merchant ; but all should show evidences of capability for the pursuit to enable them to win the rewards due only to ability. It is in agriculture alone that the creator has furnished a safe and healthy employment for all men.

In choosing a business, one should consider that small gains, constant and certain, are better than large gains that are both fugitive and doubtful—that all useful employments are equally honourable—and that all kinds of regular business pay equally well in the long run if honestly conducted.

Having settled upon a definite business, next comes the enquiry—How can success be secured ?

A well-considered plan lays the foundation of success. A half-hazard life in four cases out of five is a failure.

And having a plan, stick to it and follow it. It is not doing this to-day, and that to-morrow, misapplying energy and wasting time, but one steady, persistent push in one and in only one direction—that is surest to win.

After plan and perseverance comes courage. Few men follow any profession, prosecute any business or continue in any employment for a series of years that do not encounter reverses. God did not intend that ships should always sail on a summer sea. Character is developed by straits, and the uncertainties of work as well as the perplexities of business are but another name for the discipline by which men are fashioned into fitness for another and grander sphere. The advice of the captains of industry to youngmen is 'never be discouraged.' Confucius said "The greatest glory is, not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall."

When speaking of manufacturing industry—agriculture comes in. There is an inseparable connection between agriculture and industry—and one cannot independently prosper without the help and co-operation of the other. They are twin sisters—as it were. Again, agriculture and industry are intimately connected with trade and commerce. *Trade* in its proper sense is the act or business of exchanging articles or commodities. But trade has another and wider meaning—the business of buying and selling, and it comprehends every species of dealing wherein one thing is exchanged for another, whether product for product, commodity for commodity or either for what represents both—money. As a simple illustration of trade, a boy at school short of marbles but flush in pins finds another boy short of pins and flush in marbles, and exchanges with him giving him pins for marbles. They trade. This is called exchange by barter. One article is exchanged or bartered for another article. This was the

primitive way of trading. As civilization advanced coined money came to be introduced as a very convenient medium of exchange. It is now the representative of all commodities. In the earlier stages of civilization tobacco was used in some countries as money. Even in our own times *cowries* are accepted as a substitute for money when small purchases are made.

All trade grows out of public demand. In the infancy of any people, their wants being necessarily circumscribed, their trade is limited. But with the increase of population and the advancement of civilization the demands for commodities and finished products become so great as to necessitate the advent of a class of men called merchants to administer to the growing needs of the people. Merchants are the medium through whom exchanges of commodities and finished products are effected. They are therefore considered as among the most important class of persons who have had a name and place in human history.

Every manufacturing industry has two aspects—the one manufacturing and the other commercial. I shall only try to say something about the industrial aspect—with special reference to the economics of industry.

Manufacture comes from Latin *manus* the hand and *facere*, to make, and means, literally, to make with the hand. Webster's definition of manufacture is "to make or fabricate from raw materials by the hand or by machinery or other means, something suitable, desirable or convenient for use; as to manufacture cloth out of cotton, nails from ore, shoes from leather, flour from wheat, glass from sand, and the like."

Success in any manufacturing operation involves—first—a demand for the goods or articles manufactured. Time and money and skill will suffice to make almost anything, but all is lost unless somebody wants what is made and will buy it at a price above its cost. Profit comes of selling, not of making.

The second point is—the ability to manufacture goods or articles as cheaply as others who are engaged in the same business. One of the wisest men in matters of this kind has said, "Never think of profits, but always of losses and costs."

The third point is: the new manufacturer must have as good facilities for putting his manufactured goods before the customer as older firms and for presenting at least equal and if possible larger inducements for him to buy. So here comes the question of advertising the goods. Half the success of a business concern depends upon good advertising. Respectable firms formerly considered it derogatory to advertize—but as the effects of judicious advertizing on the part of competing firms and others became felt and appreciated, that notion passed away, and now with firms which deal direct with the customers advertizing is generally acknowledged to be a potent factor in establishing, maintaining and extending a business. So much so, that to-day it is no uncommon thing for large firms to spend from £ 25000 to £50,000 and upwards, annually in bringing and keeping their wares and specialities before the public, while the service of the best artists, poets and essayists are requisitioned in order that artistic and striking advertisements may be produced. Great ingenuity and activity are shown in endeavours to catch the eye of the public. In manufacturing countries there are advertizing agents or experts with whom many firms place the whole of their advertizing.

The fact that a house is an old house, a well-established house, counts immeasurably in securing sales. Unless, therefore, the new person or organization has better means of putting wares before the public, makes better articles and having both capital and courage can wait for the recognition that time always secures for a good thing, the chances of success are dubious.

The one matter of primary importance in conducting successfully any manufacturing operation is, that the person understands it himself. It is generally financial suicide for an individual, whatever his means, to go into a business which he does not know both in general and in detail. Hence an apprenticeship, more or less long, is an absolute condition of success.

The advice of successful business men is—'Never be in a hurry to begin business for yourself. Always have an eye open to see chances for starting when such present themselves.' But whenever a youngman, after mature deliberation, finally decides to begin business for himself, one rule should govern his conduct—Begin in a small way. But

there is always a limit to it. It should not be so small as not to be able to apply the principle of division of labour to advantage.

In a small concern personal supervision is easier than in a big undertaking.

It is as necessary to sit up nights with a new business as it is with a sick child.

"The heights by great men reached and kept,
Were not attained by sudden flight,
But they while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night."

When one becomes an employer he must be at his factory earlier than any of his men to see that all is in readiness when the moment comes to commence the day's labour. He must remain after the day's work is done, for reasons analogous to those that compelled his attention in the morning.

Care of little things. Consider that one hour lost each day would be three hundred hours (in round numbers) a year. Each hour should be worth at least ten sens—*i.e.* thirty yens a year which, could it have been saved and put at interest with a like sum each year for thirty years, would amount at seven per cent. compound interest to nearly three thousand yens; and if continued twenty years longer, to nearly ten thousand. (Sen = ½ anna; Yen = Rs. 3 As. 2).

When speaking of economy I must caution my friends against *ruinous economy.* A ruinous economy exhibits itself in putting in poor machinery, something that would inevitably make the product second-class; using perhaps a grade of stock which would carry the manufactured article below the average of the best standards, or worse than either, employing second or third class help who waste more than their wages for lack of knowledge of what they are set to do.

Equally necessary is what a most successful business man calls *fighting the costs.* Buying the raw materials the cheapest; paying the smallest adequate sum for transportation of all sorts; making the product the best and largest with the facilities possessed and the help employed; constantly keeping in mind the littles that make up the large with the purpose of making them as small and as few as possible;—that is fighting the costs; and the more ardently the battle is waged the completer will be the victory won.

Knowing the exact cost is absolutely needful. If takes brain and time to put into shape a statement showing how much raw material was used in a certain month and exactly what it cost; what expenses attached to it before entering the establishment; how much was paid for each different process from the beginning to the end; and the aggregate of the whole; the amount of interest on the capital invested which can be properly charged against the month's production, and so of salaries, office expenses, travel and the numerous other items that make up the out-goes of every business. And yet no business is conducted as it should be, that does not embrace all this, not spasmodically, occasionally done, but something that is practised from the year's beginning to its end and from one decade to another. And because this is not done, men fail.

Book-keeping. Much of the success of an enterprise depends upon the right way of keeping books. There should be a system of simple book-keeping in constant practice, which should embrace a record of all moneys paid out and for what purpose and of all moneys recieved—from whence and why; and this should be begun long before active business is entered upon.

Wage-system. It requires great judgment and some amount of experience to ascertain the best method of paying the labourers. There are different systems of paying the wages—such as, time-wage, piece-work wage; sliding scale, progressive scale, &c. In the same manufactory these different systems are found to be adopted in different kinds of work in different departments.

Besides the regular wages the labourers should be given some inducements for extra work done. High wages and a greater proportional amount of work are more economical than low wages with less efficiency in work.

In the Tobacco Manufactory of the Imperial Government Monopoly Bureau of Japan the labourers are given a sort of bonus every three months. It is given for (1) diligence, (2) regular attendance, (3) skilfulness and (4) being labourers of two years standing.

From five to ten days' wages are given as bonus in the year. Twenty days' wages are given to those labourers who have attended the factory two years without any absence. Only a week ago some of the labourers of the Tobacco Works got 20 days wages as bonus.

Recruiting the labourers. Any one, be he or she an outsider or a labourer in the manufactory, who introduces a labourer to the Government Tobacco Manufactory gets sixteen sens as a reward and this sum is paid when the new labourer is one month in the manufactory.

Packing of goods. Goods are to be properly done up, properly marked, if sent by express or otherwise, where marking is needed, and properly and promptly delivered when the sale is within delivering distance.

Period of dullness. When trade is dull, stock should be looked over, dusted and rearranged. The store should be kept clean and the goods or raw materials arranged in the store in a systematic and orderly way so that they can be easily taken out when needed.

Tokyo, Japan. A. C. GHOSE.

THE SHAWL MANUFACTURE OF THE PANJAB

AMRITSAR is the great entrepot for the commerce of the Panjab. It deals with all the principal marts in India. The immensity of its transactions can be judged from the amount realized by the imposition of the Octroi or the duty of $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ on imports for local consumption or re-exportation which is about 3 lacs per annum. The value of the annual imports and exports is estimated at 2 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores respectively. The leading trade is the manufacture of *pashmina* or shawl-wool into cloths of various descriptions. This manufacture was introduced into Amritsar long before the establishment of British supremacy in the Panjab, and about the time when Maharaja Ranjit Singh was extending his sway over the whole of the Panjab. The *pashm* or wool is imported from Tibet via Rampur and Kashmir. The *pashmina* fabrics are either plain uni-colored cloth called *Alwan*, *Malida*, &c., which are made up into cloaks and articles of European apparel either plain, or embroidered with silk, or else are woven into shawls, the thread being previously dyed and wound off expressly for the purpose. The shawls in which the pattern is produced in the loom are the most valuable: in others the pattern is produced on a ground-work of plain-colored *pashmina* by embroidery with the needle and fine *pashm* thread: such shawls are called *Amlikar*, as opposed to *Kannikar* or loom-woven. The *pashmina* work is almost exclusively done by Kashmiri Musalmans. Soon after the manufacture was instituted there were about 300 shops established in Amritsar in which *pashmina* work was carried on, and shawls to the value of Rs. 30,000 nearly were manufactured in the city. Besides this, *pashmina* work to the extent of some two lacs of rupees in value from Kashmir, and about Rs. 20,000 from other parts of the hills was imported yearly into Amritsar. Part of this was sold in Amritsar and part exported to Hindustan, Bengal and Hyderabad (Deccan). Lucknow was the chief mart for export in Hindustan. Owing to a large influx of Kashmiris into Amritsar during the great famine which occurred in Kashmir in the year 1833 A.D., the number of shops increased in Amritsar to 2,000 and the yearly outturn of *pashmina* work to four lacs of rupees. Also *pashmina* manufactures to the value of about six lacs of rupees were imported yearly from Kashmir, and to that of two lacs from Nurpur, and other parts of the hills. Now there are about 4,000 looms in Amritsar each worked by at least 2 men and the value of *pashmina* work manufactured yearly is estimated at 8 lacs of rupees. The *pashmina* work manufactured at Kashmir is said to be superior to Amritsar fabric owing to the fact that the adulteration of the shawl-wool with a fine but inferior sort imported via Kabul from the province of Kirman, whence the wool is known as *un-kirmani*, is never practised at Kashmir. Indeed the Kirmani wool is not allowed to be brought into Kashmir. Another reason for this superiority is that in Kashmir the process of removing the coarse hair from the *pashm* and spinning

are done with greater care. On the other hand the scarlet color of Amritsar is far superior to that of Kashmir, the lac dye used in Amritsar being cheaper and therefore less adulterated. The Amritsar blue and green are said to be also finer than the corresponding colors of Kashmir; but whatever may be the true causes of the difference, there is no doubt that the real Kashmir shawls invariably command a higher price than the fabrics made at Amritsar. It is difficult to say whether the shawl trade is prospering or declining. Some distrust has lately been caused by the sale of shawls made of cotton mixed with wool. This is called *Garba*. These are not unoften offered for sale as pure shawls and the texture is so fine that even experts are sometimes deceived. Fabrics made at Germany are also often sold as Amritsar made *Taftas*; but whatever may be the opinion as regards the prosperity or decadence of the trade, there is every reason to anticipate a continuance of the industry, as it must be a long time before the habit of shawl-wearing common among the upper classes of Indians dies out entirely. Sales are generally effected through *dalals* or brokers, who stretch their fingers beneath the cloth one wishes to purchase and fix the price after haggling for nearly an hour, muttering now and then '*is seh jasti nahi deh sekhta*,' &c. The broker gets commission for his trouble from the seller; but sometimes from the purchaser also. There are now some shops in the city where *pashmina* goods are sold at fixed prices without any haggling. The trade has fallen off a little owing to the discontinuance in France of the custom of giving Indian shawls as dowries in marriages; but the Swadeshi movement has given a fresh impetus to it and the loss it is believed will be recouped ere long. The price of *pashmina* piece-goods has been steadily rising since some years owing to the tightness of the labor market. The chief factor is the plague, which has played havoc among workmen in general and those employed on the shawl industry in particular. The following quotations speak for themselves :—

	Present price.	*Price in 1899-1900.*
Kashmiri		
Tafta	Rs. 7 to 12 per yd.	Rs. 5 to 10 per yd.
Amritsar made		
Alwan	Rs. 3 to 5 per yd.	Rs. 4½ to 7 do.
Lahori		
Dhosa	Rs. 25 to 30 per pair	Rs. 18 to 20 per pair.
Malida		
Comforter	Rs. 1-12 to 4 per piece	Rs. 1 to 2-8 per piece.
Jalalpuri		
Dhosa	Rs. 15 to 18 per pair	Rs. 11 to 13 per pair.

PROSUNNO COOMAR DEY.

THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA

INSPITE of the fact that in the name of a new edition, a new work is now being published by the Government of India, 'The Imperial Gazetteer of India' will not cease to be regarded as the monumental work of the late Sir W. W. Hunter, with whom the idea of bringing out such a work originated, and who both as editor and writer executed it with patient investigation and considerable literary skill.

In the words of the editor of the new edition of the Gazetteer, "the single volume of the 'Indian Empire' has now been expanded into four volumes, entitled respectively 'Descriptive', 'Historical', 'Economic' and 'Administrative'." The second volume, which will be entitled 'Historical', has not yet been published. It is in respect of chapters vi, vii, viii, of the first volume, wherein questions regarding the Ethnology, Languages and Religions of India have been discussed, that I propose to offer some remarks.

I.

Chapter vi—Ethnology and Caste—The Editor informs us, that this chapter has been abridged from the chapter on "Caste, tribe and race" contributed by Sir Herbert Risley to the Report on the Census of India, 1901. As to the character and condition of the social organisations of the different

races and tribes of our country, no one amongst the officials in India is expected to have better knowledge than Sir Herbert Risley who is the Director of Ethnography for India. This distinguished member of the Civil Service took an active and prominent part in the Ethnographic Survey of Bengal, some twenty years ago, and recorded some careful notes of the measurement of such physical characters of many castes and tribes as were once regarded by many and still regarded by some to be the characteristic features of different races.

It is a pity that Sir Herbert Risley, who must be presumed to know a good deal regarding the social institutions of different castes and tribes of our country, has not recorded them either in the "Empire of India" or in his recently published work, "The People of India". Despite the title of this volume, namely Descriptive, the chapter under review is concerned more with some theories and the classification of races on the basis of those theories, than with the statement of social and ethnographical facts as observed in different races and tribes. Perhaps to a scholar, the temptation to indulge in theories becomes very great (nay, at times almost irresistible); and the humbler function of recording ethnographic notes in a collected and well-digested form, though more useful and serviceable, is not exercised.

What is most regrettable is, that the theories which have been discarded by modern ethnologists of great eminence as unworkable, have been accepted as verified truths; and inferences regarding the class divisions of races have all been based on those theories. If Sir Herbert Risley had strong grounds to adhere to old theories in the teeth of modern investigations, so comprehensively collected together by A. H. Keane, who is himself a great authority, he should have at least stated some of them. If in a short chapter on an important subject, the introduction of perplexing problems was considered undesirable, the fact that in view of the general miscegenation of races since the remotest antiquity of man, the classification of the races of men by the tests adopted by the author, is not much favoured by many eminent authorities, could be mentioned with a few critical remarks.

The editor tells us very frankly in the general preface, that the whole of this work has been written by officials in India to maintain the character of official authority, as stated in that very preface. Is then the reason for the dogmatic treatment of the subject to be sought in this idea, *viz.*, that if this work spoke with an uncertain sound, it might not carry much weight with readers in India?

(1) *Value of classification considered.*—

I have stated above, that in 'The People of India' as well as in the 6th chapter of the first volume of 'The Indian Empire' a classification of the races of India has been attempted. Before considering the value of those physical characteristics on the basis of which the classification has been made, let us first of all examine the fundamental question, whether the classification of mankind into races, is at all possible, or is of any use at all.

Regarding the antiquity of man, J. A. Thomson states in his very able summary of the progress of science in the 19th century, that "it is a moderate estimate to suggest half a million years." He says again with his characteristic precision;—

"Even a moderate estimate would grant 10,000 years to the historical period in Egypt and Mesopotamia, 20,000 to the metal ages, 70,000 to the neolithic period, and behind that total of 100,000 years there stretches the vista of the palaeolithic, and even then man had a long histoy behind him."

Students of natural history consider it probable that palæolithic man (the remote ancestor of all Adams and Eves of our type) spread over nearly the whole world. If for want of detailed information we leave the conditions of palaeolithic society out of consideration, we cannot avoid considering the fact that neolithic man who knew many arts and industries inhabited all parts of the globe; and many races and tribes were formed owing merely to the geographical distribution of man all over the world.

I state it on the authority of A. H. Keane that the intermingling of races of men commenced as early as neolithic times, and this process of miscegenation has always been at work through all subsequent ages. Who can then deny the result of the ever-increasing confusion of the so-called *fundamental elements*, and of the blurring of primeval types? To quote the exact words of

the great ethnologist,—"mankind has been so long on the earth, and has been subject to such endless migrations, displacements and interminglings of all sorts, that there is now no race which is pure." Universal miscegenation of primitive man with successive hordes of later immigrants must have brought about such a complexity in the racial characteristics—which are considered to be *permanent elements* in race differentia—that it is extremely difficult if not impossible to account for them.

The so-called Caucasic race had a history of interminglings of races of all sorts; and there is nowhere now any perfect embodiment of the Caucasic type. The Aryans who never formed a distinct and well-defined ethnical group, assimilated in their body of cultured organisation many and different races long before they proceeded to Europe to impress the indelible marks of their language and religion upon several groups of tribes of the northern world. Are we not then justified in making this observation, that if the variations which we now notice in different races of mankind have been produced through ages untold by the process of very complex miscegenation since the neolithic period, similarities in features, physical or social, cannot afford *any criterion* by which genetic affinities can be established?

Let me illustrate it by the example of the people of England It is now admitted on all hands that there are no longer any pure races of mankind in this world and that a pure Caucasic type is a mere matter of imagination. Now, it must also be accepted as a verified truth that other peoples resided in England before that region was reached by some people of advanced physical type. Prof. John Rhys in a learned address which he delivered in 1900 A.D. describes the ancient race of Britain to be, "small swarthy mound-dwellers of an unwarlike disposition, much given to magic and wizardry, and living underground." Then when by the process of miscegenation, the new and the old people formed a new race, could such a new race be affiliated to any particular family of mankind? Can any such thing as a particular "family" or "race" of mankind be at all conceived? I shall discuss the value of the size of the skull later on, but one word here, just to point out the uselessness of the task of classification. It was the opinion of some anthropologists that when the dolichocephalic and the brachycephalic types are crossed, the result is the production of a mean (mesocephalic) type. To suit this theory many imaginary facts were thought of, to explain the origin of the mesocephalic, or sub-dolichocephalic English people. The Negro people being dolichocephalic, it has been conjectured that the Negro race, when it overran Europe, bequeathed to the white man of to-day its sub-dolichocephalic index. It is for this reason, that Mr. Taylor states in his work entitled the "Origin of the Aryans" (p. 65) that the white race of Europe appears as a derivative from the Negro and the yellow race.

The European type may be intermediate, and the sort of amalgamation suggested may be very true, but the results in the character of the head, the orbit and the hair from such mixture cannot be asserted. The question of heredity is still a stiff problem; and it cannot be said in what proportion the father and the mother appear in their children. I shall have to refer to this question later on. Another fact requires mention. There is in the English people, as well as in some other races of Europe, a strain of Aryan blood in addition to a blend of other elements—(Kean's Ethnology, p. 396). As a misconception regarding the Aryan stock requires to be removed, I should state here briefly the result of modern researches on the point. For the authority of the propositions of which I am going to give a summary, I refer the readers to the following amongst other important works:—(1) Ethnology, by A. H. Keane, (2) The revised edition of Stanford's Compendium of Geography (specially the six volumes relating to Africa, Asia and Europe), and (3) Principles of Sociology by F. H. Giddings.

The main propositions of the Aryan problem are:—

(1) The Aryans were a linguistic group and not an ethnic group to begin with. They formed a group of culture and spread their language and religion over a great portion of the world. "The Aryan peoples must be regarded, not as a single ethnical stock, but as an amalgam of many Caucasic, and no doubt some Mongolic elements, leavened by an original xanthochroid strain. . . ."

(2) There cannot be any ethnical relation amongst all the groups of people speaking Aryan languages. Every distinct language does not represent a distinct race. The prevailing confusion between the groups of Aryan languages and the peoples of Aryan speech, is due to the mistake of the philologists who worked out their theory without any reference to anthropological researches.

(3) That community has now disappeared, being dispersed amid the innumerable populations, on whom it imposed one form or another of the Aryan mother-tongue.

(4) "The Aryan migrations cannot be conceived as successive swarms going forth from some primeval Aryan Cradleland and for the first time peopling a great part of the northern hemisphere."

(5) The whole of Europe was already occupied by many tribes and ethnic groups. The wandering Aryan tribes only came in contact with them and imposed their civilisation upon them. Therefore it will be correct to say *that an "Aryan strain permeates all or most of the groups"* now speaking Aryan tongues. *It is not true that these groups are themselves of Aryan stock.*

I should add another word here. The wandering Aryan tribes before coming in contact with the European groups of races, "did not fail to form fresh ethnical groups with the indigenous inhabitants," sacrificing their racial purity, if ever they had any.

(6) Strictly speaking, the term Aryan "is applicable only to the Hindus and Persians" in whose traditions only, the word occurs. The extension of the term by the philologists to all the groups of people speaking Aryan tongues, was due to great misconception and must therefore be avoided.

I think this is sufficient to show in a review like this, that any attempt at the classification of races is bound to prove abortive and no race on earth can be said to belong to this or that family of mankind. The eminent scientist, Mr. J. A. Thompson, has therefore very rightly remarked that "the classification of mankind into races is not very instructive."

II.

I have stated that linguistic evidence is a very uncertain thing to rely upon, in the matter of ethnology. It is still more dangerous when theories are built upon linguistic facts which are imperfectly understood. I shall show later on, that though we must pay a tribute of praise to Dr. Grierson for what he has done in connexion with the Linguistic Survey of India, he has failed to realise the character of the dialectic variations of northern Indian languages.

Even if we accept the wholly untenable opinion of Dr. Grierson regarding the method of migration of the Aryans in India, can it be asserted that Aryan features are prominent in some races only? Has anybody now any knowledge as to how the Aryans looked when they commenced to pour into India? It seems that Sir Herbert Risley has got a very well-defined picture before him of the Aryans. For how else could it be stated that this or that race retains the Aryan type to this or that extent? From what source he obtained this portrait he has not informed us. But for aught we know, ethnologists have failed to form any idea whatever regarding the physical appearance of the Aryans. Mr. Keane says that "the primitive Aryan group...eludes our grasp. As well might we seek in the raised dough the leaven of fermentation, as try to determine a *primitive Aryan type.*" The learned writer again says, that "Virchow's challenge remains unanswered: 'who therefore will furnish the proof, that the *primitive Aryans were all dolichocephalous, and had blue eyes, blonde hair, and a white complexion*?" The italics are mine. Yet, by the standard of an Aryan type (wholly imaginary) the races of India have been judged.

It is not quite the proper place to make any suggestion as to the origin of certain types represented by different peoples in India. But I may point out that a theory quite opposite to what has been put forward may be maintained with greater plausibility.

It is a well-known fact in history that the people of the Panjab were more influenced by the invasion and settlement of many foreign tribes than those far removed from the north-western frontier. Once the *Dharmasastras* of India made the land watered by the five rivers an unholy land, for un-Aryan practices on the part of the people of that province. Let me also mention some facts regarding the people of Central

India. Previous to the rising of the Gujar tribes we do not get any account of the Rajput clans of Central India. The very clan-names had to be Sanscritised with the greatest grammatical ingenuity. We have evidence in epigraphical literature that intermarriage between the Rajputs and the Huns was practised. The Huns again, so goes the tradition, once made the neighbouring region of Central India their home. We read in the Sakti-Sangama Tantra :—

Kamagirim Samarabhya Dvaracantam, Maheswari,
Sri-Kuntalabhidho deso Hunadesam srinu priye.

I simply throw out these hints, but do not suggest any theory My purpose is simply to point out how greatly defective the inferences of the learned writer have been, because of his having introduced the test of languages and the standard of an Aryan type, in the matter of the classification of races. I must again state the fact, that great families of languages and traditions, show only culture-divisions and not race-divisions.

III.

I now proceed to examine those physical characteristics (acquired through long, long ages) which are considered to be permanent elements in race differentia. They are, principally speaking, the colour of the skin, the character of the hair, longness or broadness of skulls, width or narrowness of eye-orbits, and broadness or narrowness of the pelvis. Sir Herbert Risley has discussed the first three of these with some care; and so I shall also confine myself within those limits.

(1) Complexion—The colour of the skin is so prominent, that even careless observers notice it and classify people by it. But we learn from modern physiology, that complexion is due to climate and diet. Messrs. Giddings and Keane have cited many authorities in their works in support of that view. Mr. Keane also informs us, that "the pigment or colouring matter, situated chiefly in the *rete mucosum* or lower layer of the cuticle, which was formerly supposed to be peculiar to the Negro, is really common to all races". Theodore Waitz adduces many examples to show that "hot and damp countries favour the darkening of the skin, and that the same race tends to be much darker in low marshy districts than on the neighbouring uplands."

(2) The hair, its colour and texture—I quote the views of Mr. Keane to show how unsafe it is to base any conclusion on the character of the hair. "It is specially noteworthy that, as pointed out by Topinard, the *white group comes nearest to the higher apes* in this respect, the black being the farthest removed, and the yellow intermediate." It has also been observed that even amongst Caucasic divisions hair of different characters has been very often noticed.

(3) The shape of the skull—It is no wonder that Sir Herbert Risley attaches much importance to the measurement of the head, for it was he who principally worked for many years with scientific anthropometry. He also published the results of his measurements in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute so long ago as 1890. After considering the questions of complexion and hair, the author of "The Indian People" remarks: "when we turn to the *definite* or anthropometric characters we find ourselves upon *firmer ground*." The italics are mine. But this is not the opinion of eminent ethnologists. Even those who favour it, do not use the results of measurements in building up theories or making classifications, as Sir H. Risley has done. They only advise using anthropometry for the mere fact of recording carefully the results and not for any other purpose. Even Topinard states: "in its present phase, craniology is still a science of analysis and of patience, and not yet a science of synthesis."

I have already shown that it is difficult to know whether the Aryans were dolichocephalic or brachycephalic. It is not known to us, nor can it be traced now, whether in the process of miscegenation the character of the skull was acquired as an accident, or as a definite result of certain admixtures. Even admitting it to be the result of crossing, it cannot be ascertained whether the skull of the father or of the mother persists in the hereditary transmission. I can state it on the authority of Darwin that, which sex, under what circumstances, may have greater prepotency in the transmission of character, cannot be ascertained. It has been pronounced by that immortal naturalist that it is an extremely intricate problem.

But even those anthropologists who never had any reason to be partial to my view do not consider skull measurement to be of any value in determining race-classification. Mr. Keane's statements are always very moderate and careful. He begins by saying that "with the shape and size of the skull we seem to enter debateable ground." But later on he shows that it is of no use or value in racial classification. Wallace and some other eminent naturalists have uttered emphatic protests against anthropometry and have warned us not to rely upon it for ethnical classification.

The latest and best work on heredity is, I think, the work of J. A. Thomson. In determining the genetic relation between successive generations, it has been stated after examinig all possible theories on the subject, that acquired characters are not transmitted. It is true that the father and the mother contribute equal numbers of chromosomes in the building up of the child-organism, yet (so says the author), "the germinal from which a child develops is not quite the same as that from which the parents developed, or not quite the same as that from which its brothers and sisters developed, and the result is variation in the true sense. Each offspring has its individuality, and is a new creation" (p. 25). Then again, "as life goes on, peculiarities due to nurture, continue to be superimposed on the hereditary qualities" (p. 7). The author has shown that the modification or change of the skeleton is but an acquired character.

It is impossible to go deep into this question here. Anthropology depends greatly on biological researches, and ethnology is only a minor branch of anthropology. It is too late in the day to proceed with linguistic data only, or to make any inference from external physical features which are due to causes which it is the province of biology to determine.

If, therefore, consistently with the title of the first volume of "The Indian Empire", merely ethnographic notes had been recorded, the book would have proved highly useful. The chapter on ethnology has some other inaccuracies of a minor character, but as they are mainly dependent upon the theories, I do not refer to them here.

I shall review the chapters on Languages and Religions in a subsequent issue of this journal.

BIJAY CHANDRA MAZUMDAR.

FACTS ABOUT TIGERS

TIGERS have long been a source of terror and annoyance to the inhabitants of this country. It is very difficult to form any correct estimate of the depradations committed by these animals upon the flocks and herds of the poor peasantry. Various methods are employed all over India for entrapping or destroying these animals. The destruction of human beings and cattle by the royal tiger has been alarmingly on the increase. The statistics of the last twenty-five years indubitably show that this animal has been more destructive to human life than any other single species. From 1900 to 1904 no less than four thousand human beings fell a prey to the man-eating propensities of the tiger. During famines, when the drought causes these more than ever to move towards the plains in search of water, the facilities for giving free vent to their evil propensitics become greater. In 1897 Bengal showed an abnormal death-rate from this cause. In the year 1901, when game had run short in the forests of the Central Provinces, we find that these brutes invaded the human haunts and created great devastation in the country. These animals are found to be more vigorous in their campaign against cattle. From 1880 to 1884, the total sacrifice in this direction is represented by 109,875. The total number of deaths of human beings caused by tigers alone forms on the average 37 per cent. of the total number of deaths caused by other wild animals. The great havoc committed by these brutes upon cattle

and men fully justify the introduction of every possible contrivance for their extermination.

Tigers are a class of treacherous animals. They are very sly and cruel. The earliest home of the tiger has been mentioned to be the marshes and heavy jungles of Bengal. It is not found in Ceylon; perhaps, it must have migrated southwards only after the separation of the island from the mainland. The *Atharva Veda*, which is said to have been written when the Aryans had reached the Ganges valley, makes mention of the tiger while no mention of it is made in the *Rig-Veda*. Nothing is also mentioned about this animal in the *Avasta*, which is one of the most ancient Iranic Scriptures. This is sufficient proof to show that it was probably at a relatively late period that it spread to West and North Asia and into the Malayan peninsula. Tigers are largely found in the forests of Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar. These animals are now seen only in inaccessible swamps and jungles, and this is why we do not have now great 'tiger-bags' as before. There is a general fear, at least Mr. Rees thinks so, that the breed will become extinct. It is unfounded; for, in the impenetrable jungles of Bengal, Central India and the Ghats of Southern India, where sportsmen generally cannot easily get at them, these beasts are sure to long survive.

A tiger, taken ever so young, or nurtured ever so kindly, is sure in the end to reveal its insatiable thirst for human blood. A good many stories are current among the inhabitants of the jungles regarding the man-eating propensities of the tiger. It is said that all tigers are not man-eaters: it is only some of them that turn out to be man-eaters. Certain causes must have evidently contributed to turn some of these animals into man-eaters, though we are unable to believe many of those fabulous accounts. Tigers must have found man-killing an easier form of sport than catching other animals for food. It is said that when once a tiger acquires the habit, the ease with which it can procure food confirms it in the practice. The scarcity of game in certain jungles is said to be another reason. We know, as a matter of fact, that in places where cattle are found all the year round, we do not hear of much havoc done by tigers among human beings. Tigers, when they take to man-killing, become very crafty, and can baffle even the keenest of sportsmen. We have heard of a tiger in South India which had killed two hundred human beings. Mr. Webber has given us an account of an Himalayan tiger which is said to have killed more than three hundred men, women and children. Captain Forsyth, whose book is a classic on the subject, says that the districts in which man-eating is most prevalent are those where cattle are sent to graze for only a part of the year; the cattle keep down the game-supply, and when they depart the tigers have to kill men or to starve. Tigers are sometimes said to cover an area of 40 square miles or more in their wanderings in quest of food. In the cool damp jungles of Bengal and certain places where deer and domestic cattle are abundant, they are rather 'stay-at-home'. The difficulty, as has been found by personal experience, of bringing a tiger to bag becomes infinitely greater when it remains in its favourite haunt than when it wanders out.

This animal has many other peculiarities. In killing its victims, the tiger, we have it on the authority of Captain Forsyth, seizes by the nape of the neck, and uses its paws to hold the animal and gives a purchase for the wrench that dislocates its vertebrae. Mr. Sanderson, another sportsman of large Indian experience, does not agree with this view. He says that it is not usual with the tiger to seize its victim by the nape. What it actually does "is to seize the throat in his jaws from underneath and turn it upwards and over, sometimes springing to the far side in doing so, to throw the victim over and give the wrench which dislocates the neck." Our experience of the tiger in the forests of Southern India is much the same as that of Mr. Sanderson, though we have always seen the tiger springing upon its prey first and then, to quote the words of Sir S. Baker, 'fixing his teeth' in the back of the neck at the first onset, and continuing its spring so as to pass over the animal attacked. This wrenches the neck suddenly round, and as the animal struggles the dislocation is easily effected. Again there are doubts as to the muscular strength of the tiger. Colonel Walter Campbell has mentioned a case of a tiger which jumped clean over a six-foot

hedge of prickly pear with a bullock in its jaws. This might seem incredible; but the tiger is a strong animal and it can carry on its back animals of enormous weight and jump with them over big ravines and ditches. The tiger, unlike the leopard, eats the hind quarters of its victim first. It does not suck the blood of its victim and tear open the pleura; on the other hand it likes to make, if left undisturbed, a quiet feast of it in the course of a couple of days. The sportsmen take advantage of this and try to shoot it over a 'kill.' When it kills an animal it wants to make the best use of it. There is difference of opinion about the maximum size of tigers. Sir S. Baker, Mr. Sanderson, and other authorities must have had experience only of the Bengal tigers when they say that they are the largest and the most ferocious. They have fixed the size of a full-grown tiger at from 9 to 12 feet. But in parts of Southern India, we have seen tigers of over 14 feet in length. The one in Trivandrum Park measures more than 13 feet and is exceedingly ferocious.

We shall now describe some of the methods adopted in destroying these animals. The people of Malabar (the *Kurichiyars* of the Waynad forests) are even now known to be the best hunters. They are not in the habit of equipping themselves with rifles when out hunting, the chief weapon used by them being a kind of arrow (it is called *Kathyiambu*). They destroy these brutes by the following primitive method:—

"A small space near a thoroughfare is partially cleared in the jungle and an old goat or dog is pitted in the centre. Around this place at convenient distances, several pits, just large enough to admit the body of a man, are dug and wooden plugs are inserted in the interior of the pits and on these plugs which serve the purpose of steps, these *Kurichiyars* balance themselves while looking out for the arrival of the tiger from the nearest jungle. They have not to wait long for the beast; and when it comes and takes a bound at the poor beast pitted in the centre, a number of arrows are shot upon the beast. The whole is easier done than said. It is very seldom that the beast tries in its impotent rage to make a rush at its aggressors: it gets very often the quietus at the very first discharge of the arrows. These *Kurichiyars* display great skill and courage in thus lacerating and debilitating the tiger in no time."

This method is not very much in vogue at present. The method of shooting the tiger over a 'kill' is the one prevalent almost throughout India, and the following is a description of the same. Some of these animals, despite all precautions, insist night after night, in carrying off sheep, bullocks, and even men and women. The people then generally adopt the following course. One or two experienced sportsmen join together (it must be noted that they should have sufficient experience in tiger-killing), and make a platform on the loftiest branches of some trees near a 'kill' over which the tiger had a half meal the previous night. Sometimes in couples, sometimes alone, these men wait there in the night seated on the platform which is well-shrouded from view by thick foliage. The tiger is sure to make its appearance to finish the meal; and its approach to the place is indicated by the sudden disappearance of the jackals from near the carcase, which has already attracted legions of jackals, vultures and dogs. The jackals and the dogs generally get off at a canter: only the vultures remain careless of the approach of the 'lord of jungles'. The very stealthy and catlike way in which it creeps out of the jungle and the final bound it aims at the throat of the prostrate carrion is a sight worth seeing. Simultaneously with that final bound the animal is shot; clever sportsmen would always do so; for, afterwards (that is to say when the brute in all its ferocity begins its feast) it may not be quite possible to take a good aim. The beast has a good vitality and the shot must therefore be aimed at one of the vital organs of the animal—the brain, heart or lungs.

In Bengal and Central India, tigers are destroyed in other ways. They beat an area of a jungle with howdah elephants and finally surround the beast. In Central India tigers are shot from a *Machan*. There is hardly any difference between the latter and the one we have just described at length. In the *Machan* sport, which is done under cover of night, large numbers of coolies provided with drums are employed to beat a jungle and drive the tigers to the *Machans* (platforms) on which are seated the sportsmen. Again, tigers are also killed on foot by the sportsmen of Central India. Sportsmen interested in tiger-killing should first study the stealthy habits of the animal and, with sufficient courage, (by which we mean that they should not begin to shiver from head to foot at the appearance of the animal), it would not be very difficult to shoot

the animal on foot, say from behind a bush or rock. The difficulty lies in facing the tiger directly: the rest is quite easy. The tiger, while it is the most ferocious of animals, is very cowardly.

These animals are also captured alive in traps of very simple mechanism, the bait generally used being a dog or a sheep. They are also captured by the use of medicine by certain jungle tribes. In older times tigers were captured and tamed for purposes of display. We have read of animal fights having been one of the common amusements among Indian Princes. Indian Princes used to tame these animals like cats.

When Captain Basil Hall visited Linga Raja of Coorg, in 1813, two large tigers, which the Raja had completely tamed, were let loose in the Hall and "they merely lounged about, rubbed their noses together, and then, tumbling on the ground, rolled about like a couple of kittens at play". Lord Roberts tells us that the Karoli Raja appeared at Lord Canning's Durbar with four tigers each chained on a separate car. The Emperor Jehangir possessed the power of taming tigers and lions, and it is said that a messenger from the king of Persia, who visited his Court, once found the Emperor stroking two great tigers. We have seen tamed tigers and lions with Circus troupes. Some attribute this to hypnotism, whilst others are of opinion that they are tamed by medicinal powers.

A SPORTSMAN.

NOTES

The Education of Woman.

What India needs to-day is education, more and deeper than any she has yet attained. In contemplating this, we must not unduly exalt our need of others. None is really taught by another. True teaching is always self-teaching. Real education is self-education. By our own vision of the ideal, and by our own struggle to reach its height, do we really rise; by no other means whatsoever. It matters nothing in what form the ideal appears to us; it matters not at all whether the upward path be hard or easy. All that matters is our own struggle. By *that* do we rise.

This struggle has now reached the period of its highest importance. We are face to face with a definite educational problem, whose general form and dimensions we are able to envisage. The mind of our people as a whole is to be set free to reflect within the great processes of our outward striving. The community is grappling with its own spiritual destinies, labouring at all costs to recover and re-express its old self-consciousness of nationality and the civic life. And each home must adjust itself in its own way, at its own rate, to each increment of these inspirations, as it is won.

The *Samaj* is the strength of the family: the home is behind the civic life: and the civic life sustains the nationality. This is the formula of human combination. The essentials of all four elements, we have amongst us. We have inherited all that India needs, in our ancient *dharma*. But we have allowed much of their consciousness to sleep. We have again to *realise* the meaning of our own treasures.

Public spirit is the reflection within, of the groupings that transcend the home, without. If we are struggling to renew the city and the nation, then the affairs of city and nation must occupy our thought and feeling. Our love of people and country must be conscious, not merely latent, and the effort to awaken this in ourselves, will constitute the largest factor in true education. Reading and writing are serviceable to this effort: but they can never take its place. Many kinds of knowledge will appear desirable to those who are thus striving to subordinate their own experience to that of the country, trying to merge themselves in the unities that include the home. But such knowledge may for the most part be classified—outside the three R's——as History, Geography, and Science.

Most of the facts that go to build up the communal spirit will be gathered from one or other of these sources. A world-sense; a time-sense; and a feeling for the fact in itself; these three things make up the modern conception; and these are Geography, History, and Science.

Where there is opportunity for the process of education, it ought to run on these lines. For the most part, however, we are educated by no definite process, but by participating in the ideas of those about us. Few lessons are so memorable in after-life, as a father's kindly answers to his children's questions, asked as they sat at meals, or rested in his arms. The very importance of reading and writing as a means to education lies in the wider area of thought and opinion that they throw open to us. Books, Newspapers, and Magazines carry the thought of the world and the commune without, into the home within. The great mind-tides of the national ocean wash up, by their means, on the quiet shores of women and the family.

The great end and aim of all educational efforts, then, lies in rendering the individual efficient as an atom in his community and that community efficient as an atom in humanity. To do this, a certain care and forethought are necessary. For it is in his *own* community that the individual is to inhere. Here we come on the crime of those who educate an Indian girl to be an ornament of English or French society. The main value of education is not individual but social and communal. And a woman of merely European associations is as out of place in the Indian world as a *Dodo* amongst a flock of pheasants, or a deer amongst cows. As a matter of fact, however, the method in this case necessarily defeats the end, and the girl is exceedingly unlikely to realise either ideal. By a false education, she has been made critical of her own people and their institutions, without herself fulfilling the ideal of any other. It is not by teaching a Bengali girl French, or the piano, but by enabling her to think about India, that we really educate her, and make of her one with whom the world's greatest minds are proud to be associated.

To attempt this, every home is competent. The will of the mother may indeed flow through each individual, as the ocean through an empty shell. The experience of the country may loom so large in any one life, that the personal experience is made small beside it. But the spirit that feels thus is only to be caught from fires already kindled. Throughout the day, those who would light this fire, must first give *themselves* to the great pre-occupation. The children at their lessons will catch the thought, and their knowledge as it comes will add to it fresh power. Let each begin where he can. It is a case of "Bring your own lotus to blossom, and the bees will come of themselves!"

In the ideal education, the great interest of life is built up in three stages: first, there are the studies of childhood; then there is travel; and last of all comes the chosen task. Such was the life of Savitri, and such is all perfect life. We learn to the end. There is no point at which education ends. But in forming the idea of India as an absorbing passion, a few years of pilgrimage, before the serious work of life begins, give the most perfect aid. This, it will be remembered, is travel *within* India. Not outside. Foreign travel is good, when the mind has been trained to understand and benefit by what it sees. But merely to see and hear strange things, without a purpose, without a leading idea, without any wisdom of life, is as dangerous as any other form of gluttony or indigestion. The same thing, in the same system, may be made to act as food or as poison, according to the conditions under which it is absorbed.

Even in India, purposeless travel breeds meaningless love of change, while travel for an idea gives a supreme vision and delight. *To prepare one's daughters to understand their country when they see her*, would not be a bad way of summing up the object of childhood's schooling. To do so, how much must one not learn! Certainly no eye as yet has gathered the full glory of India, as the Indian woman of the future will gather it. Cheetore and Benares, Ujjain and Rajgir, Elephanta and Conjeeveram,—to appreciate these, how much is to be studied! And of the whole to be enjoyed, how small a fraction are these!

The home as an organ of the commune, education by public spirit and by travel, lead us to the last great factor in the perfect life, the individual task, through which

each soul takes its own place in the national whole. Above all, this work must be selfless. No love of display, no thirst for fame or praise, must be allowed to vulgarise her who desires to offer herself at the feet of the Mother. The great Teacher of Dakkhineshwar used to hold gold in one hand and earth in the other, and change them backwards and forwards, from hand to hand, muttering 'Earth is Gold! Gold is Earth!' till, having lost all sense of their relative values, he could throw them both into the river. Similarly let us say, "India is all! I am nothing! I am nothing! India is all!" till one idea alone remains with us, of throwing away self and life and ease, as so much dross, in the great stream of effort that is making for the national righteousness.

It may be that we are called only to silence and thought. Then let our silence be dynamic, let our thought be prayer. Let our quiet shelter the idea of India, as a lamp might be kept from flickering, behind the screen of an outstretched veil. Even silence serves, for woman must ever provide the force out of which man acts. It is the faith cherished in the home, that governs action in the world. To hold a thought and be true to it unwavering, is far greater than to spring impulsively to noble deeds. In a nation, we want both,—woman, the mother, to keep the faith; man, the child, to fight its battles. The saint who prays over the sleeping city is ever feminine, ever vigilant, ever silent. To work, to suffer, and to love, in the highest spheres; to transcend limits; to be sensitive to great causes; to stand transfigured by the national righteousness; this is the true emancipation of woman, and this is the key to her efficient education.

NIVEDITA—OF RK.-V.

Reading, Writing and Speaking.

There are but a few main points, as central thoughts on a subject, in a thinker's mind; for the excellence of a thought lies in its simplicity and generality. The author of a voluminous book has but a few rudimentary original ideas to start with, which he elaborates, and explains, with facts and details, to make into a big book.

It is these points that are so very important in the whole work, and which it should be our special object to get hold of, in reading through the book. The details will then easily follow.

In writing and speaking as well, "Brevity is the soul of wit." Brevity often invites attention and penetrates into the mind of a reader or a listener like a sharp needle driven straight in. These few central thoughts very often appear in his mind, as plain and natural, and readily acceptable, being considered almost as much his own, as his own original thoughts are. Spontaneously he accepts them, elaborates them, and, if necessary, defends them with all the nascent ideas of his own mind.

In other words, what really constitutes success in Reading, Speaking and Writing, is a short, simple, significant thought based upon a solid array of facts, given with authority and reference, a grain of relevant fact being worth far more, than a much larger back-ground of embellishments.

These solid facts are to be picked up from one's own experience, as well as from that of others. The latter field is vastly more extensive, and is a more fertile source to draw from. With these wide fields one must keep close touch. It is the business of authoritative books of reference to supply them concisely, which we should largely consult.

Original works of known authors on interesting subjects should be all known by name, and for getting short central ideas from them, their tables of contents, introductions, and conclusions, should at least be read through, together with the reviews made of them in journals and books.

This is mainly meant to give us some idea, about the sources of references of a particular nature—together with authentic statistics, diagrams and charts if any, on the subject, which are for the spread of useful and exact knowledge, by reading, speaking and writing, so very important, at the present day.

Instead of reading a book thoroughly at odd times, it is better to do so with reference to a particular object in view. Whenever a certain question crops up, or a subject has to be written upon, gather up all the references, and read through those parts only wherein the reference to the matter in question is contained. This will

save time and labour, and give a better and more manageable grasp of the subject.

We should take short notes as we read, then sort them, connect, elaborate,—and finally draw conclusions from the marshalled out thoughts, in a concise and significant way.

To be brief in everything is a great advantage, and is true economy. It would immensely save our time and labour, and of those who read and consult us.

Whenever a thought is to be developed, it should be given a definite shape, however rude it may at first be. Then elaborate it, with explanations, examples and references, and make it known by publishing it. This would invite criticism and comment, and thus help us with more suggestions and ways of viewing things. It would broaden our own opinions, with the thoughts and experiences of others.

Retouching is always necessary. Retouching with slight alterations is just like the pencilling for light and shade on a painting to make it more life-like, up-to-date and exact.

INDU MADHAB MALLIK.

Want of Sympathy.

One of the charges frequently brought against British rule in India is the manifest want of sympathy between the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats who rule India and the people of the country. Those who bring this charge should remember that such was the case even in England a century ago. Thus a writer on "Parliamentary Reform" in the *Edinburgh Review* for July 1809, says :—

"With regard, again, to the obvious want of sympathy and communication between the people and their rulers, and the mingled discontent and contempt which naturally arises, on both sides, from this unconstitutional estrangement; this is owing, we believe, in a very great degree, to the actual ignorance of the most forward and stirring part of our public functionaries with regard to the real sentiments, as well as the intelligence and temper of the people. Living constantly in the metropolis—engaged perpetually with their schemes and intrigues,—and communicating with the people only through those dangerous *middlemen* who pretend to dispose of Elections, it is not wonderful that they should want leisure and opportunity to make themselves acquainted with the state of public opinion, or that they should regard its expression as an ungrateful interference with their peculiar privileges. When the public business of a country is much accumulated, and consequently much subdivided, there is nothing perhaps which makes a man more shallow and arrogant, than to be wholly engaged in it; and it is, we believe, very much owing to the multiplication of those pert, practised, and narrow-minded politicians, that that repulsive tone of contempt has been adopted towards the people, which has been repaid, upon their side, with retorted scorn and resentment." Pp: 293-294.

The above is equally applicable to modern India. The cause of this want of sympathy on the part of the English for Indians is described in the following manner by a writer in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1855 (p. 285) :—

"We can sympathise with our own countrymen, on whatever shores they may be cast, or in whatever situation they may be thrown; but it is not easy to sympathise, under any circumstances, with a genuine Asiatic. Even the most experienced amongst us understand but imperfectly the feelings, the instincts, the principles of action which move the Hindoos and Mahomedans, by whom we are surrounded. And if we do understand them, it is troublesome to go out of ourselves for the occasion to place ourselves in the situation of people of different colour and different creed, and to forget our nationality altogether. Some how or other, we cannot take a living interest in the actions of our dusky neighbours. Surrounded as we are by them, often seeing from month's end to month's end no other faces, we are still little able to regard them as anything more than so much furniture. We don't think how the blood flows, or the heart pulses, or the brain works beneath the dark skin. Even a dead body is a mere thing of corruption—not the outward and visible sign of a foregone tragedy of the deepest human interest. It is an atom of a great mass of mortality—not one living member of a family complete in all its parts, and bound together by the same endearing ties, that we ourselves are wont to recognize. In our eyes it is not the ruin of a father, a brother, or a son—whose place is vacant—whose *lotah* has passed into other hands. We may speak his language—know thoroughly the history of the country and the geography of the district to which he belonged—perhaps, in the abstract understand something about the mysteries of caste; but he is, after all, nothing more than one of so many millions of tax-payers—a grain of sand from the great desert, on which we have stamped the foot-prints of the European conqueror."

Professor Wallace on the Failure of Lord Morley.

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy writes: "Professor Alfred Russel Wallace has sent me the following notes on Lord Morley's Indian policy, a commentary on the 'Failure of John Morley,' and with his permission I forward them to you for publication in the *Modern Review*." This is what Dr. Wallace writes :—

"I had great hopes of John Morley, but I have lost them. He seems to want the moral courage to face a great responsibility, and to be cowed by the ruling classes into a

dread of insurrection. He has not dared to strike out a new path and make his will *dominant* over the officialdom of India and the India Office. His very first step should have been to send out to India, Englishmen whom he could trust, to bring him *true* information as to the actual condition of the workers of India, and the aspirations of the educated classes. He should also have given *hope* to the people of India. He should have declared his determination to *initiate*, and carry out *continuously*, even if *slowly*, the long-promised grant of Self-Government in India ; beginning, not at the top, which is absolutely worthless—a mere sop to officialdom—but at the *bottom*, in the restoration of the village communities, each with an educated native, *of the same race*, as representative of the *protecting*—not the oppressing—power of the English rule. He should insist on the immediate reduction—even the temporary cessation—of the terrible taxation of the actual land-cultivators, the source of India's real wealth, yet the most miserable in the world under Indian officialdom. He should have insisted, *first of all*, on the holdings of these cultivators and of all their little household goods and agricultural implements being absolutely *inalienable*, thus saving them for ever from the clutches of the money-lender to whom *our* laws have delivered them. He should abolish the cruel salt-tax, and to the *actual cultivators* supply irrigation-water free, since it was *our* neglect that allowed the old tanks to be destroyed.

"All this would have been dreadfully irregular, and high officialdom would have protested ; but, with a Minister of *determined will*, would have submitted. These measures would have been upheld by the English nation, would have by this time abolished *famine* and have reduced *plague ;* and, combined with a greater sympathy with all religious and racial customs and feelings, would have ensured internal peace and confidence in English rule. Indians of all classes would then have felt that their King and Emperor was at last represented by a Minister who sympathised with *them*, and whom they could trust."

Hindus and Mahomedans in India in the days of John Company.

In our last number we quoted a passage from Dr. Taylor's Topography of Dacca to show the amicable relations which prevailed beween Hindus and Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal about 1839, when the book was written. In this number we shall make some further extracts, but from another source, to show that the same happy state of things prevailed all over India, and even beyond it, in countries governed by Mahomedan rulers. The book to which we shall refer is The East India Gazetteer, by Walter Hamilton, published in two volumes in the year 1828, dedicated by permission to the Court of Directors. The materials from which the work was composed were either printed documents, or manuscript records deposited at the India Board, so that it was something in the nature of a semi-official publication. I shall give the passages with the headings of the articles in which they occur.

Hindustan : Open violence produced little effect on so patient a people, and although the Mahomedans subsequently lived for centuries intermixed with Hindus, no radical change was produced in the manners or tenets of the latter ; on the contrary, for almost a century past, the Mahomedans have evinced much defeence to the prejudices of their Hindu neighbours, and a strong predilection towards many of their ceremonies (vol I, p. 648).

Rungpoor : The two religions, however, are on the most friendly terms, and mutually apply to the deities or saints of the other, when they imagine that application to their own will prove ineffectual. (vol II, p.478).

Malabar : When the Portuguese discovered India, the dominions of the Zamorin, although ruled by a superstitious Hindu prince, swarmed with Mahomedans, and this class of the population is now considered greatly to exceed in numbr all other descriptions of people in the British District of South Malabar. This extraordinary progress of the Arabian religion does not appear (with the exception of Hyder and Tipoo) to have been either assisted by the countenance of the government or obstructed by the jealousy of the Hindus, and its rapid progress under a series of Hindu princes demonstrates the toleration, or rather the indifference, manifested by the Hindoos to the peaceable diffusion of religious practices and opinions at variance with their own (II, 181).

Deccan : There is a considerable Mahomedan population in the countries subject to the Nizam, but those of the lower classes, who are cultivators, have nearly adopted all the manners and customs of the Hindoos (I. 484).

Kelat [The capital of Beluchistan] : The Hindus are principally mercantile speculators from Mooltan and Shikerpoor, who occupy about 400 of the best houses, and are not only tolerated in their religion, but also allowed to levy a duty on goods entering the city for the support of their pagoda (II, 81).

Afganistan : Brahminical Hindus are found all over Cabul, specially in the towns, where they carry on the trade of brokers, merchants, bankers, goldsmiths and grain-sellers. (I, 12).

Cabul: Many Hindus frequent Cabul, mostly from Peshawar; and as by their industry they contribute greatly to its prosperity, they are carefully cherished by the Afgan Government (I, 307).

Candahar: Among the Inhabitants he [Seid Mustapha] reckons a considerable number of Hindus (partly Kanoje Brahmins) both settled in the town as traffickers, and cultivating the fields and gardens in the vicinity.....with respect to religion, a great majority of the inhabitants are Mahomedans of the Sooni persuasion, and the country abounds with mosques, in which Seid Mustapha asserts both Hindoos and Mahomedans worship, and in other respects nearly assimilate. (I, 341).

Vilification of the Bengalees.

The *Calcutta Review* for July 1855 (pp: 138 *et seq.)* wrote:—

* * * *

"What Jew looked for any good thing out of Galilee? What Anglo-Indian looked for fighting in Bengal? * * * *

"The cowardice of a Bengali is indeed a thing by itself. * *

"Like a *pate de foie gras* from Strasbourg, or *Eau de Cologne* from Jean Marie Farina, or shawls from Cashmere, or rose-water from Ghazeepore, cowardice from Bengal is the only genuine commodity of the name. All other specimens are but imperfect and spurious. * * * *

"Bengal of course must be inhabited by Bengalis, and what are Bengalis, but the sleek, cringing sircar, the fat plausible Baboo, the be-Bacon'd and be-Shakspeare'd School-boy, the lying witness, the patient coolie, whom we meet every day? These are metropolitan specimens. Provincial Bengalis are the same, unsophisticated, and uneducated; mere varieties of the timid, cunning, perfidious race, which dynasty after dynasty has conquered, used and despised. * * * *

"First in the row, look at the Bengali. * * * *; for in all his phases, as a citizen, a villager, a rich man, a poor man, a rajah, a ryot, an ignoramus, a school-boy, a Brahmin, a Sudra, a Bengali is the antithesis of a warrior. He is dressed unlike a man of action, according to our modern ideas of dress. Physically he is weak, effeminate, sedentary, of low stature, of dark colour, of mild countenance. He possesses an intellect susceptible of the highest polish, but not of remarkable strength or vigor. Morally he is cunning, treacherous, cowardly, avaricious, a victim to a degrading superstition, and, we must add, terribly false. No nation on earth presents a more uniform surface. * * But the man must have very little sense, or very little experience, who fails to detect a Bengali under any disguise. His slender frame cannot be concealed even by occasional obesity. No swaggering will cover his constitutional cowardice. No affectation or nonchalance his characteristic cunning. No education his national peculiarities. In his case it may safely be said—*Ex uno disce omnes.*

"Next, what is to be done with the Bengalis? They are certainly not savages; and yet what are they? Are they civilized or uncivilized? Calcutta philanthropists will, we suppose, decide for the former alternative; but we may doubt whether they are justified in doing so. If civilization mean merely softness of character and manner, we allow that they are civilized. If civilization mean a spread of education, erection of public works, commercial pursuits and such like, we allow that the country is civilized. But if civilization mean that wholesome and prosperous state of society fitted for self-government, that good hearty condition, as Leigh Hunt has it, 'a state of manhood befitting man,' we cannot save ourselves from saying that Bengal of the Bengalis is not civilized. Civilization, in its highest sense, means a manly, vigorous, national existence at its zenith. We decline to award the name either to effete or to weak infantine societies. The Bengalis are in one or other of these positions. It is difficult to determine in which. But between the two alternatives, we may gather that Bengal civilization is not yet. * *

"Bengal of the Bengalis is a land of cowards and liars; and what remark can convey a more signal proof of hopelessness? A race of savages is more hopeful than a race of cowards and liars. Germs of civilized manliness may be deep in the former; but the latter is a stock on which little good can be engrafted. What is to be done with a nation of cowards? * * * *

"Bengal of the Bengalis is plainly then in no good way. A Morison's pill of Baboos in Council, or on the Sudder Bench, in whatever numbers, will not cure its distemper. We are curious to see what the new educational regime in the hands of Mr. Pratt, will effect. In the mean while it must not forget its degradation. It must be ground down. It must be kept low, even in the dust. It is but a race of women, not men!"

We are sorry Sir H. Adamson could not refrain from harping on this old string. He must needs speak of *the timid Bengali.* Not that it matters much to the Bengali: if he be timid, he will outgrow that reputation; if he be not timid, that facts itself gives the lie to every slanderer. But was it wise or in good taste for Sir Harvey to say what he did?

Agricultural Education in Japan.

The following extract, we are sure, will be found interesting:—

"Nothing better illustrates the thoroughness which is characteristic of the Japanese nation than the manner in which the Government has initiated, developed and organised, agricultural education and research, and the response of the people to the lead of Government. Sir Frederick Nicholson estimates the total expenditure, Imperial and Local, on agriculture and agricultural education at not less than Rs. 80 lakhs per annum. Agricultural education begins in the higher elementary schools, in a large number of which the pupils are taught Agriculture and Natural Science. All teachers in Japan receive instruction in these subjects at the normal training schools. In close connection with the Elementary Schools are 6, 436 supplementary schools which give more extended instruction in Agriculture. These are either Evening schools, or give short courses in the winter months or during slack seasons, and are largely attended. Next come 118 regular agricultural schools of two grades. In the lower grade schools, of which the pupils must be over 12 years of age, there is a three years' course with 27 hours of study per week, exclusive of practical

work. In the higher grade schools, the pupils must be over 14 years of age, the course is more advanced, and extends over three or four years with a two years' post-graduate course, if desired, for specialisation in particular subjects. To both these classes are attached experimental and demonstration farms, which serve for the instruction not only of the pupils, but also of the agricultural population in their neighbourhood. The teachers, too, regularly deliver lectures on agricultural subjects to farmers at various centres. Both the agricultural schools proper, and the supplementary schools from which they often develop, are of local origin and are supported by local funds aided by moderate Imperial Grants. Nearly all the pupils which pass through them either return to the land, or become teachers or agricultural officials. Finally there is the Agricultural College of Tokyo and the Colleges at Sapporo and Morioka, with fully equipped laboratories and experimental farms, where agricultural experts, teachers, and agricultural officials, are trained. The work of the schools and colleges is largely supplemented by the experiment stations, one large central Station with several branches, and numerous local stations. The latter cost about Rs. 6 lakhs per annum, 75 per cent. of which is met from local funds. In connection with the experiment stations, there are no less than 300 itinerant lecturers, who give instruction in agriculture and allied subjects."

The Agricultural Journal of India for Jan. 1908, pp. 58-60.

A Muzzled Press and a Free Press.

On the occasion of the passing of the Explosives Act and the Newspaper Act Lord Minto said that a general act for the regulation of newspapers would be passed. When that is the desire of the authorities, who can say nay? On a memorable occasion the Hon. Mr. Baker declared that he was not afraid of driving sedition underground. Possibly he is still of the same opinion. That shows the temper of the bureaucracy. But the question is not whether the bureaucrat is afraid or not, but what is the wisest and most statesman-like course to adopt. The rulers of India must have read history and know that with a free press the people's bark is generally worse than the people's bite, but with a muzzled press their bite is invariably worse than their bark. Of course the authorities are not afraid of such flea-bites, but the Indians and Anglo-Indians who may have to suffer from the violent acts of dynamitards have reason to be afraid.

With the average bureaucrat the dynamiter is seditious and the "constitutional" agitator, too, is seditious; the only "honest" reformer is the man who bows low, vilifies his own countrymen and cries ditto to every half-finished sentence of the white official. The dynamiter has his own explosive way of preaching sedition. The other class of so-called seditionists may not all prefer to go to jail by speaking the plain truth, but even their "sedition" is not killed when it is pent up within the mind. Nor does a "seditious" idea, ideal, argument, fact, or suggestion cease to be, when the "sedition"-monger is safely lodged in jail. Like should be confronted with like. The dynamitard uses force. So Government is justified in crushing him by force. But in dealing with the so-called "sedition" of the other kind, which is far different in character, if Government has more inspiring ideas and ideals, more convincing arguments, incontrovertible facts, more righteous suggestions, they should be placed before the world. Physical force is powerless against immaterial or spiritual forces. It cannot kill or confine ideas and ideals. Nor is the newspaper the only medium for the promulgation of ideas and ideals.

No explosive has yet been invented which can shatter a righteous ideal to pieces. Government may make any repressive laws it likes; but it should not be forgotten that the law can be effective only when it derives aid from popular feeling. And this can only be when innocent people are not harassed, and the legitimate aspirations of the people are satisfied.

Defects of the National Education Movement.

When some years ago Sir Gooroodas Banerji published a book on education, it was observed that he had not a single word to say on the education of girls and women. It was all about the education of boys and young men that he wrote. This defect clings to the national education movement, with which he is prominently connected. It is a curious nation that thinks only of the men and ignores the existence of the women altogether. When the occasion requires it, the nationalist trots out the names of Sita and Savitri and Ahalya Bai to silence the adverse critic, but he is in many cases content to accept the (generally menial) services of his women-folk and to forget that Sitas and Ahalya Bais did not grow wild on the soil of India. There was some sort of culture, some sort of social polity

at the bottom, and this culture did not consist in looking mainly to the creature comforts of the male population.

It is true the Indian man reveres his mother, and is generally subservient to the wishes of his wife. It is true also that the Indian woman's spirituality and spirit of self-effacement are in many instances highly developed. But it is also true that her mental horizon and sphere of work are in too many cases little better than those of a household drudge. To call her a *Devi* (a goddess) does not deceive her.

Another defect of the national education movement is that it has done almost nothing for the masses. The nation dwells in huts and hovels. To call a movement national which practically ignores these dwellers in huts and hovels is a misnomer.

No movement can grow and be permanent which is not broad-based on the people's welfare. Anglo-Vernacular schools may be necessary for the sons of the middle-class gentry, but primary Vernacular schools for the children of the poor are more urgently needed. The money that goes to maintain one High School will suffice to maintain twenty Primary Schools. And even if no outside help is received, there is not a village that will not support its teacher, who must, of course, board round, and be satisfied with meagre payments in coin and the overflowing gratitude and sincere respect of the villagers. And are not these better than what clerks generally get in Government and mercantile offices?

Our Vernacular school literature has been sterilised. If we wish to make it inspiring, a primary national education movement is the only means that we can think of.

The Explosives Act.

The Explosives Act recently passed, the main object of which enactment has our cordial support, has been framed after its English prototype, with this difference that the Indian Act provides severer punishments,—which is not reasonable. Is a "black" criminal's crime blacker than a white criminal's offence, and hence deserving of severer punishment? Like the English Act the Indian one throws the burden of proving one's innocence on the accused. This may become a source of trouble to those who are in the bad books of the Indian Police and Executive, as in many cases the latter are not persons of the same type as men of their class in England, nor are they restrained by the effective public opinion of a free people. Hence greater safeguards are required in India. This the authorities will not admit. That for the prosecution of a suspected person the sanction of Government will be required, is some safeguard; but not a very effective one. For the police view backed up by the District Magistrates' opinion is likely to be generally adopted by the Provincial Government.

In the section which makes it punishable to help the manufacturers of explosives and bombs with money, premises, materials, &c., it should have been made necessary for a conviction that complicity or knowledge on the part of the donor or the owner of the premises or the vender of the materials, should be proved. Otherwise charitable men and innocent house-owners and traders may often have to suffer. For subscriptions raised for a laudable object may be diverted to wrong uses, and it is not always possible for the donors to prevent such abuse. And donors are neither thought-readers nor omniscient to be able to divine accurately the real object of all collectors of subscriptions. It is not practicable to verify all credentials. Famine and other visitations are always with us. Illiteracy and the absence of adequate facilities for education are a standing evil. Under these circumstances, no righteous person can refuse to pay subscriptions for feeding the starving people or for purposes of education. Already the malevolent genius of an Anglo-Indian journalist has suggested that the money raised for famine-relief is really spent in making bombs! May God have mercy on his soul!

House-owners run even greater risks. Who after letting a house can ascertain or thinks of ascertaining what is going on in the inner apartments? Is every house-owner to turn a detective or have a gang of detectives in his service? East is not West. The privacy of our inner apartments is inviolable; so that a law that may be enforced in the West without causing trouble to innocent men, may cause great hardship here.

As to the supply of materials, how are dealers in chemicals to know to what uses purchasers will put these substances? It is on record that the terrorists purchased some

chemicals from Messrs. D. Waldie. If in future any dynamitard goes to the same firm for chemicals how is it to know that he is a dynamitard?

To work effectively, a law must enlist the sympathy of the people on its side. That can be done only when it does not cause any harassment to innocent persons. Already a case has been reported where photographic chemicals are said to have been seized as explosive materials. Such acts cannot but create indignation, and range popular sympathies on the wrong side.

The first duty, though not the only or the foremost duty, of Government is no doubt to keep order. But repressive laws by themselves cannot maintain order. The root causes of disorder must be removed. It is not statesman-like to suggest, as Lord Minto has done, that the Bengal terrorists have risked their lives and all, because forsooth they belong to "a strangely impressionable and imitative people!" Says His Excellency :—

"Nothing to my mind has been more unfortunate and despicable than the readiness with which in certain quarters, endeavours have been heedlessly made to further a belief that assassination is merely the effort of a down-trodden people, struggling to free itself from a foreign oppressor. The conspiracy with which we have to deal represents nothing of the sort. To the best of my belief, it has largely emanated from sources beyond the confines of India. Its anarchical aims, and the outrageous doctrines it inculcates, are entirely new to this country. But unfortunately the seeds of its wickedness have been sown amongst a strangely impressionable and imitative people—seeds that have been daily nurtured by a system of seditious writing and seditious speaking of unparalleled virulence, vociferating to the beguiled youth that outrage is the evidence of patriotism and its reward a martyr's crown."

His Lordship seems to think that the Bengal terrorists may have argued in this way :—"We know our Government is the best possible on earth. We know Anglo-Indians have treated us as human beings. We have no grievances, no unsatisfied legitimate aspirations, no miseries, no degrading disabilities. Our opinions have been *always* followed, our interests alone always looked to and our sentiments treated with the utmost and most gentle consideration. No European murderer of Indians, or white ravisher of Indian women has gone unpunished. Still as foreign anarchists kill people by bomb-throwing and risk their own lives in the act, and as we are a very impressionable and imitative people, we must also make and throw bombs and be hanged, in order to safeguard our reputation for imitativeness and impressionability: for that is what our friends the conspirators 'beyond the confines of India' tell us to do." 'The seeds of wickedness' may have come from foreign regions, they may have been nurtured by some newspapers; but who prepared the soil for the reception of the seeds? The rulers of India undoubtedly, unconsciously of course. This explains the genesis of the bomb-throwers, though, of course, it can not justify or palliate their conduct. Their methods have been criminal and foolish, they may have taken an exaggerated view of the hopelessness of the Indian political situation; but it is nothing but the blindness caused by self-complacency that will not see the share of the Englishman, official and non-official, in the creation of the terrorist.

Fostering Educaton in the U. P.

We learn from the *Advocate* of Lucknow that in the United Provinces "it has been laid down that every student in a school should have a certain superficial area of space in the class-room; it has also been laid down that every class should not have more than two sections, each not to contain more than 35 students." No educationist can quarrel with the rule that every pupil should have a certain superficial area of space in the class-room, provided the minimum is reasonable;—nor can he object to classes or sections of classes being not more than 35 strong. But we do not understand why a class should not have more than two sections. If a Viceroy can rule the vast Indian Empire, why cannot a Head master manage a very big school with a sufficient number of assistants? Of course personal supervision is more practicable in small schools than in large ones. But even in small schools, it is not the Headmaster but the class teacher who is expected to pay attention to the needs of each individual student. And there is something stimulating in numbers, too. We should not have thought this little bit of criticism necessary if schools had been as plentiful in the United Provinces as black-berries. It is well-known that that satrapy is one of the most backward in education, and we believe there is not even one High School in *every* district and sub-divisional town. It is said that the U. P. Government is still very

paternal; but it does not seem a very paternal act to enforce a rule of the kind referred to above without in the first place providing a sufficient number of schools for all those who, on the enforcement of the rule, may be excluded from the benefits of education. The duty of the well-to-do and educated classes is clear;—especially as all well-managed private schools soon become self-supporting. They should start schools wherever they are required. Nothing would be more discreditable for our educated and well-to-do people than for them to refrain from doing acts of public utility which require the sacrifice of only a little money and time, but do not involve any risk to life or liberty.

The Newspaper Act.

The recent Newspaper Act is intended to prevent or punish incitements to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence. As such we consider it largely superfluous. For incitements to murder or acts of violence in newspapers may have been dealt with as incitements to such offences by word of mouth or other means, are dealt with. With the avowed object of the measure we are in entire sympathy. There is not a word to say as regards the prosecution of journalists for incitement to murder. But "any act of violence" is too vague and wide an expression. The use of force in self-defence or in the defence of women and children, or weak and helpless persons, is not only necessary, but is a sacred duty. We are afraid in India a newspaper which incites to or encourages such acts of self-defence may have to do so at the risk of being prosecuted. We are of opinion that the wording should, therefore, have been more precise and definite.

A word as to the punishments. If a newspaper be found guilty of any offence under this act, the press at which the paper is printed will be confiscated. Of course, if the press belongs to the editor, he loses *his* property. The question is if a man incites to mu rder or violent acts by word of mouth, does he lose any property? If the press does not belong to the editor, the owner of the press loses his property, though it is clearly impossible for the owner of a press to read everything printed at his press. Again, murder is certainly not a less serious offence than incitement to murder. But there is no law by which a murderer is deprived of his property. If he be hanged, his heirs inherit it. But if the offender be a journalist, he and his heirs are deprived of a property for the offence on his part of inciting to murder or violent acts; though if he had himself committed a murder or a violent act, his property would have been left untouched. Consider again the case where an incitement has been by means of a hand-bill or a pamphlet. In such a case the press cannot be confiscated under this Act. These are some of the anomalies that have struck us in considering the provisions of the Act. It is not just to punish offending journalists more severely than other offenders of the same description. Does it show any animus of Government against newspapers?

Lord Morley on the Indian Problem.

The following passage occurs in the speech which Viscount Morley recently made at the Indian Civil Service Club dinner in London:—

> Our first duty is to keep order. (Cheers). But it would be idle to deny that there is a living movement of the people for objects which we ourselves have taught them to think desirable. Unless we can somehow reconcile order with the satisfaction of those aspirations the fault will be ours and not theirs, and it will mark the first breakdown of British statesmanship. Nobody believes that we can now enter upon an era of pure repression with English public opinion watching us, and I do not believe that anybody desires such a thing."

This is statesmanlike. Only Lord Morley requires to bear in mind that the Advisory Councils and other so-called reforms will not satisfy our aspirations, but will on the contrary go directly against them. Nor is there such a thing as satisfying aspirations once for all. It should be recognised that the more they are satisfied the higher they grow. There is no limit even to legitimate aspirations. In a normally constituted State there should be room and opportunity for the free play of all the faculties of the soul of the citizen, including heroism. We wish to be in our own country what other people are in theirs.

Dacoities.

There have been some daring dacoities in different provinces. This need not surprise

us. The people are without arms and incapable of self-defence; though bad men seem to find no difficulty in procuring arms. So the wonder is that there are not more cases of dacoity. We should thank the dacoits for generally leaving us in the enjoyment of our limbs and property. It is said that once a kid complained to Brahma, the creator, of men's *kidivorous* propensities, whereupon Brahma replied that its very appearance excited this propensity even in Himself. No wonder that our utter inability to defend ourselves should tempt the dacoits sorely to plunder us. They deserve praise for resisting this temptation so often. Some Anglo-Indian papers have started the theory that a recent dacoity in Dacca district was committed by the National Volunteers. It is unnecessary to disprove this theory. What we would ask these Anglo-Indian papers is whether they want to tell the world that under British rule educated young men do not find any better means of earning a living, satisfying their love of daring and showing their physical courage than the commission of dacoities?

The Purdah of the East.

Lord Minto is of opinion that the British rulers of India have not been able to lift the purdah of the East and see what lies behind. We wonder why then they pretend to know all about India and its people, and ignore the opinion and sentiments of the latter in the work of legislation and administration. So long as Government honours sycophancy and flunkeyism, and snubs independence, the purdah will remain utterly impenetrable.

To the eye of justice and sympathy the veil of India is very transparent.

An appeal for the defence of Arabinda Ghose.

We hope our readers will respond readily to the following appeal:—

My countrymen are aware that my brother Babu Aurobinda Ghosh stands accused of a grave offence. But I believe, and I have reasons to think that the vast majority of my countrymen believe, that he is quite innocent. I think that if he be defended by an able Counsel he is sure to be acquitted. But as he has taken the vow of poverty in the service of the Motherland, he has no means to engage the services of any eminent Barrister-at-Law. I am, therefore, under the painful necessity of appealing to the public spirit and generosity of my countrymen on his behalf. I know all my countrymen do not hold the same political opinions as he. But I feel some delicacy in saying that probably there are few Indians who do not appreciate his great attainments, his self-sacrifice, his single-minded devotion to the country's cause and the high spirituality of his character. These embolden me, a woman, to stand before every son and daughter of India for help to defend a brother,—my brother and theirs too.

Contributions should be sent either to me at 6, College Square, Calcutta, or to my Solicitors, Messrs. Manuel and Agarwala, No. 3, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

SAROJINI GHOSH.

The faith of Mr. Arabinda Ghose.

At the beginning of the present year Mr. Arabinda Ghose delivered a speech in Bombay, from which we extract two paragraphs.

Nationalism is a religion that has come from God. Let no man dare to call himself a Nationalist if he does so merely with a sort of intellectual pride. If you are going to accept this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of God for the salvation of your own country. Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God; it is immortal, it cannot die, because it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to gaol.

There is only one force and for that force I am not necessary, you are not necessary, he is not necessary. Let all be thrown aside as so much waste substance, the country will not suffer. God is doing everything. We are not doing anything. When He bids us suffer, we suffer, because that suffering is necessary to give others strength. When he throws us away He does so because we are no longer required. This is a work that God has called us to do and in the place of those who are thrown away God will bring many more. He Himself is the worker and the work. He is immortal in the hearts of His people.

Mr. Ghose has been accused of complicity in the work of political assassination by bomb-throwing and subsidiarily of forming plans and providing weapons for committing dacoity in the house of a widow.

The lesson of the telegraph strike.

The telegraph strike is now a thing of the past, and more recent and far more sensational events have made it an event of the remote past as it were. But it is not too late to ponder over what it can teach. *The New Age*, a well-known London weekly, makes the following comments on it:—

It is very difficult for anyone in this country to pronounce upon the merits of the strike of telegraph operators in India. Our sympathies are naturally with the strikers, but the odds are against them. The auto-

cratic Government of India is an overwhelmingly powerful employer to struggle with, and it speaks volumes for the growing solidarity of Indian workers that they have ventured to strike at all. The "Times" recently declared its feeling that "the increasing prevalence of strikes in India is not an encouraging symptom." We, on the contrary, regard it as quite the must encouraging of all the recent symptoms of Indian unrest. It was plain before that the Indian was in general a docile worker, and adapted himself easily to the labour requirements of British capitalists, but it was not so plain that he was capable of emulating the independence as well as the industrial habits of the English worker. One might well have supposed that if he was to be protected from industrial slavery it would have to be done from above. But this strike of telegraph signallers following so closely upon the big railway strike shows conclusively that the Indian workers are fast learning the value of combination and becoming capable of looking after themselves. In its way the growth of trade unionism is a step towards self-government.

Temperance a World-question.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland is doing good work for India in the United States of America. Recently he published in some American papers a long memorandum containing information regarding India and a list of the books, periodicals and newspapers where further information may be obtained. This will be very helpful to all English-knowing foreigners interested in the study and solution of Indian questions. Sometime ago Dr. Sunderland preached a sermon on "some aspects of the temperance question" in Unity Church, Hartford, Conn. He began by observing that—

> Our age is slowly learning that the world is one, that nations and peoples are related, that no people or nation can rise or sink without affecting others, that laws of moral retribution are world-laws. It is time for us to open our eyes to the fact that the temperance question is a world-question, and one of a most serious nature.

Then followed a very well-informed survey of the problem in different civilised countries. He devoted a considerable portion of the sermon to India and observed:—

> The story of the complicity of the British government in India, with the liquor trade there, is a dark one. Alas, how great is the cruelty of greed for gold and of lust for power!
>
> The so-called Christian government of India allied itself, not with the people, but with the liquor trader; nay, worse, it allied the liquor trader with it,—itself inaugurating and systematically carrying out a government policy to press liquor upon all classes, in all parts of the land, by every means in its power, and thus bring into its treasury as large a revenue as possible without reference to the evil consequences that might be entailed upon the people. The people protested, remonstrated, sent petitions to the government in India, sent petitions to the Imperial government in England; but the result was the same that I have described in connection with Africa. No redress has been obtained. India still remains a land whose government extorts from the people as large a revenue as it can from the manufacture and sale of liquor; and not liquor only, but also from the production and sale of that other intoxicant, whose effects are even worse if possible that those of liquor, namely, opium. The opium business in India has been built up by the government, from the bottom. The government produces all opium, as well as gets all the revenue from it.

Bomb Outrages.

Bomb outrages appeared at first in India as political crimes. With the outrage at Kakinara they seem to have assumed a new aspect, that of crimes committed for the gratification of private revenge. One's first and quite natural inclination on hearing of them is to denounce them. There is no harm in such denunciation. But denunciation is no remedy. Evidently the bomb-thrower has come to stay. But it is possible and necessary to circumscribe the area of his activity. To that end Government must secure the co-operation of the people. It will not do to suspect all Indians and harass and arrest and punish indiscriminately on the information supplied by informers and approvers, who represent one of the lowest types of humanity. Government has great power, but it has not the power to suppress crime without the moral support and co-operation of the people Let it earn or maintain but not forfeit its right to such support and co-operation.

The Duties of Leaders.

The duty of our leaders is to utilise the spirit of self-sacrifice and fearlessness of our youngmen in such a way that they may do lasting good to the country. Of course those alone can lead who are themselves fearless and self-sacrificing but wiser than youth.

Visvamitra asking Rama's help.

It is related in the Ramayana that once upon a time the Rakshasas began to throw great obstacles in the way of the due performance of sacrifices by the *rishis* in their *asramas*. Thereupon the sage Visvamitra went to the court of king Dasaratha to ask that he would send his son Rama with him to punish and kill these *Rakshasas*. The sage describes the horrible deeds of these fearful creatures. The boys Rama and Lakshmana are listening to his story with

eager curiosity. This is the scene skilfully depicted by Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar.

Khudiram Bose.

Our readers may be curious to know how a terrorist looks like. Physiognomists may also be interested in his portrait. We therefore reproduce his photograph in the dock.

The Right to be a Nation.

"Centuries of divided Government had not destroyed the national sense of Italy; Switzerland was a nation for all its diversity of languages; difference of tongues did not prevent Poland and Lithuania from sharing the same national aspirations; Alsace belonged to France, however German it might be by race and history. Nationality is a sentiment, a moral phenomenon which may be generated by material causes, but exists by virtue of moral facts. * * "Nationalities can be founded only for and upon and by the people" (Mazzini); and it follows that when the inhabitants of a territory desire to be a nation, provided that behind their desire there lies a moral purpose, they have the right to be one."

Bolton King's Mazzini (The Temple Biographies, p. 300).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

English

Oriental School Drawing Books,
By E. B. Havell, Macmillan, 1 anna each.

We have received from the publishers a set of Mr. Havell's admirable drawing books, which are of the familiar type, for teaching freehand drawing in schools. They differ from the old patterns in being the decorative forms of Indian art, instead of containing the, to an Indian student, less interesting and valuable forms of Classic and Gothic ornament. The first three books contain simple geometrical and architectural outlines; fruit and leaf outlines, and outlines of some of the beautiful water vessels for which northern India is so noteworthy. We are especially glad to see these beautiful forms used, and wish that in model drawing, a reform in the same direction might be effected. The fourth and sixth books contain flowers and leaves naturalistically treated; more water vessels; and details of conventional ornament. The fifth book contains familiar Indian animals, naturalistically, and we think not quite successfully treated. Because, perhaps, of the absence of animal forms from so much of the decorative art of northern India, these animals do not seem to be in harmony with the other books of copies. The sixth book contains flowers, conventional graceful forms in the Mughal style, filled in solid black, and is perhaps the most successful of the series.

The books, as we have said, are based on the decorative forms of Indian art; but those selected are almost exclusively northern, and of the Muhammadan and more or less Persian school. What is now required is a series of similar volumes, in which Hindu and Buddhist types of ornament and design from Southern India and Ceylon are as freely drawn upon.

A. K. C.

A study of the Indian Philosophy, by Shantaram Anant Desai, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Philosophy, Holkar College, Indor: pp. 396. Price Rs. 3, as 12.

One leaves Mr. Desai's book with the regretful feeling that he has nothing to say on the Philosophy and Religion of the Upanishads—the fountain-head of almost all the systems of Hindu Philosophy.

The author's exposition of Kapila and Patanjali is brief but clear. But the treatment of the Philosophy and Religion of the *Gita* is unfortunate. He has devoted over 150 pages to the exposition and criticism of the book but there seems to be no organic unity in the method of his treatment; it rather produces an impression of scrappiness. The most interesting feature of the book is the Philosophy of Sankara to which are assigned about 220 pages. The author's exposition of Sankara is excellent. The only points I am disposed to criticise are—

(i) Whether the absolute and the emancipated souls are self-conscious or not.
(ii) Whether the scriptures are the only means by which *Brahman* can be known.

(i) The author says "The *Mukta Atma*...can and must be conscious of its real nature" p. 258. Does it not contradict the unqualified Monism of Sankara? The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* distinctly says that "when he has departed, there is no more consciousness," II 4, 1. In another place it is said that 'he knows nothing that is within and nothing that is without (*vide* also *Mandukya*, 7)'. It is the fundamental principle of the *Upanishads* that the self and *Brahman* are one and the same. When emancipated, the individual soul is merged in *Brahman*. Sankara also says "*Brahma eva hi mukti avastha*". The state of emancipation is nothing but *Brahman* (*Bhashya* on *Brahmasutra* III. 452). Therefore the question whether the released souls are self-conscious or not, changes into the question, "Is *Brahman* self-conscious?" This question Sankara answers in the negative. In the *Taittiriya Upanishad Brahman* is described as '*Jnanam*' (II. 1). According to Sankara '*Jnanam Brahma*' means that *Brahman is* consciousness and *not* that he *has* consciousness. In the *Bhashya* he says—

"It may be objected that *Brahman* knows its own self. But this objection is not valid. As there is no duality in the self, there can be no consciousness of the self. If the self were the *object* of knowledge there would be no *subject* in as much as the self has become the *object*. If it were said that the self might be both the subject and the object at the same time,

we would say, "that cannot be, for the self is devoid of parts. As it is not composed of parts it cannot be the knower and the knowable at the same time" (*Vide* also *Bhashya* on Br. up I, 4).

Hence we may safely conclude that neither the emancipated souls nor the absolute are self-conscious.

(ii) Our second question is "Is the scripture the only means of knowing *Brahman*?" It is true, as Mr. Desai has shewn, that Sankara answers this question in the affirmative in several places. But it should be borne in mind that Sankara is not only a theologian but also a metaphysician, though the theologian sometimes gets the better of the metaphysician. Apparently there are two opinions as regards the means of knowing *Brahman*. Sankara says not only that the self is self-established but also that it cannot be known except on the authority of the scripture. The first assertion is true because it is evident to every one and the second is also true because without the guidance of the scripture no one can know the *true nature* of the self. So these two are not contradictory but complementary aspects of the same truth. Mr. Desai has translated some of the passages which lay stress on the second aspect of the truth. But the first aspect being no less important—nay being of greater importance,—we quote below a few passages in which the self is said to be self-established.

In the *Gita Bhashya* (II 18) he says "can the self be known by *Agama* (scriptures) and prior to this, by perception and other means? We say, no, for the self is *self-established*. When the knowing self has been established, then and then only is it possible for the knower to search for other proofs. In fact without establishing the self—that I am I—no one seeks to determine the knowable objects. Indeed the self is unknown to no one (*vide* also the *Bhashya* on XVIII, 50). The scripture is the final authority only because it eliminates from the self what is superimposed upon it and not because it makes known what was altogether unknown before. Hence its authority." In the *Sruti* also it is said "this *Brahman* which is immediately and intuitively known, which is the self and is within all, etc." *Br.* up, III, 5, 1.

Again in the *Bhashya* of the *Vedanta Sutra*, I, 1, 1 Sankara says:—

"The existence of *Brahman* is known on the ground of its being the self of all. Every one is conscious of the self and no one thinks that "I am not." If the existence of the self were not known, every one would think "I am not." This self is *Brahman*.

This criticism has already run to an inordinate length, but I cannot resist the temptation of quoting another extract from Sankara's *Bhashya* on the *Sutra* II. 3, 7.

"The idea that the self is capable of refutation is false, just because it is the self. The self is self-established, so it is not adventitious in the case of any person. The self cannot be established by proofs adduced by and dependent on the very self that is to be established. What is non-established may be established by proofs adduced by the self. The self on which depends the proof, is itself established previously to that proof. Such a self cannot be disproved. What is adventitious may be refuted but not that which is the very essence of the person who attempts the refutation, for what is to be refuted is the very essence of the refuter. The heat which is the essence of fire can not be disproved by that very fire. Suppose I say "I know what is present, I know the past and the remoter past. I shall know the future and the remoter future.' Here the object of knowledge changes according as it is past present and future, but the knower never changes, since eternal presence is his nature."

Hence we see that according to Sankara, the self is self-established. This is the same as the "Cogito ergo sum" of Descartes and it is the foundation of Modern Philosophy. What *Arya Bhatta* was to Copernicus, that was Sankara to Descartes—the father of Modern Philosopy. In the above extract (II, 37) we also find that Sankara had discovered the principle which afterwards proved to be the greatest discovery of Kant *viz*:—"The self is the synthetic Unity of Apperception." In another passage Sankara distinctly says that if there were no unifying principle synthesising the past, the present and the future, it would be impossible to account for memory, recognition &c., which all depend on time, space and causality" II, 2, 31.

Mr. Desai is a philosopher by profession, and he should have brought his knowledge of European Philosophy to bear on the subject. But we hope this will be done in the volume that he has promised us in the Preface of the 'Study.'

In spite of these omissions and the few mistakes that we have poined out, the book is a valuable production, and it may be safely recommended as an introduction to the Study of Hindu Philosophy.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

Two eminent Indians

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras, have made two welcome additions to their series of biographies of eminent Indians.

Lala Lajpat Rai, a sketch, is an attempt to study the man by his words and deeds. In this book are detailed the circumstances that have brought him to the fore-front of public affairs in India: his connection with the rise and progress of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab, and the founding of the Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore; his exposure of Sir Syed Ahmed; his famine work amongst orphans; his evidence before the Famine Commission of 1901; his political mission to England; his views on the questions of Partition of Bengal, Swadeshi, and Boycott, his deportation, and his methods of social and political reform.

The sketch of Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, the well-known Parsi patriot, contains a succinct account of his life, his varied activities, his encyclopædic knowledge, his Municipal work, his services to the Congress, and copious extracts from his speeches and writings relating, among other subjects, to all the important questions of Indian Economics and Finance, such as the currency policy of the Government, the Forward Policy, the Excise duties on cotton goods, the Drink Revenue, the Opium Revenue, Expenditure on Railways and Irrigation and the question of the apportionment of charges between the United Kingdom and India.

Each sketch contains a frontispiece and is priced four annas.

GUJARATI.

Dharmagupta: by *Mrs. Harisukhgavri Vamanram Kapilram: printed at the Virkshetra Mudralay Printing Press, Baroda, pp. 261. Cloth-bound. Price Re. 1-0-0 (1907).*

In Gujarat and Kathiawad, the Nagar Brahmin community from historical times has stood at the top in every walk of life, social, political and literary. From the days of Madhav, the prime minister of Karan Ghelo, when the sun of Hindu sovereignty in Gujarat set, by the successful invasion of Ala-ud-din Khiliji, down to this very day, successful ministership of Native States has been one of the *fortes* of the Nagars. Similarly in literary matters from the days of Narsinh Mehta down to the present times they have held the field. It is only but natural that without intelligent mothers, such an intelligent progeny could not have come into existence, and so we find Gujarati literature dotted with the works of Nagar Brahmin ladies too. As is usual all over our country with the creations of the fair sex, their efforts have flowed in the direction of religion. The present generation has produced a small crop of educated ladies, we mean educated on modern lines, but there are other ladies in this community, who, without going to school or college, have responded admirably to the home education received by them. Besides the author in question we have in mind a group of seven ladies from Surat—and it might be said parenthetically that Surat always leads in such matters—who have only lately published a book on religious songs and prayers. Mrs. Harisukhgavri has already distinguished herself in the field of literature, and she has shewn in her previous book—*Sati Simantini*—and various other contributions, that she wields a facile pen, and writes in an attractive style. Without being told about it, it will be impossible for a reader to find out that he is perusing the work not of a cultured and college-educated male writer, but of a home-educated lady. The book consists of various stories taken from the *Shiva Purana*, and retold by the writer in prose and verse. Like many *Purana* stories, they lack logicality and reason. The story of a woman, for instance, who all her life took the greatest pleasure in annoying her husband, and hence being full of sins, while being conducted to hell by the myrmidons of *Yama*, being accidentally rescued from that punishment by the discovery of her having involuntarily fasted on an *Ekadashi* day, on account of a quarrel with her husband, or the story of a sinner lying under a tree, and of the accidental blowing of a *Bilvapatra* to his mouth, and being therefore saved by *Shiva* from the torments of hell, are not calculated to give one a good impression of the mental attitude or the breadth of views or the extent of the logical horizon of the writer's mind. She is aware of this weakness in her performance, and tries to explain it towards the end of her work, by saying that her object is to inculcate domestic morality and she has as being herself a follower of *Shiva*, resorted to the *Shiva Purana* without meaning any offence to the *Vaishnava* and other creeds. She tries to combat the view that these stories are merely idle stories and so much fiction, by pleading that the modern works of Sankaracharya, Mrs. Annie Besant and others might equally be stamped by future generations as so much fiction, though really they are not so. But it must be said, that the pleading is poor, and carries no conviction, and judged by that standard, it might even be doubted whether there was room for such a book, which lacks a healthy and robust religious tone, such as can stand the test of logical reasoning. But looking to the present condition of our society, we may not be wrong in inferring that numerous ladies and children will find the contents palatable, and not be loth to while away a spare half hour with it pleasantly.

K. M. J.

Mudrarakshasa Natak, translated into Gujarati by Keshavlal Harshadrai Dhruva, B.A., *Printed at the Union Printing Press. Ahmedabad, pp. XXXIV and 138. Cloth-bound. Price Re. 1. (1908.)*

The reader of Gujarati literature requires no introduction to the translator of this drama famous all the world over, for the fine Macchiavellian duel it sets out between Chanakya and Rakshasa. Mr. Keshavlal has long since made his mark, and for deep scholarship and solid literary work he has been bracketted with the late Mr. Tripathi, with this difference, that perhaps the *forte* of the latter was philosophy and of the former, philology. As a successful student of Sanskrit and allied languages, his work till now has furnished ample testimony. His *Samashloki* translations into Gujarati of the *Amaru Shatak* and the *Gitagovinda* bear the stamp of great erudition, his writings on Premananda and the extremely learned lecture he delivered as the president of the Gujarati Sahitya Sabha at Bombay have won for him unexampled encomiums from all who are interested in the study of Gujarati literature. We possess in him a rare philological scholar, and our only regret is that we cannot get more work out of him than at present, nor compel him—modest and retired as he constitutionally is—to give to the public more out of the vast literary lore, especially on the history of our language, he has silently been collecting for the last several years. The present work is embellished with an introductory preface, which is a study in comparative history itself. The *data* on which he bases the period during which the *Natak* was composed as being the latter part (third generation) of the sixth century, after ransacking and collecting the various ancient works, Buddhist, Sanskrit, Chinese, works on Numismatics and Epigraphy, furnish a treat in themselve, and compel admiration for an Eastern scholar who has thoroughly assimilated the lines of research work followed by Western savants. The work is printed in the Devanagari character, and we would strongly recommend all Indian scholars to procure a copy and go through it, as they would find there, much that is new, much that would at least set them thinking and much that would delight their literary conscience. The translation itself is fairly enjoyable, but to us the great value of the book appears to lie in the introduction which is, so to speak, like a crown to the literary labours of the writer.

K. M. J.

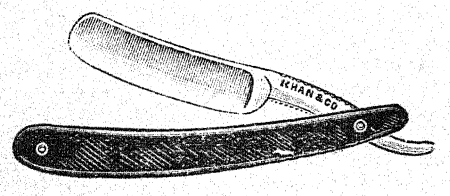
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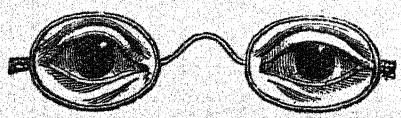
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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Light (London,) June 6, 1908.

Dr. Bose, in 'The Modern Review' (Calcutta,) gives us one of his beautiful and suggestive expositions concerning Automatism in plant and animal. It is brief but it contains the master-idea of his valuable books on the same subject, and it ends with a hint that might be followed up to great issues. (Extract from the leader entitled "A great inference.")

Bande Mataram—

. . . the *Modern Review,* which may perhaps be said to have some leaning towards what is usually characterised as "extreme" political views, also has discussed the bomb-plot with great candour and freedom. . . . The *Indian World* . . .—is not, however, so clear and incisive in its analysis of the causes of this distemper, as the *Modern Review*. This is partly accounted for, no doubt, by the difference in the culture and intellectual standing of the two papers, but largely by the difference of their political faith. The *Modern Review* has almost absolute faith in freedom. It has as strong a faith in humanity to work out its own destiny as it has in the power and Providence of God to shape the evolution of the universe to His own eternal ends. The *Modern Review* believes in democracy, not only in England or Europe, but even in India and Asia; and its faith in democracy is so universal because it is another name for its faith in man, which, again, is only another name for its faith in God, who is at once both the *esse* and *posse* of every form of human activity and evolution. Consequently, truth cannot hide its face from the *Modern Review* even when it chooses to appear before him in the guise of what is regarded as evil.

. . . And even this extremist estimate of the act and the men would seem to be perhaps a bit soberer, because measured by truth and weighed by righteousness, than the bold and generous appreciation of the "Moderate" *Indian World*. . . . The measured words of the *Modern Review* compare, thus, very favourably with the somewhat exuberant utterance of the *Indian World* on this subject. But while taking this absolutely impartial measure of the unfortunate incidents of Mozafferpur and Calcutta the *Modern Review* does not hesitate to say: . . .

The Bengalee—

We have before us the June number of the *Modern Review*. The punctuality with which the *Review* is issued is the least part of its merits. The June number fully maintains its high character as one of the best of of our Reviews and a credit to Indian periodical literature. We notice a departure which is very convenient to the reader. In a fly-sheet which serves the purpose of protecting the cover, there is a short summary of the articles; and the reader has only to go through the summary in order that he may have a comprehensive idea of the contents of the various articles in the *Review* and may take a choice of his reading. There is a remarkable article by U. C. C. on "Some points of resemblance between the Irish Repeal and the Bengal Partition Agitation" which should be read and which we hope to reproduce. The Editor's remarks on the bomb-outrage are worth quoting, for they reflect public opinion. He says:— * * *

By the side of the *Modern Review*, we must mention the *Indian World*, also one of our leading periodicals. Only we wish the editor was more punctual in the issue of his periodical and gave us illustrations similar to those which grace the pages of the *Modern Review* and add to its interest.

Our rulers would do well to note the truths that are so frankly put forward in the extracts we have quoted.

The Hindoo Patriot—

The June number of the "Modern Review" is out. The first article in the number is on Emerson by Mr. J. T. Sunderland. It is a thoughtful paper dealing with one of the most thoughtful writers in modern times who has been acknowledged in India as a *Rishi*. Though an American, Emerson is not a representative of modern America but of the East, and it is his close identity with oriental philosophy that has made his name so honoured in India. The sublimity of his philosophy, the grandeur of his conception and the simplicity of his religion mark him out as the last of the greatest thinkers that the world has produced. The article in the "Modern Review" brings out in a remarkable manner the characteristics of the American sage. "The so-called Inferiority of the Coloured Races," is another interesting article which raises delicate and controversial questions not easy to discuss. Saint Nihal Sing gives an account of the Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virgina, U. S. A., founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong five years after the emancipation of the American Negro. Our Pusa Institute is nothing compared with the Hampton Institute, so well equipped the latter is. The Government of India may well strive to reach the Hampton model and develop the Pusa Institute along those lines. The scope is not limited. What is needed is money together with intelligence. The history of the naval war between Shuja and Aurangzeb, being compiled from original Persian sources, is of great interest. India after all knew somethiug about sea-fight. Among other articles deserving of mention are Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's "The Indian Craftsman," "Abolition of the Monopoly in the China Trade," Prof. Surendra Nath Deva's "A French View of Indian Politics," "Some points of Resemblance between the Irish Repeal and the Bengal Partition Agitation," "Shan Marriage," and "The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills." The editor very powerfully comments on the

present situation, denouncing anarchism and pointing out the madness of the idea of gaining political enfranchisement by assassination. The un-Hindu spirit underlying anarchism is also explained at some length, and it is remarked that while the method of the bombists is essentially reckless, wicked and cowardly, "the English cannot be frightened into making concessions or frightened away from India by the slaughter of a few men." The editor earnestly pleads for unity and co-operation which, he justly observes, are not in the gift of bombs. There is very much less patriotism or love of country than is heard or talked about, and the advice is well given that, instead of learning the methods of anarchism, the people should learn to be righteous. Among the illustrations in the number are portraits of Mr. Arabinda Ghose, Barindra Kumar Ghosh when a boy, and Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy.

The Madras Standard—

The June number of the *Modern Review* is as interesting as any of its predecessors. Mr. Chatterjee deserves to be congratulated on the continued success of his venture. He has kept up the level of excellence and quality of the *Modern Review* in a manner which speaks highly of his industry and organising capacity. The *Modern Review* is one of the best and most popular of its kind in India. The June number opens with a study of the life and works of Emerson. The writer Mr. J. T. Sunderland, M.A., is an American author who travelled in India some years ago, and took part in the deliberations of the Indian National Congress, and whose speeches and papers on Indian subjects, notably one on Indian famines, are gratefully remembered. The article on "The so-called inferiority of the coloured races" is very opportune. It shows the very slender scientific basis on which anthropometrists have reared the imposing edifice of the natural superiority of the white races. The historical proofs of this theory will be examined in a second article. In this month's instalment of "The Yellow God," Mr. H. Rider Haggard carries the reader to the dense twilight forests of Western Africa, where Alan Vernon encounters cannibals and dwarfs. Saint Nihal Singh writes on "Education that educates" at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Virginia, U. S. A. It shows what education has done and is doing even for the backward race of Negroes. The 14 photographs which illustrate this article are instructive and lend reality to the article. This month's instalment of "The Great War in Bengal, 1658-1660" by "Laboramus" describes the river-war between Shuja and Aurangzib, giving us a glimpse of the naval power of Bengal in those days. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy contributes a very informing article on "Indian Craftsmen." Nor is this all. "The present situation" is the subject of a thoughtful paper which would amply repay perusal.

The Indian Daily Telegraph—

Readers of the *Modern Review* for June, cannot but agree that the editor has given an earnest of his desire expressed at the inception of the Review eighteen months ago, of making the pages of his magazine interesting, instructive and inspiring. The number opens with a thoughtful paper by Mr. J. T. Sunderland, M.A., on "Ralph Waldo Emerson," the great American essayist and Transcendentalist. Then there is an article on "The so-called inferiority of the coloured races,' which will make a wide appeal to Indians. It deals largely with the place in civlization accorded by craniologists to the negro, and curiously enough, we have another paper on an allied subject by Saint Nihal Singh, who writes an illustrated article on the advance made by the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, U. S. A., in the education of the negro, the object of which, he says, "is to inspire the people of this country to greater efforts for India's regeneration."

The Mussalman—

In the current number of the *Modern Review* we find an article under the heading "Some points of resemblance between the Irish Repeal and the Bengal Partition Agitation." The points of similarity are no doubt very striking, and the article bespeaks a keen insight into, and close observation of, the present political situation in India, on the part of the writer. He compares the advent of *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* and *Yugantar* with that of the *Nation* in Ireland and says that the former have fulfilled their mission in India in the same manner as the latter did in Ireland. After dilating on the various points of resemblance the writer leaves the reader to form his own conclusion about what may happen in the long-run as the result of the Partition Agitation in Bengal.

The Phœnix—

The June number of this Review opens with an eminently instructive and inspiring article on the life and works of that well-known American writer and thinker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, from the pen of Mr. J. T. Sunderland, an American author, and preacher of distinction, deeply interested in Indian problems. Among other articles of interest we would mention "The so-called inferiority of the coloured races," "Education that educates" by Mr. S. Nihal Sing with 14 photographs illustrating and thus lending reality to this bright article; Dr. Coomeraswamy's contributions on "Indian Craftsmen," "A French View of Indian Politics," "The Present Situation" and several others. In this month's instalment of Mr. H. Rider Haggard, brilliant serial "The Yellow God," the reader is carried to the dense twilight forests of Western Africa, where A. Vernon encounters cannibals and dwarfs. A new feature has been introduced this month in the shape of a department styled, "What the world is doing and what we may do," and this month's instalment describes "What the world is doing for children." There are 23 illustrations in this number. *The Modern Review* may with just pride claim to have done more to bring specimens of Indian and European art before the Indian public than any other periodical. It is said punctuality is the virtue of Kings, so is it of this periodical. We are not exaggerating when we say that the editor has spared no pains to make the pages of the Review interesting, instructive and inspiring.

United India and Native States—

In announcing the publication of the *Modern Review* the Editor promised that "no pains will be spared to make its pages interesting, instructive and inspiring." We are glad to find that the promise has been steadily kept in view. The first article in the June number, a study of the life and works of "Ralph Waldo Emerson" will be found instructive and inspiring, and not uninteresting to thoughtful readers. The writer, Mr.

J. T. Sunderland, M. A., is an American author and preacher of distinction, who travelled in India some years ago, and took part in the deliberations of the Indian National Congress, and whose speeches and papers on Indian subjects, notably one on Indian famines, are gratefully remembered. One of the means by which the West tries to keep in a subordinate place and exploit the East is the promulgation of so-called scientific facts and theories which seem to prove that the coloured races of the East are inherently inferior to white men. Hence even Western science in some of its branches is biassed by political and commercial considerations. If for no other reason but for this, the article on "The so-called inferiority of the coloured races" is very opportune. It shows the very slender scientific basis on which anthropometrists have reared the imposing edifice of the white races. There is no surer and more indispensable means of nation building than education. The Modern Review has, therefore, made educational articles a prominent feature. Mr. Saint Nihal Sing writes on "Education that educates' at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton Virginia, U. S. A." It shows what education has done and is doing even for the backward race of Negroes. What may it not do for such a country as India with an ancient civilization! The 14 photographs which illustrate this article are instructive and lend reality to the article. This month's instalment of "The Great War in Bengal, 1658-1660" by LABORAMUS describes tha river-war between Shuja and Aurangzib giving us a glimpse of the by no means insignificant naval power of Bengal in those days. We are inevitably led to ask' "Where is that power now"? Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy contributes a very informing article on "Indian Craftsmen," of whom we know so little and long to and ought to know so much.

"The Abolition of the Monopoly in the China-trade" published in this number forms part of a series, showing in how many devious ways India was injured by England when ruled by the East India Company. For avoidance of mistakes and encouragement in the right line of progress, it is good to know what people think of us who have nothing to gain either by slandering or by praising us. Poof. Surendranath Deva, M.A., has in the article "A French View of Indian Politics" furnished us with the opinions of the wellknown French writer, M. Ernest Piriou, the author of L'Inde Contemporaine. U. C. C. draws a striking parallel between the Irish Repeal and Bengal Partition Agitations in the article "Some points of resemblance between the Irish Repeal and the Bengal Partition Agitation." "A Shan Marriage" is a very interesting account of all about a Shan marriage in the form of an attractive story, by Mr. Bireswar Gangooly, who has fiirst hand knowledge of the subject. "The Present Situation" treats in a straightforward manner the cause and remedies of the political unrest in Bengal, of which the bomb tragedy at Muzaffarpur is only an external symptom. "The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills" is an interesting ethnological article by Mr. Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyay, B.A., In "The White Army in India" it is shown from official publications, what proportion between white soldiers and sepoys was actually fixed after the Mutiny, and why. A new feature has been introduced this month in the shape of a department styled "What the world is doing and what we may do," and this month's instalment describes "What the world is doing for Children." It is hoped that this department will furnish much useful information regarding the doings of progressive nations for our guidance. The "Notes" provide information and comment on a wide variety of topics. There are 22 illustrations in this number. No Reading Room or one with some intellectual, social and political appetite can well afford to be without it.

The West Coast Spectator (Calicut)—

We owe an apology to the Editor of the *Modern Review* for not reviewing earlier his magazine which, as usual, made its appearance with unerring punctuality on the 1st of this month. In the number before us there are as many as fifteen articles, and the place of honour is given to an article by Mr. J. T. Sunderland, M.A,, an American author, on Ralph Waldo Emerson. The article is eminently instructive and inspiring. This is followed by an article on "The So-Called Inferiority of the Coloured Races," It shows the very slender scientific basis on which anthropometrists have reared the imposing edifice of the natural superiority of the white races. There is no surer and more indespensible means of nation building than education, and Mr. Chatterjee is therefore to be congratulated on making educational articles in his review a prominent feature. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes on "Education that 'educates' at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Virginia, U. S. A." The article shows what education has done and is doing for the backward race of Negroes. It is so very interesting that we propose to deal with it at length later on. Dr. A. K. Coomarasmamy contributes a very readable paper on "Indian Craftsmen." Professor Surendranath Deva M.A., has in the article "A French view of Indian Politics" furnished us with the opinions of that well-known French writer M. Earnest Piriou on the present situation in the country. U. C. C. draws a striking parallel between the Irish Repeal and Bengal Partition. In the "White Army in India" the Editor shows from official publications, what proportion between white soldiers and sepoys was actually fixed after the Mutiny. The remaining articles also afford interesting reading. A new feature has been introduced this month in the *Review* in the shape of a department styled "What the World is Doing and What we may do," and this month's instalment describes "What the world is doing for children" The "Notes" as usual are exquisite and provide information and comment on a variety of subjects. There are 22 illustrations in the number which are very realistic and reach a high level of excellence. Altogether, the number before us more than fully redeems the promise of the Editor when he started the magazine that no pains will be spared to make its pages interesting, instructive and inspiring, and is on a par wlth any high-class London monthly.

The World and the New Dispensation—

The *Modern Review* continues to be interesting. The number for June contains, among other things, portraits of Dr. Suhrawardy from whose speech as President at the Mahomedan Educational Conference held at Purnea, extracts have been given which we reproduce below.

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2. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, FOUNDER AND PRINCIPAL OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.
3. A VIEW OF A SUCCESSFUL NEGRO'S OFFICE.
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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

AUGUST, 1908

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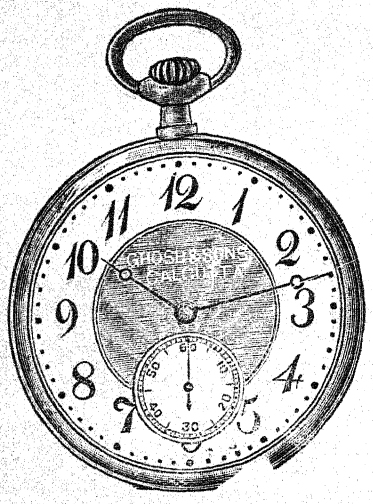
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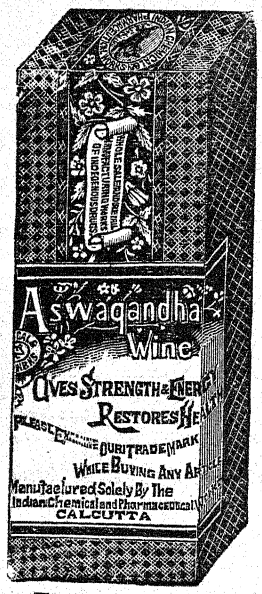
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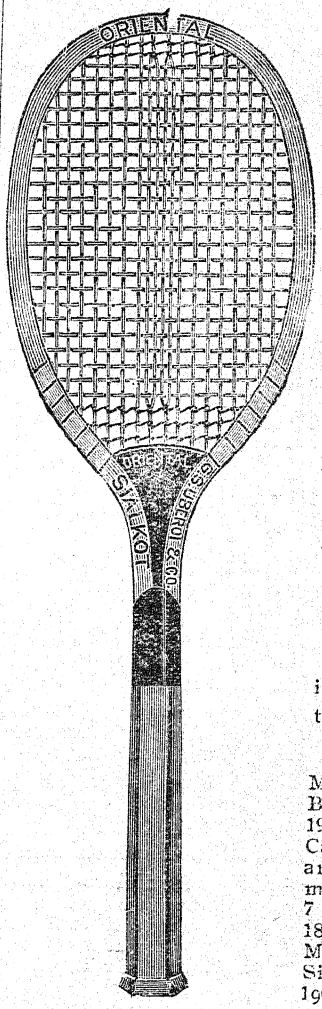
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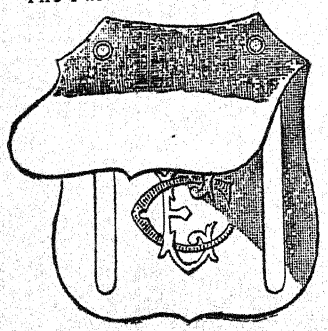


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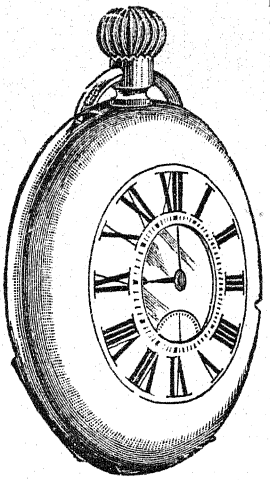
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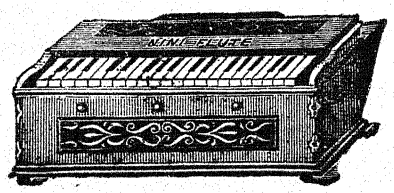
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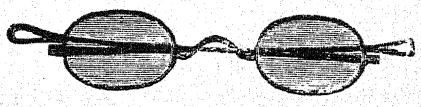
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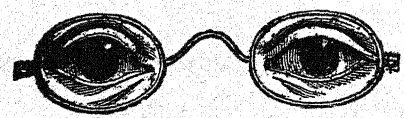
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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. IV
No. 2

AUGUST, 1908

WHOLE
No. 20

LIBERTY *VERSUS* AUTHORITY IN EDUCATION

BY THE LADY ISABEL MARGESSON.

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ALL young parents who look at life from its inner as well as its outer aspect have, in one respect, the same aspiration as regards their children. They all wish to avoid that wall of reserve, that sense of estrangement and awkwardness that separates the two generations as the age of adolescence approaches.

The wall rises like a wall of mist almost imperceptibly at first but it gradually obliterates the happy confidence and joy that was the delight of both parents and children, leaving behind only antagonism and suspicion on one side, and a gnawing disappointment on the other.

This miserable and unworthy sequel to a happy childhood is rightly dreaded. Yet in spite of the determination of each family, often almost unconscious, to profit by the experience of others in this respect, the wall of separation continues to rise with distressing regularity. We need not define its characteristics, for they can be seen in most family circles. The young people find themselves out of sympathy with their parents, and the parents find the children wilful and wayward. Mutual antagonism grows fast, and a vicious circle is formed. Yet the age of adolescence with its increasing consciousness of independence and power and will is the time when the mature experience of parents can be specially useful in meeting the questions and bewilderments of young people; when interests and amusements take on a fresh and wider aspect; when the sympathy and understanding of the elders can undoubtedly contribute much. The age of adolescence, with its immense and inherent difficulties, would be robbed of most of its dangers if the child had his parents for his intimate friends. But this is a truism. What is needed now is to find a remedy for an almost universal and grave family malady. Until we find this remedy much of the often sentimental talk of the "beauty and sanctity of the Home" is so much cant, for we all know that just at the crucial moment in youth the beauty and sanctity of the Home are entirely hidden by mutual distrust and aggravation. This statement may sound harsh, but it is true, and the more we consider it, in its far-reaching and most melancholy significance, the more urgent does the need for a remedy appear. We see that this mutual antagonism between the grown up boys and girls and their parents is a matter of national importance, and that all questions of school reform, and religious education are relatively un-

important, are in fact putting the cart before the horse. For what is the good of trying to cleanse a river when there is poison at its source? The remedy is not far to seek, and as usual it is simple, and leads us to nature's feet. Our blunder, with all its consequent mismanagement of the age of adolescence, is due to ignorance of, and disobedience to, a law of evolution. We have kept to those cast-iron methods and traditions of family management which were pre-evolutionary, which belonged to the age when evolution was not understood. The laws of evolution are now seen to apply to every department of human existence, religion, politics, morals, science, art, literature, and last, but not least, because of all, the most human and intimate, to education.

Unfortunately when evolution touches the Englishman's castle, the Home, and calls for obedience even there, it is opposed by an army of prejudices, and traditions clad in old-fashioned useless armour. Up to the present the law of evolution as applied to Education is still ignored, and one of the consequences is the grave malady which is sapping the happiness and the usefulness of the young people, and hindering their proper development. Nevertheless a small number of parents, numerically insignificant, have discovered the meaning of the message of Evolution to themselves and they, the disciples of the so-called New Education, have found the way to hinder the rising of that dreary "wall of separation."

Parental authority, regarded as a persistent factor and invested with a permanent and almost sacred character, is the disobedience to Nature's law that causes all the mischief. Parental authority should be regarded and used as swaddling clothes, to be discarded in favour of freer and more beautiful clothes, at the earliest possible moment. It is intended to be of a temporary nature only and to drop off the moment something better is ready to take its place. The inherent property of the physical tie between parents and children is like the outer covering to a seed which must gradually and imperceptibly decay in order that the kernel may ripen. Unless this takes place, the kernel must ever remain immature. Here lies the crux of the question and here the metaphor must end, for the spiritual factor which enters into all human affairs, enters in here also and carries us a step further.

Parents who hold to parental authority with tenacity; (generally reinforced by religous ideas of duty), forget or ignore the fact that the physical tie embodied in the idea of that authority is only a small, and the most unimportant, part of the tie between themselves and their children. It is meant to die. But only in order that a more beautiful, stronger, and spiritual bond may be revealed; the bond of a common inner life, with its intimacies and friendships that should have been growing up through every stage of childhood and should be ready at adolescence to take the place of the fading parental authority and to be the inspiration of both generations.

No one will deny that such friendship is the crowning test and glory of Education. Its existence should be palpable to all. It and it only can be the foundation for the "Sanctity and Beauty of the Home." Without it there can be neither sanctity nor beauty.

Alas! for youth that for the majority this ideal is seldom realized!

Herbert Spencer in his Essay on Education speaks of the temptation to parents of the "lust of power", and it is this, disguised under the name of duty, which is really the root of their clinging to authority. Authority, applied to human nature, is a direction of force *from without*, and as such destitute of living power. Friendship is a force *germinated within* and as such, formative and active. Authority has its own sphere of usefulness considered and used as a temporary expedient, to be relinquished gladly and as soon as possible in favour of the more excellent way of friendship.

Authority is maintained at the cost of friendship. One will always grow at the expense of the other, and parents must decide which they intend to be the ultimate driving power. Yet the question will arise, "cannot authority and friendship subsist side by side?" Plausible and possible as this appears, it cannot be. For unless authority is used as *a purely temporary expedient, to be discarded as soon as a higher law is understood by the child*, unless it is felt by *both* sides to be merely a crutch, to be used as seldom as may be and then only to support the weakness of the child, it cannot subsist at the

same time as friendship, whose very essence is liberty and equality. The Old Educationists constantly try to unite parental authority with friendship, but it is like the effort, predoomed to failure, to serve at once both God and Mammon—and like it, ever eluding argument, because the impossibility lies in reconciling, not two outward actions, but two irreconcilable ideals. Professor Sadler says that "Influence is apt to begin at the point where privilege ends." This puts the matter in a nutshell, for it is this influence, or friendship which must grow up alongside of parental authority in childhood and finally, in adolescence, be ready to supersede it.

The term friendship, used to express the bond between parents and children, will often be misunderstood;—especially as the essence of friendship is a quality denied to the child as "unsuitable."

That quality is freedom, or liberty. To give liberty and free play to the child's individuality, to allow it to be free in thought, in action, in interest and in amusement, is an almost impossible attitude for parents to assume, they rebel against it as unnecessary, absurd and even dangerous; and they will feel that it is certainly unscriptural. Yet without such an attitude no friendship is possible and there is no remedy for the deplorable malady which we have called the wall of separation in adolescence. Liberty given to the child is the outcome of a deep respect for him as an individual, a vivid realization that the parents' work is to remove hindrances from, and foster the growth of, that particular individual on his own lines. Parents do not like this, they want their sons and daughters to grow up in their way, they want to impose their ideas and models and beliefs on them, they want to force them to see life as they see it, from the adult standpoint. They want to impose on them their standard of right and wrong, their creeds, their social code, ready-made. All goes well with this plan as long as the child's conscious will and his individuality are relatively small, and the sanctity and beauty of the Home are blessed realities. But there can be no permanently good results where there is disobedience to Nature's law. Parental authority can be disguised under delightful aspects, devoted love and care, unremitting attention, unceasing prayer and constant religous and secular instruction, yet it will fail, and fail as terribly as the bringing up of the unloving and careless, to produce that friendship and intimacy which is not only the safeguard but the final crown and joy of parents and children.

There can be no true friendship even between the little child and his elders unless he is regarded as an individual with rights and claims, and unless he is given his freedom. We know this to be true between equals, but we deny it for our children. Nietzsche says: "Let your friend be to you the festival of earth and a foretaste of beyond-man. Art thou a slave? Then thou canst not be a friend. Art thou a tyrant? If thou be, thou canst not have friends. Unto thy friend thou shalt be an arrow and a longing towards beyond-man." And again, further on—and its application to parents as friends is very just,—"Many a one cannot loose his own chains and yet is a saviour unto his friends."

This may sound far-fetched, unreal, and even revolutionary, to those who are not of the New Education but nevertheless its bearing is strictly practical.

This is no plea to abolish parental authority as a factor in Education. Such a course would be stupid, and foolish, and as untrue to Nature's law as the prevailing custom of ignoring the factor of freedom. The two must run their course on parallel lines in the early years with a constant tendency to lessen and dwindle on the part of authority until at last, at the age of adolescence, it vanishes and leaves freedom and friendship the sole line of direction and guidance for the healthily and all-round developed individual.

Many parents think that when they lavish love on their children, they are giving their friendship, and if they were questioned as to the quality of this, they would explain that it is of a modified kind which is the only one suitable to tender years. By this they mean, that the elements which would clash with parental authority are left out and they forget that friendship without freedom is a mutilated thing not worthy or fruitful of great results.

From the beginning of the self-conscious and wilful age parents should, in a subtle but unmistakeable way, germinate in the little child the idea that he is an individual,

responsible and self-determined;—the germ will be very small, but it will grow in strength if it is recognised, fostered, and appealed to even whilst obedience to outside authority is enforced. It must be constantly shown to the child by metaphor and illustration that he is master of himself and that the outside master is only of use to this end, and that it is of quite a temporary nature. It should be explained, and every year with increasingly greater frequency, that outside authority is meant to dwindle, and that its only purpose is that of a guide or a pilot. Also it can be shown to him that adults do not need authority because already they have it within themselves and that the people who have not learnt through outside authority in childhood, are at a great disadvantage when the time comes for them to stand alone. In this way he learns to look on authority as a crutch, as a help in his weakness, and he realizes that it is but temporary and that when it is withdrawn he will have to stand alone. Authority is thus recognised by both parents and children as an excellent and necessary part of education, and the lack of it as disastrous. In a hundred ways, year by year, the child can be made to feel, as outer authority dwindles, the beauty and reality of his individuality and the responsibilities entailed on him by freedom. He grows to reverence the inner light that is being fostered and trained; his will-power becomes a reality to him, as he realises the fact that his own will is himself, and can lead him to disaster or success. Professor Sadler has said this in very striking language and he adds, "Train the will by liberty for liberty." A great and noble saying, which, if obeyed faithfully, will be found stimulating and far-reaching in its consequences! It will lead parents, by ways undreamt of, past rocks and difficulties and even many failures, but it will lead quite surely to Blessedness.

There is an indication in Professor Sadler's injunction, of a further factor than those we have been discussing—it is the one most essential in preserving liberty from becoming license; the allusion is to the guiding and directing function of parenthood. Authority is the negative and outer factor in Education and therefore of comparatively little value, though it has its place in early years, when the outer side of the child himself predominates almost to the exclusion of the inner. At first the inner life is scarcely developed, but as it awakens it makes its demand for its own special treatment and it calls for recognition. This inner life cannot be fostered by any channels of outside authority; the appeal is exclusively to the inner experience and vision of the child, in every part of the daily routine of his life. It must not be confused with "Religious teaching," for it is not that. Religious teaching is generally given by elders in ignorance of child-nature and regardless of the fact that religious terminology and ideas as such, are outside the range of his experience and therefore misunderstood.

The appeal to the child's inner experience and vision must be in accordance with his nature, and it should be made seldom and only as it arises out of the concrete side of daily life. It should be to Liberty, as it were, the concave to the convex, the reverse side of the same thing.

Thus the child's dawning inner life will be fostered and strengthened simultaneously with his outer life, one the inspiration and the vision and the other, their outer expression.

This training is impossible under the old Education with its insistence on duty, and its wearying demands on the "conscience" as its only way of appealing to the inner life. Liberty of thought and speech and action are suffocated under parental authority. For though authority may have been skilfully disguised as love, it is always present in the old Education as the persistent ideal, as the background to the training, and its presence is felt by the child (unconsciously), as inimical to all free growth in the soul.

Old fashioned Educationists believe that their child is their property; and as such he will be loved and cherished to the highest degree. But he will have no rights as an individual, no claims to freedom of thought and action; and this attitude to him, will make of him a slave; so that when the restrictions of youth are over, he will gain the inevitable liberty untrained, and undeveloped on the inner side. No religious teaching given with a lavish hand by the old Educationists will make up to the child for the loss of his liberty, for its substitution

by authority, when his whole nature demanded liberty.

Thus Professor Sadler's principle—"Train the child by Liberty" (*i.e.*, by appealing to and training his inner life and vision) "for Liberty" (*i.e.*, of action) is seen to contain one of the deepest and most practical truths of the New Education.

Liberty is often confounded with license, which is truly the degeneration of liberty, its caricature.

Liberty of action and of speech, must be conditioned by self-control, by consideration for others. Otherwise the liberty of the many will be hampered and lessened by the action and speech of the few. Everywhere we see the individual limited and conditioned by the fact that he is one of a corporate body and there must be adjustment between the duty he owes to himself and the duty he owes to his fellows.

Parents forget that the child has rights as an individual in their fear that he will trample on the rights of others. They think he is unable to understand the double aspect, or if they give him liberty of action they do not train him incessantly, day in, day out, to understand that the very existence of such liberty depends on respecting the rights and feelings of others. Undoubtedly, if parents do not train young people to consider others, it is dangerous to give liberty of action and speech. This double aspect of the question—training children to enjoy and use liberty, must be understood as a practical matter, of vital importance, for without such understanding liberty becomes license and an opportunity for overwhelming selfishness.

Parental authority as we have agreed must be used in training young children. But the parents much teach the child by line upon line, precept upon precept, that outside authority is only a temporary measure, a crutch, to help his weakness and that gradually he must rule himself. In order to rule himself a child must understand and perceive that he is possessed of power to reason, that he has power of right judgment and vision. The Old Educationists forget that parental authority has no formative action on character. For how can children use and strengthen individul judgment and reason if they have no liberty? Children ought to have liberty to make mistakes. If they do not profit by these mistakes, the elders are at fault for not making them profitable by talking over them in an impersonal, abstract way. The old-fashioned way with an erring child is to scold him, punish him, and finally disgrace him. There is no scope given him to form a judgment on the wrong action. He is held "guilty" at once. The child in his turn reacts violently against such treatment; he is angry, antagonistic, and unrepentant. Any vision he might have had as to the wrongness of his action is blotted out; his fault instead of fertilising his character and judgment becomes a dead and even mischievous thing, throwing him into antagonism to his elders, hindering all receptivity to a better thought. The new Education method, with its insistence on liberty of speech and action is very different. Its whole concern is how to make the wrong-doing profitable to the child. Scolding and punishment are seen to be very elementary and foolish means to gain this end. Parents know that they must, above all things, avoid causing a reaction against themselves, and let the culprit feel that justice will be done without scolding and anger. They therefore show him that in this particular case, liberty of action has resulted in an error of judgment leading to wrong-doing, and that probably this error has been due to selfishness regarding the wishes of others. The child will not at first admit either the error in judgment or the selfishness. Vexation at the disaster, anger at being discovered, fear of results, will induce a heated atmosphere, hindering all judgment and vision. Parents who follow the New Education will expect all this. They know that children, as well as elders, will do wrong—must do wrong; they recognise that liberty has dangers, and that the children are in "the making" stage when errors of judgment and selfishness are rampant.

Their object is perfectly simple and straightforward in every crisis of wrong-doing, great and small; it is how to make it available as a fertiliser of character; how to use it to open the eyes and enlarge the vision, so that in the future, heart and judgment shall be used to better purpose. This object makes the right attitude easy—the child feels there is no harsh condemning; he knows that his parents and he are really taking the same standpoint, and that

there will be no scolding and disgrace. If the wrong-doing leads to no ripening of the judgment, and it occurs repeatedly, the child will be punished, and punished severely, in order to help him to remember that the action in question is wrong, and he will understand readily the reason of the curtailment of his liberty. Such punishment, used as a reminder, is especially helpful in the case of repeated carelessness and forgetfulness, and it can be explained that it is given as a help, as a little notch or reminder in the brain itself to be associated (unpleasantly!) with the transgression.

Punishment should always be regarded as a reminder. It should be felt as just and helpful. If it is felt as unjust and unkind the parents are at fault, for it is they who have failed to open the vision of the child; they should have helped him to feel that his vision of right and wrong is as strong as that of his elders on the points at issue and that he is quite as capable of forming judgment as they are. If he is not as capable, he is not guilty of anything worse than ignorance; if he is as capable he should be led to judge the matter rightly. If they do not agree then there should be no forcing on the part of the elders; often a talk or a story, on impersonal grounds, will help the child's vision, and in a short time he will acknowledge the wisdom of the punishment. Parents should take pains to let him see that his vision is immensely important and that the amount of the liberty he can enjoy safely depends on the strength of that vision. He will readily understand that if his vision is small and his judgment weak, he will be led into continual errors and disasters through having liberty.

To reason with the New Education child, accustomed to liberty of action and speech (conditioned of course by consideration for others), reminding him of the old-fashioned methods of authority, restriction and punishment, invariably appeals to him and stimulates him to make renewed efforts to be worthy of what he knows to be an unusual amount of liberty accorded to him.

For it must be remembered that the New Education child is conscious and proud of his liberty and of the responsibilities involved in it. It reacts on him in the most wonderful manner and gives him powers of self-control, judgment, and thought, that are impossible to the Old Education child.

He knows that he will be treated with justice and respect, that his wishes will be considered and if possible met; that his parents will confide in him, show him the meaning of things and treat him as a reasonable, responsible being. He understands that rules and restrictions and punishments are degrading methods, unworthy of New Education children, who, follow from inner compulsion and understanding, the path indicated by outer rules and restrictions for their companions under the Old Dispensation. Grace has taken the place of Law, and the child released from the iron hand of law is free to develop on his own lines in perfect intimacy and friendship.

St. Paul points out, as no other writer has done, the crushing, crippling effect on the soul of that goodness and duty which is the result of living under the law,—"Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not,"—and in one of his most inspired passages he describes the glory of living as the son of the free woman, no longer under the law, but under grace.

The inner life can under this grace blossom out and bear fruit, for it is as a plant transferred from the darkness that is unnatural and hindering to its growth, to the sunshine, that stimulates all its inherent powers.

We do not for a moment suppose that the transference from the Jewish Dispensation to the "liberty of Christ" produced license and selfishness and lawlessness in the early Church. Then why should we fear such results in Education? In both cases we are dealing with the evolution of the human soul and in both the reign of law must be superseded by the reign of love and freedom. Of course a transference from law to liberty will be difficult and fraught with danger to those who are not understanding. In fact only those who are filled with a convert's enthusiasm ought to adopt the New Education principles. For it is only they who will have the patience, the faith, the "eyes to see" and the "ears to hear," to lead them, unshaken in practical devotion to those principles, through the long years of childhood with the intervals of apparent failure, the hostile criticism of friends, the difficulty of reconcilement with

established rules and conventions, and the cast iron academic methods of instruction.

The New Education is accused of being vague and intangible. It was said by the late Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff that the objects of the Metaphysical Society were as difficult to understand as it was difficult to eat pea-soup with a fork.

It must ever be thus, for we cannot see more than we have in us to see, and explanations as to the practical value and use of Love expressed in Liberty are quite useless to those who have not grasped the meaning of Evolution in Education.

Sometimes in the effort to understand something of its nature, the adherents of the Old Education will try to substitute the word of trust for the word of law. They put their child "on trust" or "on his honour" not to commit forbidden acts. Surely this is a travesty of Liberty, for this child is untrained in exercising responsibility in forming his own judgment; he feels in a dim way that the elders are making an unusual demand on certain inner qualities for merely gaining obedience at the moment, and he resents this, knowing that the daily rule of his upbringing is by authority, with the minimum of freedom. What is understood as "trusting a child" may be very useful to the elders and very pleasant to the child, but it is not in the least degree the same thing as the habitual use of Liberty in Education. "Trusting a child" in the sense understood by the Old Education is always carried on intermittently, and almost capriciously, and is the outcome of no definite training.

But the use of liberty, as understood by the New Educationist, is a constant factor gradually increased as the intelligence and judgment grow, and it involves much and continual development of the inner vision of right and wrong, of wise judgment and lastly of consideration for others. The Old-Educationist is disappointed at the poor response provoked by his "outside" methods of ruling; he says he will "try giving liberty"; he then places his child, unaccustomed to liberty, in a position of temptation and says "I trust you not to touch this or that, or not to eat the apple," or something else specially tempting.

When he fails to respond to the appeal, the Old-Educationist exclaims "I have tried liberty and see how it fails!" We might as well set a child who has never been on the sea, to navigate a boat without a pilot, as expect a child, brought up by rule, to succeed when he has to launch out on the sea of life alone,!

To sum up. "The success of Education" taken in its large and most inclusive sense as "general upbringing" will be decided ultimately by the nature of the relationship between the child and his parents.

If there is the "Vie Intime" of a real friendship, with its sense of liberty, that will be the formative influence of the child's life, laying the broad foundation for all present and future activities, and cause both parents and child to regard the education as a success. For we shall expect and we shall find in the mature man that he has had his spiritual and æsthetic life awakened, his intellectual life encouraged and strengthened, and his judgment and consideration for others developed through this factor of priceless value, the perfect friendship of his parents.

Note by the Editor.

In an old Sanskrit couplet attributed to the sage Chanakya it is laid down that when a son arrives at the sixteenth year of his life, he should be treated as a friend.

THE MONOPOLIES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IN the old days of the Mogul government, the Subah of Bengal, emphatically styled by the Emperor Aurangzeb as the 'Paradise of nations,' depended solely upon its manufactures for the very large balance of trade in its favour. Up to nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, it was customary for merchants from all the inland parts of Asia, and even from Tartary, to resort to Bengal with little else than

money or bills to purchase the commodities of the province, in large caravans of many thousands together, with troops of oxen for the transport of goods. If the land-trade was great, the trade by sea was still more considerable. In the ancient world, the Tyrians, the Greeks, who were the masters of Egypt, and the Romans, sailed to India in quest of merchandise; and in more recent times, the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English followed their example. "In both periods loud complaints have been made that in carrying on this trade every state must be drained of the precious metals, which, in the course of it, flow incessantly from the West to the East never to return,"* and theorists have maintained, that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "Europe has been gradually impoverished, by being drained of its treasure in order to carry on its trade with India"† Not to speak of the ships which crowded the harbour of Tamralipti (the *Taprobane* of Pliny and Ptolemy) in the early centuries of the Christian era, ships laden with Indian products sailed from Satgaon, Sundeep and Porto Grande (Chittagong) for the ports of Europe from the sixteenth century onwards; and Pliny and Arrian ('Periplus') in the first and second centuries, Fa Hian in the fifth, Hiouen Tsang in the seventh, Marco Polo in the thirteenth, Nicolo Conti in the fifteenth, Ralph Fitch, Cæsar Frederick, Vertomannus in the sixteenth, down to Tavernier, Bernier, Abul Fazl, Friar Maurique and Nichola Graaf in the seventeenth century are unanimous in their testimony as to the extraordinary fertility of the soil, the remarkable cheapness and plenty of the provisions as well as the unparalled excellence of the cotton and silk manufactures of Bengal.

Many and various were the causes which led to the downfall of the industrial prosperity of the inhabitants of this Happy Valley. The prohibitive duties imposed by England upon all exports from India, which is a principal cause of this ruin, has been made familiar to Indian readers by Mr. R. C. Dutt in his *Economic History of British India*. But other causes operated in no small degree to bring about the same sad result, and of these, one of the foremost is the system of trade monopolies, which‡ were all but unknown under the Mogul Government, and were introduced for the first time on a vast scale and with scientific precision by the East India Company and its European servants immediately after the assumption of the Dewanee in 1765. In fact, according to William Bolts, a naturalised British subject whose long residence in Bengal entitles him to speak with authority, and whose book‖ will be our main guide in our present enquiry, a principal cause of the taking over of the Dewanee was "to enable the gentlemen who planned and adopted this mode of government to establish such monopolies of the trade of the country, and even of the common necessaries of life, for their own private emolument, and to the subversion of the natural rights of all mankind, as to this day remain unparalleled in the history of any Government."

The object of the present article is to give a succint narrative of this system of monopolies, which forms only a chapter of "that cynical rule for the gain of the rulers which for a time darkened the British acquisition of India in the eighteenth"¶ century.

At a meeting of the Select Committee of the Governor's Council held in Calcutta on the 10th August 1765, it was decided to establish a monopoly in the trade of salt, betelnut and tobacco. The following extracts from the proceedings will illustrate the scope and object of the scheme:

"In conformity with the Honourable Company's orders, contained in their letter, dated 1st June 1764, the Committee now proceed to take under their consideration the subject of the inland trade in the articles of salt, betelnut and tobacco. . . . . That the following plan for conducting this trade shall be carried into execution. . . . .

"First, that the whole trade shall be carried on by an exclusive company formed for that purpose and consisting of all those who may be deemed justly entitled to a share. . . . .

"2ndly, that the salt, betelnut and tobacco produced in or imported into Bengal shall be purchased by this established Company, and public advertisements shall be issued, *strictly prohibiting all other persons whatsoever, who are dependant on our government to deal in those articles.*

* A Historical Disquisition concerning India by William Robertson (1791) Section III, p. 136.

† *Ibid*, Section IV, p. 188.

‡ A short allusion to this subject will be found in Mr. Dutt's *Economic History*, (London, 1902,) pp. 40-42.

‖ *Considerations on Indian affairs*, London, 1772.

¶ Introduction to Sir William Hunter's *History of British India*, Volume I.

"3rdly, that application shall be made to the Nabob to issue the like prohibition to all his officers and subjects of the districts where any quantity of either of those articles is manufactured or produced. . . . .

"9thly, that it is apprehended that some difficulty will arise in securing the produce of the Dacca and Chittagong Districts, ... it is agreed, that application be made to the Nabob for perwanahs on the several Zemindars of those districts, as well as those of Hoogly, &c., strictly ordering and requiring them to contract for all the salt that can be made on their lands, with the English alone, and forbidding the sale to any other person or persons whatever. . . . .

"12thly, that the manner in which the Honourable Company and the Nabob shall be considered, being once determined, the remainder of this trade shall be divided amongst the Company's servants arranged under certain classes, and each class to share a certain proportion of the capital stock. . . . .

"13thly, that a committee of trade shall be appointed to receive the management of this plan and prosecute the same in all its branches. . . . ."

Publications were then made in different languages, and posted up in several parts of the city of Calcutta, of which the following is a sample:

ADVERTISEMENT.

"The Honourable the Court of Directors having thought proper to send out particular orders for limiting the inland trade, in the articles of salt, betelnut and tobacco, the same is now to be carried on, in conformity to those orders, by a public society of proprietors, to be formed for that purpose; and *an exclusive right to the trade of those articles will be vested in this society, by an authority derived from the Company and from the Nabob*; all manner of persons dependent upon the Honourable Company's government are hereby strictly prohibited from dealing in any respect, directly or indirectly, in the articles of salt, betelnut and tobacco, from the date hereof; that is to say, that they shall not enter into any new engagements, unless as contractors, either for the purchase or sale of those articles, with the society of trade."

Shortly after, on the 18th September 1765, another Select Committee was held on the subject of this monopoly under the presidency of Lord Clive, which in the interests of the Company, imposed the following duties upon the inland trade in the articles of salt, tobacco and betelnut:

Salt	... 35 per cent.
Tobacco	... 25 per cent.
Betelnut	... 10 per cent.

"By this calculation," said the Select Committee, "we hope may be produced a clear revenue to the Company of at least one hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum." The Committee then proceeded to determine the shares to be allowed to the European servants of the Company, who were arranged in three classes:

"According to this scheme, it is agreed, that class the first shall consist of the Governor, 5 shares; the second [Governor], 3 shares; the General, 3 shares; ten gentlemen of the Council, each 2 shares; two Colonels, each 2 shares; in all 35 shares of the first class.

"That class second shall consist of 1 Chaplain, 14 junior merchants, and 3 Lieutenant Colonels, in all 18 persons. . . . .

"That class third shall consist of 13 Factors, 4 Majors, 4 First Surgeons at the Presidency, 2 First Surgeons at the army, 1 Secretary to the Council, 1 Subaccountant, 1 Persian translator, and 1 Sub-Export-ware-house-keeper; in all 25 persons. . . . . "

It will be seen that among the persons who shared the profits of this ruinous and iniquitous monopoly, was the Chaplain of the Bengal establishment, a gentleman whose profession of preaching the gospels did not raise in him any qualms of conscience as to the propriety of participating in these immoral spoils. It will also be seen that the Committee purported to act under the authority, not only of the Court of Directors, but also of the Nabob, "the pensioned instrument of [the Company's] imposture and tyranny." "The farce of using the Nabob's name," says Bolts, "was thought convenient to be played, as is usual in all dark acts of this double Government. The reader will have percieved, as well in the proceedings of the Company as in the foregoing English advertisement, that this Nabob, if he must be so called, is introduced as joining with the Committee, and consenting to the ruin of his subjects, the poor people of the country, who could not, for that reason, pretend to, or entertain even a hope of redress."

How different was the state of things under the genuine Mogul rulers! Then there was no monopoly in these necessaries of life. "In the time of Nabob Aliverdi Khan, his favourite, Kazi Wazeed, was irregularly allowed to farm the trade in salt; but that merchant sold his salt at 500 per cent cheaper than it was sold after the establishment by this Committee of the monopoly now under consideration." The Nabob's name was therefore used merely as a cloak, and not being a free agent, he was made to issue 106 perwanahs to the Zemindars, strictly prohibiting the trade in salt, &c.

The following is a sample of the Mutchalkas or obligatory bonds taken from the

Zemindars to whom perwanahs were issued in the name of the Nabob.

".....I will on no account trade with any other person for the salt to be made in the year 1173 (Bengali style); and without their order I will not otherwise make away with or dispose of a single grain of salt; but whatever salt shall be made within the dependencies of my Zemindari, I will faithfully deliver it all, without delay to the said Society, and I shall receive the money according to the agreement which I shall make in writing; and I will deliver the whole and entire quantity of the salt produced, and without the leave of the said Company I will not carry to any other place nor sell to any other person a single measure of salt. If such a thing should be proved against me, I will pay to the sircar of the said Society a penalty of five rupees for every mund."

The Committee then started business by appointing European agents throughout the interior at all the important marts and centres of trade.

But the Directors could not be long kept in ignorance of the terrible oppressions that were being committed by the Society of Traders for pushing up their monopoly. In fact, they were afraid lest these oppressions should lead to revolt, for they said: "such innovations and illegal traffic had laid the foundation of all the bloodshed, massacres and confusion which had happened in Bengal" and proceeded to lay down that "it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely prohibit, this trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco."

Even upon receiving these strict injunctions, the gentlemen of the Select Committee could not make up their minds to give up the trade, which proved so highly profitable to them. They determined upon continuing it for another year, wisely increasing the duties to be paid to the Company to such an amount as might tempt the Board of Control to consent to the continuance of the system, for they well knew that the objection of the Directors proceeded, not from any moral scruples, but from the fear of the total extinction of the Company's revenues by too rapacious a treatment of the East Indian trade.

There was indeed ground for apprehension on the part of the Directors. The oppressions practised by the monopolists were severe enough in all conscience. The principal Bengali merchants of the day, such as Sobharam Basack, Madan Dutt, and others, were mulcted in several thousand pounds for their alleged breach of the regulations framed by the Society of Traders. The Society purchased salt at the rate of 75 rupees per 100 munds, but sold it at upwards of 500 rupees per hundred munds; which in effect was making a poor man pay at the rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees for a quantity of salt which, in the common course of the trade, he would have bought for one rupee.

Bolts made an elaborate estimate of the actual profits of this monopoly, and came to the following conclusion:—

"By this estimate, which we hope will be allowed very just by all persons acquainted with the branch of which we treat, it appears, that upon the trade of two years there has been to the amount of six hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds sterling collected for the benefit of about sixty persons, from the natives in general, upon this single monopoly of what are considered there to be all necessaries of life (and the most material one is actually such in all countries) more than they would have paid for the same, had the trade continued open and free to all who paid the established duties."

As might be expected, the monopoly led to the rapid decay of the manufacture of salt in Bengal. The districts which used to produce salt were those which were washed by the influx of the tide from the sea, for about sixty miles up the rivers from the bottom of the bay.

"Many of those lands produce nothing but salt, from which the whole of their revenue arises; but from the situation of the private trade of the country, as well as, in particular, from the fluctuating tenor of orders issued at Calcutta relative to this trade, none of the natives would, at that time, or even since, venture to make salt, unless privately concerned with, or protected by, some gentleman of power and influence in the service of the Company."

An instance of the distress caused to the salt manufacturers by the unsettled policy of the authorities at Calcutta may be given. In consequence of the repeated orders of the Court of Directors, the Governor and Council in Calcutta issued a proclamation in February 1767 encouraging the natives to make salt; and upon the faith of this order many of them engaged in the business, particularly in the woods, where it was made on low grounds annually washed by the Ganges during the rainy season. When the above order was issued, the old stock of salt manufactured on behalf of the monopolists had not yet been exhausted, and hence in August of the same year another proclamation was made forbidding the removal of the new made salt till the

stock in hand had been sold out. We shall now quote what Bolts himself saw:

"The salt makers, called Molunguees, came up to Calcutta in a body to petition for liberty to remove their salt before the swelling of the rivers; and the writer has seen above 200 of them surround the Governor's palanquin for that purpose, on the high road, and falling prostrate on their faces before him. They were referred to the Dewan*, though the very man against whom they complained; and before they could obtain an order, their salt was washed away."

We shall now turn to other articles of merchandise which were monopolised by the Company. The weaving industry was ruined from the Company's desire to keep the entire trade in its own hands, without a rival or competitor. Mr. R. C. Dutt has made some extracts† from Bolts to show how this happened. We shall quote a few passages from the same authority which have not been referred to by him with the same object.

"Every manœuvre of those who govern the English East India concerns, and particularly in Asia, seems to have been calculated with a view to facilitate the monopolising of the whole interior trade of Bengal. To effect this, inconceivable oppressions and hardships have been practised towards the poor manufacturers and workmen of the country, who are, in fact, monopolised by the Company as so many slaves‡. . . . Various and innumerable are the methods of oppressing the poor weavers, which are daily practised by the Company's agents and gomastahs in the country; such as by fines, imprisonments, floggings, forcing bonds from them, &c., by which the number of weavers in the country has been greatly decreased. The natural consequences whereof has been, the scarcity, dearness and debasement of the manufactures, as well as a great diminution of the revenues‖. . . . . The severities practised towards these poor people, who are generally both manufacturers and husbandmen, are scarcely to be described; for it frequently happens,.....that while the officers of the collections are distressing them one way for their established rents, the peons from the Company's gomostahs, on the other hand, are pressing them for their goods in such a manner as to put it out of their power to pay their rents. . . . . Such a practice can no otherwise be considered than like the idiot practice of killing the prolific hen to get her golden eggs all at once.¶.... The weaver, therefore, desirous of obtaining the just price of his labour frequently attempts to sell his cloth privately to others, particularly to the Dutch and French gomastahs, who are always ready to receive it. This occasions the English Company's gomastah to set his peons over the weaver to watch him, and not unfrequently to cut the piece out of the loom when nearly finished§ . . . . With every species of monopoly, therefore, every kind of oppression to manufacturers of all denominations throughout the whole country has daily increased; in so much that weavers, for daring to sell their goods, and Dallals and Pykars, for having contributed to and connived at such sales, have, by the company's agents, been frequently seized and imprisoned, confined in irons, fined considerable sums of money, flogged and deprived, in the most ignominious manner of what they esteem most valuable, their castes.... In the time of the Mogul Government, and even in that of the Nabob Aliverdi Khan, the weavers manufactured their goods freely, and without oppression; and though there is no such thing at present, it was then a common practice for reputable families of the Tanti, or weaver caste, to employ their own capitals in manufacturing goods, which they sold freely on their own accounts. There is a gentleman, now in England, who in the time of that Nabob, has purchased in the Dacca province in one morning eight hundred pieces of muslin at his own door, as brought to him by the weavers of their own accord. It was not till the time of Serajud-Dowlah that oppressions of the nature now described, from the employing of gomastahs, commenced with the increasing power of the English Company,...and the same gentleman was also, in Seraj-ud-Dowlah's time, witness to the fact of above seven hundred families of weavers, in the districts round Jungalbarry, at once abandoning their country and their professions on account of oppressions of this nature, which were then only commencing**...This last kind of workmen [winders of raw silk] were pursued with such rigour during Lord Clive's late government in Bengal, from a zeal for increasing the Company's investment of raw silk, that the most sacred laws of society were atrociously violated...."††

The weavers used country cotton, called *kapas*, which was produced in Bengal and was also imported in large quantities from the north-west, down the Jamuna and the Ganges. The Company imposed a duty of 30 p. c. upon such cotton, and forced the manufacturers to buy Surat cotton which they imported by sea, and thus accelerated the ruin of the industry.

"The public monopoly next in consequence, as of late practised, has been that of piece-goods for the markets of Bussorah, Jedda, Mocha, Bombay, Surat and Madras. Of those goods there are many sorts which the English Company do not deal in; such as, at Dacca, the coarser kinds of Mulmals, called Anundy, Hyati, Sonargang, and Sherbutty; and at Cossimbazar and Radhanagore, several sorts of sarries, called Chappa, Muga, Tempy, Tarachandy, and

* The Banyan or Dewan was a native officer employed by every European of consequence serving under the East India Company. His functions have been thus summarrised by Bolts :— "In short, he possesses singly many more powers over his master, than can be assumed in this country [England] by any young spendthrift's steward, money-lender and mistress all put together; and further serves, very conveniently sometimes, on a public discussion, to father such acts or proceedings as his master dares not avow."

† *Economic History*, pp. 23—27.

‡ Bolts, *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, London, 1772, p. 72.

‖ *Ibid*, p. 74.

¶ Ibid, p. 192.

§ *Ibid*, p. 193.

** *Ibid*, p. 194.

†† *Ibid*, p. 195.

Mutca; also Soocies and Soocy-Saries, Cutanees, and Taffeties, &c., in the provision of which nevertheless, under the same influence, like oppressions are practised as for the Company's investment."

The monopoly of coinage enjoyed by the Calcutta mint of the company was also another prolific source of illegal gain to the chief servants of the Company. A debased gold currency was issued by Lord Clive in 1765, whose face value was fourteen sicca rupees, but which could not be exchanged outside Calcutta except at a discount of eleven per cent. The public offices issued these gold mohurs at their nominal value, and received them back at their real value, the officers pocketing the difference. The Governor and Council in their letter to the Court of Directors acknowledged that with all their influence, they could not make the gold mohurs pass current in the interior, and attributed this to the fact that the natives were so wedded to the particular specie they had been accustomed to that they would not exchange it for any other. But, as Bolts says, "they might have said, with more truth, that the people were wise enough not to suffer themselves to be cheated in so gross a manner."

But whatever the Governor and Council did, they did with many pious professions of good will to the people and a sincere desire to improve their condition. Bolts' remarks on this point deserve quotation.

"It must appear to a sensible mind, that the whole system of the Government of Bengal at this period was in reality no other than one continued scene of imposition upon the public, under sounding phrases and pompous appearances; perhaps more ridiculous than anything that has been held up under the veil of politics, and even exceeding any thing exhibited on the theatre of false religion."

We shall conclude the subject with another extract from Bolts, that vigorous denouncer of the iniquities of the East India Company:

"We have seen all merchants from the interior parts of Asia effectually prevented from having any mercantile intercourse with Bengal, while at the same time, the natives in general are in fact deprived of all trade within those provinces, it being wholly monopolised by a few Company's servants and their dependants. In such a situation, what commercial country can flourish? . . . . .

"While the Company and their substitutes, by a sub-division of the rights of mankind, in the unrestrained exercise of every species of violence and injustice, are thus suffered to monopolise, not only the manufactures but the manufacturers of Bengal, and thereby totally repel that far greater influx of wealth which used to stream in from the commerce of Asia; and likewise, by every method they can falsely practise, obstruct the trade of the other European nations with those provinces, which is the only other inlet of wealth they possibly can have, and at the same time, while they are continually draining off from thence immense sums annually for China, Madras, Bombay and other places, the consequences cannot prove other than beggary and ruin to those inestimable territories."

Apart from the historical interest which this account of the monopolies of the East India Company possesses, it has a lesson to teach us. It is that our industries and trade did not decay as the result either of defeat in a fair competition or of incapacity on our part. So that, now that these monopolies no longer exist, the manufacturers are no longer oppressed, and the conditions, though not particularly favorable, are more favourable for industrial activity than in the days of John Company, we ought to take heart, and try to be a great industrial people again.

THE YELLOW GOD

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CHAPTER XII.

The visitant.

THE details at the distance he could not discover, nor did he try to do so, for the general glory of the scene held him in its grip. At this evening hour for a little while the level rays of the setting sun poured straight up the huge, water-hollowed kloof. They struck upon the face of the fall, staining it and the clouds of mist that hung above to a hundred glorious hues; indeed, the substance of the foaming waters seemed to be interlaced with rainbows whereof the arch reached their crest and the feet were lost in the sullen blackness of the pool beneath. Beautiful, too, was the valley, glowing in

the quiet light of evening, and even the native town, thus gilded and glorified, looked like some happy home of peace.

The sun was sinking rapidly, and before the litter reached the foot of the hill and began to cross the rich valley, all the glory had departed and only the cataract showed white and ghostlike through the gloom. But still the light, which it seemed to gather to itself, gleamed upon that golden roof amid the cedar trees; then the moon rose and the gold was turned to silver. Alan lay back upon his cushions full of wonder, almost of awe. It was a marvellous thing that he should have lived to reach this secret place hidden in the heart of Africa and defended by swamps, mountains, and savages, to which so far as he knew, only one white man had ever penetrated. And to think of it! That white man, his own uncle, had never even held it worth while to make public any account of its wonders, which apparently had seemed to him of no importance. Or perhaps he thought that if he did he would not be believed. Well, there they were before and about him, and now the question was—What would be his fate in this Gold House, where the great fetish dwelt with its priestess?

Ah! that priestess! Somehow he shivered a little when he thought of her; it was as though her influence were over him already. Next moment he forgot her for a while, for they had come to the river brink and the litter was being carried on to a barge or ferry, about which were gathered many armed men. Evidently the Gold House was well defended both by Nature and otherwise. The ferry was pulled or rowed across the river, he could not see which, and they passed through a gateway into the town and up a broad street where hundreds of people watched his advent. They did not seem to speak, or if they spoke, their voices were lost in the sound of the thunder of the great cataract that dominated the place with its sullen, continuous roar. It took Alan days to become accustomed to that roar, but by the inhabitants of Asiki-land apparently it was not noticed; their ears and voices were attuned to overcome its volume, which their fathers had known from the beginning.

Presently they were through the town and a wooden gate in an inner wall which surrounded the park where the cedars grew. At this spot Alan noted that everybody left them except the bearers and a few men whom he took to be priests. On they stole like ghosts beneath the mighty trees from whose limbs hung long festoons of moss. It was very dark there, only in places where a bough was broken the moonlight lay in gules upon the ground. Another wall and another gate, and suddenly the litter was set down. Its curtains opened, torches flashed, women appeared clad in white robes, veiled and mysterious, who bowed before him, then half led and half lifted him from his litter. He could feel their eyes on him through their veils, but he could not see their faces. He could see nothing except their naked, copper coloured arms and long, thin hands stretched out to assist him.

Alan descended from the litter as slowly as he could, for somehow he shrank from the quaint, carved portal which he saw before him. He did not wish to pass it; its aspect filled him with reluctance. The women drew him on, their hands pulled at his arms, their shoulders pressed him from behind. Still he hung back, looking about him, till to his delight he saw the other litter arrive, and out of it emerge Jeeki, still wearing his sun helmet with its fringe of tattered mosquito curtain.

"Here we are, Major," he said in his cheerful voice, "turned up all right like bad ha'penny, but in odd situation."

"Very odd," echoed Alan. "Could you persuade these ladies to let go of me?"

"Don't know," answered Jeeki. "'Spect they your wives; 'spect you have lots of wives here; don't get white man every day, so make most of him. Best thing you do, kick out and teach them place. Rub nose in dirt at once to make them good—that first-class plan with female. I no like interfere in such delicate matter."

Terrified by this information, Alan put out his strength and shook the women off him, whereon, without seeming to take any offence, they drew back to a little distance and began to bow, like automata. Then Jeeki addressed them in their own language, asking them what they meant by defiling this mighty lord, born of the Heavens, with the touch of their hands, whereat they went on bowing more humbly than before. Next he threw aside the cushions of the litter and finding the tin box containing Little Bonsa,

held tt before him in both hands and bade the women lead on.

The march began, a bewildering march. It was like a nightmare. Veiled women with torches before and behind, Jeeki stalking ahead carrying the battered tin box, long passages lined with gold, a vision of black water edged with a wide promenade, and finally a large lamp-lit room whereof the roof was supported by gilded columns, and in the room couches of cushions, wooden stools inlaid with ivory, vessels of water, great basins made of some black, hard wood, and in the centre a block of stone that looked like an altar.

Jeeki set down the tin box upon the altar-like stone, then he turned to the crowd of women and said, "Bring food." Instantly they departed, closing the door of the room behind them.

"Now for a wash," said Alan, "unlace this confounded mask, Jeeki."

"Mustn't, Major, mustn't. Priests tell me that if those girls see you without mask, perhaps they kill them. Wait till they gone after supper, then take it off. No one allowed to see you without mask except Asika herself."

Alan stepped to one of the wooden bowls full of water which stood under a lamp, and gazed at his own reflection. The mask was gilded; the sham lips were painted red and round, the eye-holes were black lines.

"Why! it is horrible," he exclaimed, starting back, "I look like a devil crossed with Guy Fawkes. Do you mean to tell me that I have got to live in this thing?"

"Afraid so, Major, upon all public occasion. At least they say that. You holy, not lawful see your sacred face."

"Who do the Asiki think I am, then, Jeeki?"

"They think you your reverend uncle come back after many, many year. You see, Major, they not believe uncle run away with Little Bonsa; they believe little Bonsa run away with uncle just for change of air and so on, and that now, when she tired of strange land, she bring him back again. That why you so holy, favourite of Little Bonsa, who live with you all this time and keep you just same age, bloom of youth!"

"In Heaven's name," asked Alan exasperated, "what is Little Bonsa, beyond an ancient and ugly gold fetish?"

"Hush!" said Jeeki, "mustn't call her names here in her own house. Little Bonsa much more than fetish, Little Bonsa alive, or so," he added doubtfully, "these silly niggers say. She wife of Big Bonsa who you see to-morrow, perhaps. But their story this, that she get dead sick of Big Bonsa and bolt with white Medicine man, who dare preach she nothing but heathen idol. She want show him whether or no she only idol. That the yarn, priests tell it me to-day. They always sure Little Bonsa come back. They always watch for her there by edge of lake. Not at all surprised, but as she love you once, you always holy; and I holy also, thank goodness, because she take me too as servant. Therefore we sleep in peace, for they not cut our throats, at any rate at present, though I think," he added mournfully, "they not let us go either."

Alan sat down on a stool and groaned at the appalling prospect suggested by this information.

"Cheer up, Major," said Jeeki sympathetically. "Perhaps manage hook it somehow, and meanwhile make best of bad business and have high old time. You see you want to come Asiki-land, though I tell you it rum place, and," he added with certitude and a circular sweep of his hand, "by Jingo! you here now, and I daresay they give you all the gold you want."

"What's the good of gold unless one can get away with it? What's the good of anything if we are prisoners among these devils?"

"Perhaps time show, Major. Hush! here come dinner. You sit on stool and look holy."

The door opened and through it appeared four of the women bearing dishes, and cups full of drink, fashioned of gold like that which had been given to Alan in the litter. He noticed at once that they had removed their veils and outer garments, if indeed they were the same women, and now, like many other Africans, were but lightly clad in linen capes open in front that hung over their shoulders, short petticoats or skirts about their middles, and sandals. Such was their attire, which, scanty as it might be, was yet becoming enough and extremely rich. Thus the cape was fastened with a brooch of worked gold, so were the sandal

straps, while the petticoat was adorned with beads of gold that jingled as they walked, and amongst them strings of other beads of various and beautiful colours, that might be glass or might be precious stones. Moreover, these women were young and handsome, having splendid figures and well-cut features, soft, dark eyes and rather long hair worn in the formal and attractive fashion that has been described.

Advancing to Alan, two of them knelt before him, holding out the trays upon which was the food. So they remained while he ate, like bronze statues, nor would they consent to change their posture even when he told them in their own language to be pleased to go away. On hearing themselves addressed in the Asiki tongue, they seemed surprised, for their faces changed a little, but go they would not. The result was that Alan grew extremely nervous and ate and drank so rapidly that he scarcely noted what he was putting into his mouth. Then before Jeeki, to whom the women did not kneel, had half finished his dinner, Alan rose and walked away, whereon two of the women gathered up everything, including the dishes that had been given to Jeeki, and in spite of his remonstrances carried them out of the room.

"I say, Major," said Jeeki, "if you gobble chop so fast you go ill inside. Poor nigger like me can't keep up with you, and sleep hungry to-night."

"I am sorry, Jeeki," said Alan with a little laugh, "but I can't eat of living tables, especially when they stare at one like that. You tell them to-morrow we will breakfast alone."

"Oh! yes, I tell them, Major, but I don't know if they listen. They mean it great compliment and only think you not like those girls and send others."

"Look here, Jeeki," exclaimed Alan turning his masked face towards the two who remained, "let us come to an understanding at once. Clear them out. Tell them I am so holy that Little Bonsa is enough for me. Say I can't bear the sight of females, and that if they stop here I will sacrifice them. Say anything you like, only get rid of them and lock the door."

Thus adjured Jeeki began to reason with the women, and as they treated his remarks with lofty disdain, at last seized first one and then the other by the elbows and literally ran them out of the room.

"There!" he said, "baggage gone, since you make such fuss about it, though I 'spect they try give me beans for this job" (here he spoke not in figurative English slang, but of the Calabar bean, which is a favourite native poison). "Well, dinner gone and girls gone, and we tired, so best go to bed. Think we all private here now, though in Gold House never can be sure," and he looked round him suspiciously, adding, "rummy place, Gold House, full of all sorts of holes made by old fellows thousand year ago, which no one know but Bonsa priests. Still, best risk it and take off your face so that you have decent wash," and he began to unlace the mask on his master's head.

Never has a City clerk dressed up for a fancy ball in the armour of a Norman knight been more glad to get rid of his costume than was Alan of that hateful head-dress. At length it was gone with his other garments and the much-needed wash accomplished, after which he clothed himself in a kind of linen gown which apparently had been provided for him, and lay down on one of the couches, placing his revolver by his side.

"Will those lamps burn all night, Jeeki?" he asked.

"Hope so, Major, as we haven't got no match. Not fond of dark in Gold House," answered Jeeki sleepily. Then he began to snore.

Alan fell asleep, but was too excited and tired to rest very soundly. All sorts of dreams came to him, one of which he remembered on awakening, perhaps because it was the last. He dreamed that he heard some noise, and opened his eyes, to see that they were no longer alone in the room. The oil lamps had burned quite low, indeed some of them were out, but by the light of those that remained he saw a tall figure which seemed to appear at the edge of the surrounding darkness, a woman's figure. It walked forward to the altar-like stone upon which lay the tin box containing Little Bonsa, and after several rather awkward attempts, succeeded in opening it, thereby making a noise which, in his dream, finally awoke Alan. For a while the figure gazed at the fetish. Then it shut the box, glided to his bed, and bent down as though to study him. Out

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of the corners of his eyes he peered up at it, pretending all the while to be fast asleep.

It was a woman, wonderfully clad in gold-spangled, veil-like garments with round bosses shaped to her breast; covered with thin plates of gold fashioned like the scales of a fish, which showed off the extraordinary elegance of her little form. The low lamp light shone upon her face and the coronet of gold set upon her dark hair. What a face it was! Never in all his days had he seen its like for evil loveliness. The great, languid, oblong eyes, the rich red lips bent like a bow, the cruel smile of the mouth, the broad forehead on which the hair grew low, the delicately arched eyebrows and the long curving lashes of the heavy lids beneath them, the rounded cheeks smooth as a ripe fruit, the firm, shapely chin, the snake-like poise of the head, the long bending neck and the cat-like smile; all of these combined made such a dream-vision as he had never seen before, and to tell the truth, notwithstanding its beauty, for that could not be doubted, never wished to see again. Somehow he felt that if Satan should happen to have a copper-coloured wife, the exact picture of that lady had projected itself upon his sleeping senses.

She seemed to study him very earnestly, with a kind of passionate eagerness indeed, moving a little now and again to let the light fall upon some part that was in shadow. Once even she stretched out her rounded arm and just lifted the edge of the blanket so as to expose his hand, the left. As it chanced, on the little finger of this hand Alan wore a plain gold ring which Barbara had given him—once it had been her grandfather's signet. This ring, which had a coat of arms cut upon its bezel, seemed to interest her very much, for she examined it for a long while. Then she drew off from her own finger another ring fashioned of two snakes curiously intertwined of gold, and gently, so gently that in his sleep he scarcely felt it, slipped it on to his finger above Barbara's ring.

After this she seemed to vanish away, and Alan slept soundly until the morning, when he awoke to find the light of the sun pouring into the room through the high-set latticed window-places.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ASIKA.

Alan rose and stretched himself, and hearing him, Jeeki, who had a dog's faculty of instantly awaking from what seemed to be the deepest sleep, sat up also.

"You rest well, Major? No dream, eh?" he asked curiously.

"Not very," answered Alan, "and I had a dream, of a woman who stood over me and vanished away, as dreams do."

"Ah!" said Jeeki. "But where you find that new ring on finger, Major?"

Alan stared at his hand and started, for there, set on it, above that of Barbara's, was the little circlet formed of twisted snakes which he had seen in his sleep.

"Then it must have been true," he said in a low and rather frightened voice. "But how did she come and go?"

"Funny place, Gold House. I tell you that yesterday, Major. People come up through hole, like rats. Never quite sure you alone in Gold House. But what this lady like?"

Alan described his visitor to the best of his ability.

"Ah!" said Jeeki, "pretty girl. Big eyes, gold crown, gold stays which fit tight on front, very nice and decent; sort of night-shirt with little stars all over—by Jingo! I think that Asika herself. If so—*great* compliment."

"Confound the compliment," said Alan angrily. "What does she mean by poking about here at night and putting rings on my fingers? I think it great cheek."

"Don't know, Major, but p'r'aps she wish make you understand that she like cut of your jib. Find out by and by. Meanwhile you wear ring, for while that on finger no one do you any harm."

"You told me that this Asika is a married woman, did you not?" remarked Alan gloomily.

"Oh! yes, Major, always married; one down, other come on, you see. But she not always like her husband, and then she make him sit up, poor devil, and he die double quick. Great honour to be Asika's husband, but soon all finished. P'r'aps——" then he checked himself, and suggested that Alan should have a bath while he cleaned his clothes, an attention that they needed.

Scarcely had Alan finished his toilet, and donned the Arab-looking linen robe over his own fragmentary flannels, and above it the hateful mask which Jeeki insisted he must wear, when there came a knocking on the door. Motioning to Alan to take his seat upon a stool, Jeeki undid the bars, and as before, women appeared with food, and waited while they ate, which this time having overcome his nervousness, Alan did more leisurely. Their meal done, one of the women asked Jeeki, for to his master they did not seem to dare to speak, whether the white lord did not wish to walk in the garden. Without waiting for an answer, she led him to the end of the large room, and unbarring another door that they had not noticed, revealed a passage, beyond which appeared trees and flowers. Then she and her companions went away with the fragments of the meal.

"Come on," said Alan, taking up the box containing Little Bonsa, which he did not dare to leave behind, "and let us get into the air."

So they went down the passage and at the end of it, through gates of copper or gold, they knew not which, that had evidently been left open for them, into the garden. It was a large place, a good many acres in extent indeed, and kept with some care, for there were paths in it and flowers that seemed to have been planted. Also here grew certain of the mighty cedar trees that they had seen from far off, beneath whose spreading boughs twilight reigned, while beyond not more than half a mile away, the splendid river-fall thundered down the precipice. For the rest they could find no exit from that garden, which on one side was enclosed by a sheer cliff of living rock, and on the others with steep stone walls, beyond which ran a torrent, and the building of the Gold House itself.

For a while they walked up and down the rough paths, till at last Jeeki, wearying of this occupation, remarked,

"Melancholy hole, Major. Remind me of Westminster Abbey in London fog, where your uncle of blessed memory often take me pray and look at tomb of king. S'pose we go back Gold House and see what happen. Anything better than stand about under cursed old cedar tree."

"All right," said Alan, who through the eyeholes in his mask had been studying the walls to seek a spot in them that could be climbed if necessary, and found none.

So they returned to the room, which had been swept and garnished in their absence. No sooner had they entered it than the door opened, and through it came long lines of Asiki priests, each of whom staggered beneath the weight of a hide bag that he bore upon his shoulder, which bags they piled up about the stone altar. Then, as though at some signal, each priest opened the mouth of his bag, and Alan saw that they were filled with gold, gold in dust, gold in nuggets, gold in vessels perfect or broken; more gold than Alan had ever seen before.

"Why do they bring all this stuff here?" he asked, and Jeeki translated his question.

"It is an offering to the lord of Little Bonsa," answered the head priest, bowing, "a gift from the Asika. The heaven-born white man sent a word by his Ogula messengers that he desired gold. Here is the gold that he desired."

Alan stared at the treasure which, after all, was what he had come to seek. If only he had it safe in England, he would be a rich man and his troubles ended. But how could he get it to England? Here it was worthless as mud.

"I thank the Asika," he said. "I ask for porters to bear her gift back to my own country, since it is too heavy for me and my servant to carry alone."

At these words the priest smiled a little, then said that the Asika desired to see the white lord and to receive from him Little Bonsa in return for the gold, and that he could proffer his request to her.

"Good," replied Alan, "lead me to the Asika."

Then they started, Alan bearing the box containing Little Bonsa, and Jeeki following after him. They went down passages and through sundry doors till at length they came to a long and narrow hall that seemed to be lined with plates of gold. At the end of this hall was a large chair of black wood and ivory placed upon a dais, and sitting in this chair, with the light pouring on her from some opening above, was the woman of Alan's dream, beautiful to look on in her crown and glittering garments. Upon a stool at the foot of the dais, sat a man, a handsome and melancholy man. His hair

was tied behind his head in a pigtail and gilded; his face was painted red, white, and yellow; he wore ropes of bright-coloured stones about his neck, middle, arms and ankles, and held a kind of sceptre in his hand.

"Who is that creature?" asked Alan over his shoulder to Jeeki; "the Court fool?"

"That husband of Asika, Major. He not fool, very big gun, but look a little low now because his time soon up. Come on, Major, Asika beckon us. Get on stomach and crawl; that custom here," he added, going down on to his hands and knees, as did all the priests who followed them.

"I'll see her hanged first," answered Alan in English.

Then, accompanied by the creeping Jeeki and the train of prostrate priests, he marched up the long hall to the edge of the dais and there stood still and bowed to the woman in the chair.

"Greeting, White Man," she said in a low voice when she had studied him for a little while. "Do you understand my tongue?"

"A little," he answered in Asiki, "moreover, my servant here knows it well and can translate."

"I am glad," she said. "Tell me then, in your country do not people go on to their knee before their queen, and if not, how do they greet her?"

"No," answered Alan, with the help of Jeeki. "They greet her by raising their headdress, or kissing her hand."

"Ah!" she said. "Well, you have no headdress, so kiss *my* hand," and she stretched it out towards him, at the same time prodding the man whom Jeeki had said was her husband, in the back with her foot, apparently to make him get out of the way.

Not knowing what else to do, Alan stepped on to the dais, the man scowling at him as he passed. Then he halted and said:

"How can I kiss your hand through this mask, Asika?"

"True," she answered, then considered a little and added, "White man, you have brought back Little Bonsa, have you not? Little Bonsa who ran away with you a great many years ago."

"I have," he said, ignoring the rest of the question.

"Your messengers said that you required a present of gold in return for Little Bonsa. I have sent you one; is it sufficient? If not, you can have more."

"I cannot say, O Asika, I have not examined it. But I thank you for the present, and desire porters to enable me to carry it away."

"You desire porters," she repeated meditatively. "We will talk of that when you have rested here a month or two. Meanwhile, give me Little Bonsa that she may be restored to her own place."

Alan opened the tin box, and lifting out the fetish gave it to the priestess, who took it, and with a serpentine movement of extraordinary grace glided from her chair on to her knees, holding the mask above her head in both hands, then thrice covered her face with it. This done, she called to the priests, bidding them take Little Bonsa to her own place and give notice throughout the land that she was back again. She added that the ancient Feast of Little Bonsa would be held on the night of the full moon within three days, and that all preparations must be made for it as she had commanded.

Then the head medicine-man, raising himself upon his knees, crept on to the dais, took the fetish from her hands, and breaking into a wild song of triumph, he and his companions crawled down the hall and vanished through the door, leaving them alone save for the Asika's husband.

When they had gone the Asika looked at this man in a reflective way, and Alan looked at him also through the eyeholes of his mask, finding him well worth studying. As has been said, notwithstanding his paint and grotesque decorations, he was very good-looking for a native, with well-cut features of an Arab type. Also he was tall and muscular, and not more than thirty years of age. What struck Alan most, however, was none of these things, nor his jewelled chains, nor even his gilded pigtail, but his eyes, which were full of terrors. Seeing them, Alan remembered Jeeki's story which he had told to Mr. Haswell's guests at the Court, of how the husband of the Asika was driven mad by ghosts.

Just then she spoke to the man, addressing him by name and saying:

"Leave us alone, Mungana, I wish to speak with this white lord."

He did not seem to hear her words, but continued to stare at Alan.

"Hearken!" she exclaimed, in a voice of ice. "Do my bidding and begone, or you shall sleep alone to-night in a certain chamber that you know of."

Then Mungana rose, looked at her as a dog sometimes does at a cruel master who is about to beat it, yes, with just that same expression, put his hands before his eyes for a little while, and turning, left the hall by a side door which closed behind him. The Asika watched him go, laughed musically and said:

"It is a very dull thing to be married; but how are you named, white man?"

"Vernon," he answered.

"Vernoon, Vernoon," she repeated, for she could not pronounce the O as we do. "Are you married, Vernoon?"

He shook his head.

"Have you been married?"

"No," he answered, "never, but I am going to be."

"Yes," she answered, "you are going to be. You remember that you were near to it many years ago, when Little Bonsa got jealous and ran away with you. Well, she won't do that again, for doubtless she is tired of you now, and, besides," she added, with a flash of ferocity, "I'd melt her with fire first and set her spirit free."

While Jeeki was trying to explain this mysterious speech to Alan the Asika broke in, asking:

"Do you always want to wear that mask?"

He answered, "Certainly not," whereon she bade Jeeki take it off, which he did.

"Understand me," she said, fixing her great languid eyes upon his in a fashion that made him exceedingly uncomfortable, "understand, Vernoon, that if you go out anywhere, it must be in your mask, which you can only put off when you are alone with *me*."

"Why?" he asked.

"Because, Vernoon, I do not choose that any other woman should see your face. If a woman looks upon your uncovered face, remember that she dies—not nicely."

Alan stared at her bluntly, being unable to find appropriate words in which to reply to this threat. But the Asika only leaned back in her chair and laughed at his evident confusion and dismay, till a new thought struck her.

"Your lips are free now," she said, "kiss my hand after the fashion of your own country," and she stretched it out to Alan, leaving him no choice but to obey her.

"Why" she went on mischievously, taking his hand and in turn touching it with her red lips, "why, are you a thief, Vernoon? That ring was mine, and you have stolen it. How did you steal that ring?"

"I don't know," he answered through Jeeki, "I found it on my finger. I cannot understand how it came there. I understand nothing of all this talk."

"Well, well, keep it, Vernoon, only give me that other ring of yours in exchange."

"I cannot," he replied colouring. "I promised to wear it always."

"Whom did you promise?" she asked with a flash of rage. "Was it a woman? Nay, I see, it is a man's ring, and that is well, for otherwise I would bring a curse on her, however far off she may be dwelling. Say no more and forgive my anger. A vow is a vow—keep your ring. But where is that one which you used to wear in bygone days? I recall that it had a cross upon it, not this star and figure of an eagle."

Now Alan remembered that his uncle owned such a ring with a cross upon it, and was frightened, for how did this woman know these things?

"Jeeki," he said, "ask the Asika if I am mad, or if she is. How can she know what I used to wear, seeing that I was never in this place till yesterday, and certainly I have not met her anywhere else."

"She mean when you your reverend uncle," said Jeeki, wagging his great head, "she think you indentical man."

"What troubles you, Vernoon?" the Asika asked softly, then added anything but softly to Jeeki, "Translate, you dog, and be swift."

So Jeeki translated in a great hurry, telling her what Alan had said, and adding on his own account that he, silly white man that he was, could not understand how, as she was quite a young woman, she could have seen him before she was born. If that were so, she would be old and ugly now, and not beautiful as she was.

"I never saw you before, and you never saw me, lady, yet you talk as though we had been friends," broke in Alan in his halting Asiki.

"So we were in the spirit, Vernoon. It was she who went before me who loved

that white man whose face was as your face is, but her ghost lives on in me and tells me the tale. There have been many Asikas; for thousands of years they have ruled in this land, yet but one spirit belongs to them all; it is the string upon which the beads of their lives are threaded. White man, I, whom you think young, know everything, back to the time when I was a monkey woman sitting in those cedar trees, and if you wish, I can tell it you."

"I should like to hear it very much indeed," answered Alan, when he had mastered her meaning, "though it is strange that none of the rest of us remember such things. Meanwhile, O Asika, I tell you that I desire to return to my own land, taking with me that gift of gold that you have given me. When will it please you to allow me to return?"

"Not yet awhile, I think," she said, smiling at him weirdly, for no other word will describe that smile. "My spirit remembers that it was ever thus. Those wanderers who came hither always wished to return again to their own country, like the birds in spring. Once there was a white man among them, that was more than twenty hundred years ago; he was a native of a country called Roma, and wore a helmet. He wished to return, but my mother of that day, she kept him, and by and by I will show him to you if you like. Before that there was a brown man who came from a land where a great river overflows its banks every year. He was a prince of his own country, who had fled from its king, and the desert folk made a slave of him, and so he drifted thither. He wished to return also, for my mother of that day, or my spirit that dwelt in her, showed to him that if he could but be there they would make him king in his own land. But my mother of that day, she would not let him go, and by and by I will show him to you, if you will."

Bewildered, amazed, Alan listened to her. Evidently the woman was mad, or else she played some mystical part for reasons of her own.

"When will you let me go, O Asika?" he repeated.

"Not yet awhile, I think," she said again. "You are too comely, and I like you," and she smiled at him once more. There was nothing coarse in the smile, indeed it had a certain spiritual quality which thrilled him. "I like you," she went on in her dreamy voice, "I would keep you with me until your spirit is drawn up into my spirit, making it strong and rich as all the spirits that went before have done, those spirits that my mothers loved from the beginning, which dwell in me to-day."

Now Alan grew alarmed, desperate even.

"Queen," he said, "but just now your husband sat here; is it right then that you should talk to me thus?"

"My husband," she answered laughing. "Why, that man is but a slave who plays the part of husband to satisfy an ancient law. Never has he so much as kissed my finger tips; my women, those who waited on you last night, are his wives, not I—or may be, if he will. Soon he will die of love for me, and then, when he is dead, though not before, I may take another husband, any husband that I choose, and I think that no black man shall be my lord, who have other, purer blood in me. Vernoon, five centuries have gone by since an Asika was really wed to a foreign man, who wore a green turban and called himself a 'son of the Prophet,' a man with a hooked nose and flashing eyes, who reviled our gods until they slew him, even though he was the beloved of their priestess. She who went before me would have married that white man whose face was like your face, but he fled with Little Bonsa, or rather Little Bonsa fled with him. So she passed away unwed, and in her place I came."

"How did you come, if she whom you call your mother was not your mother?" asked Alan.

"What is that to you, white man?" she replied haughtily. "I am here, as my spirit has been here from the first. Oh! I see you think I lie to you. Come then, come, and I will show you those who from the beginning have been the husbands of the Asika," and, rising from her chair, she took him by the hand.

(To be continued.)

OOTACAMUND, THE TODAS AND SOME REFLECTIONS

THE peninsula of India is a symphony in the music of time. The Himalaya strikes the prelude, the mountains and rocks of Cape Comorin the close, and a great phrase on the way are the Nilgiris. They rise a little inland from the Ghats; the loftiest heights, the finest mass in India. Some volcano of early times uphove them, and its crater, twenty miles by fifteen, is now the green hollow of Ootacamund. The sun and the frost and the rains of many ages have rounded the slopes, and decomposed the rocks, and the soil wears a thin mantle of grass. Fierce alternations of heat and cold check its growth, and it is poor pasture, but in the distance it looks well enough, and after a thousand miles in the parched Dravidian plains one is more inclined to be grateful than critical.

It is possible indeed that the traveller, once arrived at Ooty, may regret he has left so far behind the scenery of the outer wall. The Nilgiris rise abruptly from the plains. Down at Mettapollyam you lift your eyes to a vast escarpment of rock, Coonoor-droorg rising eight thousand feet above you. The cliffs are marvellous; hundreds of feet they fall sometimes, and it seems like a flight of imagination to ascend them. But the ascent was first made long ago, before history began, and even Tippoo had his summer seat on that inaccessible peak. Thence he too, like us, surveyed the plains and no doubt in a palki he was carried up some path through the same ravine. Western enterprise has made a road since then, and since the road a railway. The gradient is one in twelve; the engine relies on the rack and pinion system, and trains run up and down without apparent trouble. There is an excellent system of putting the engine in the rear, you are pushed up from behind, and you leave behind you the dense cloud of yellow smoke which announces your passage. As you go along, you see glimpses of unspeakable scenery, and it is clear that this ravine, before it was civilised, was second to nothing in the world in the way of natural grandeur. Now-a-days it has suffered much from the all-destroying tea-planter, and bungalows emerge here, there and everywhere. You have to reconstruct the past.

Better still, you may resolve to go elsewhere and find the past still present. Beyond Ootacamund, on the western side of the plateau, is the sacred eminence of Makurti Peak. It is easily accessible, you may take a tent from Ooty, walk over there some morning and camp below the mountain. Next day rising betimes, if you are wise, you may climb Makurti and look down into Malabar. The formation of the mountain is curious. It seems as though some earthquake had torn half of it away, and standing on its summit you look straight down where the other half should have been, straight down into Malabar. The hollow below you is filled with jungle, vast, solitary and impenetrable. Beyond is the massif of the Nilgiri Peak, a tremendous stronghold defiant of the climber, and between the two is a vision of Malabar. We had but a scanty view of this, on my visit, for the monsoon was rolling inland and the hollow was full of sluggish clouds. But it is one of the great scenes of the world, and I am resolved that one day I will cross the Wynaad and offer battle to that Nilgiri Peak.

These mountains on the edge of the plateau are called the Kundahs. They rise above it about a thousand feet and are full of romantic glens and hollows. The best way to see them is to go out and stay at Avalanché Bungalow, about eighteen miles from Ooty. You may go thence in any direction you please; the scenery is all much the same. In every fold of the hills there is a little wood or *shola*. The trees are of the laurel and myrtle tribes, small but leafy, and the *sholas* have a clustered look that is very charming. The rich greens of the foliage harmonise with the grey lichens of the trunks and one feels the presence of antiquity.

Sometimes a few deer show themselves or a jackal steals across the hill; I should also observe that coral snakes abound. They are very pretty and not very poisonous, so the lover of nature is not conscientiously bound to kill them.

Near Ootacamund the *sholas* have mostly disappeared and the country has been planted with Australian trees. Some of these are not unattractive; the mimosa makes a good hedge and the acacia though formal has a bold outline and shadowy depth of foliage. But the commonest exotic is the eucalyptus, or blue gum tree, the most useful and the ugliest. It grows about a hundred feet high, with a thin trunk, ragged twisted bark, and a small crown of drooping miserable leaves. Its aspect is dejected and depressing; and one's first impulse is to say "Away with it!" Enquiry, however, shows that like most ugly people and things it has innumerable virtues and is indispensable. In the first place it is unrivalled for sucking up noxious moisture and draining swamps. It grows more speedily than any other tree; when cut down, it affords excellent firewood; and without any complaints it grows up again of its own accord. It yields eucalyptus oil, and finally, under the manipulation of the chemist, furnishes an ingredient indispensable for cordite. Hitherto we have depended on Germany for this ingredient,—the very country that is going to eat us up,—and it comes as a shock to learn that we have been at their mercy for high explosives since these instruments of civil and military warfare were invented.

Ooty is the home of many English flowers. The gorse and the broom line the roads with yellow, the privet fills the dells with an ancient well remembered scent. Anenemes dance by millions on the grass; nodding buttercups and Nilgiri daisies. The flower of the last is like that of the English daisy, but it grows on a long thin stem and is not the companion of our childhood. Violets and wild thyme are not absent, nor blue bells and hyacinths. Ivy too is common. How comes it that all these flowers find themselves on this solitary height in the tropics? We do not know; we do not know most of the things we should like to know.

Still, there they are, welcome to the exile, and combining with the grass and cool air to revive old memories,

> Till that child's heart within the man's
> Begins to move and tremble.

We have most of us English people felt or affected to feel the charm of the country and have opined with Mercy :—

"I think I am as well in this valley as any where else in all our journey; the place methinks suits with my spirit. I love to be in such places where there is no rumbling with coaches, no rattling with wheels. Methinks here one may without much meditation be thinking what he is, whence he came, what he has done and why the King has called him."

Of course the mood passes away, and I find it myself as great a relief to get back to the town as to get away to the country. If one were an artist and had work to do there, things would be different, but the ordinary man must kill off his sense of duty if he is going to sit still admiring buttercups and daisies and shepherds and silly sheep. What a *tour de force* it was for Wordsworth to keep his moral sense alive through half a century of country life!

Of Ootacamund itself, as a hill station, there is a little, but not much, to be said. It is without doubt the most attractive of these places in India. In the Himalayan stations you live as it were on the roof of a house, your excursions are confined to one or two roads along the side of the hill. At Ooty you have rolling downs for miles around you, where members of the hunt pursue their sport. The station is well laid out, with prim acacias growing everywhere, and it looks, as some one has said, like a well kept cemetery. There is no overcrowding, though there is one squalid suburb. The air is too thin for newcomers, who take a few days to grow used to it, and the cold is a little chilly at first. Some people prefer Coonoor, which is not so fashionable, but has finer walks and is cheaper. Do not forget when you are there to admire the tree ferns in the woods, or to ask for grenadillas at desert. These are the fruit of the passion flower creeper; they are like little bombs, with pulp inside them. You cut off the top and eat the contents with a spoon.

Ooty is the oldest hill station in India. Macaulay lived there, and he must have dined there with old gentlemen in wigs and knee-breeches, who ate nothing but curry, smoked their hookahs between the

courses, and drank as much as was good for them. How far we are removed from our forefathers, and how little our posterity will resemble us! It seems a principle with the Demiourgos to change his types of life and character; is there anything in the world that persists?

Shall we go to the Todas for an affirmation? They are never far away at Ooty and they form a good background for the white man's civilisation. They were there before he came; we know not for how many centuries, nor from what source derived. But the revolutions of India left them alone. They must have arrived there some time or other, and even before them some earlier race had left cairns and barrows on the hills, but from that date till last century they occupied the ground undisturbed and apparently without altering their customs. There is a vast literature about them; the latest author is Mr. Rivers, an ethnologist from Oxford, who spent six months on his enquiries, and compiled eight hundred pages of information about their ways. It is desperately hard reading, but so is all real science; and I am just going to pick a few plums out of it, and add my own reflections on these queer people.

The Todas are tall well built men with "Caucasian" features, brown skins, and superabundant hair. It is the pride of a full-grown Toda to have a mop-like head and a bushy pendulous beard. Curls are not unknown, especially amongst the ladies, who encourage them artificially. They live in groups of huts, called "munds"; cut a barrel in two, lengthways, and you will have two Toda huts, almost the right size. The door is a small square hole, just large enough to creep through. Inside, there is no furniture, the simple habits of the Todas not requiring any, except vessels to hold ghee, which are made from the nodes of bamboos.

Their occupation is entirely pastoral; they live on the produce of their buffaloes. These animals are large and fierce and exclusive; though obedient to the smallest hint from a Toda they make war on any sort of stranger who goes near them. Admire them therefore from a distance, when you are exploring the hills. But observe, if possible, the Todas milking them. They are kept at night in a round stone pen, knee-deep in mire and densely packed, and in this pen the milk is extracted from them by their masters. Women, (as inferior beings), are not allowed to go near them—or near their milk—; and even men, when engaged on the sacred task of milking, have to take off all their clothes except their perineal band.

For the Toda buffaloes are sacred animals; some more, some less sacred, but all in their degree invested with sanctity. And their milk, (which they yield in deplorably small quantities,) is also sacred. It may not be sold or even used, (I think,) by the Todas till it has been formally desecrated by being made into ghee, and this process is carried on with intricate rites in special buildings. As ghee, with some grain soaked in it, this milk furnishes the Toda's food, also their hair restorer and unguent, and it adheres more or less to every material surrounding of the Todas. (I am not yet able to eat butter since I associated with them.) It is also exchanged for cloth and iron knives, articles which the Todas require, but do not make, for they make nothing.

With respect to religion, they recognise numerous gods, to whom they pay little attention, and of whom they possess no images. They salute the Sun, and they speak vaguely of "the Swami", as Europeans do of Providence. Their chief religious thoughts centre round their buffaloes. The most sacred herds are attended by officers called *pullals*, who live apart from the community and make their own ghee with ceremonies of special intricacy. The leading cows* are crowned once in their life with sacred bells, and addressed in some such terms as these:—

> "What a fine cow your predecessor was!
> How well she supplied us with her milk!
> Won't you supply us in like manner?
> You are a god amongst us!"

Prayers are also offered:—

"May it be well with the buffaloes and their calves; may there be no disease, may there be no destroyer, no poisonous animals or wild beasts; † may they be kept from falling down steep hills, may they be kept from floods, may there be no fire; may clouds rise, may grass flourish, may water spring."

Sorcery is believed in and practised, chiefly by sympathetic magic. A bone is taken

* *Videlicet*, cow-buffaloes.

† Near Makurti the Toda *pullals* informed us that wild dogs from the Wynaad had just destroyed twenty buffaloes.

to represent an enemy, it is buried in the ground and an incantation pronounced:—

"May an incurable sore come upon him, may his leg be broken, may his hand be broken, may his eye be destroyed, may trouble come upon his house and family; what happens to this bone in the ground, may it happen also to him."

Fortunately there are means of ascertaining the authors of such spells and neutralising their effect.

The doctrine of reincarnation is unknown. It is supposed that dead Todas go to another world like this; and buffaloes are killed for their use on the way. The scene, I believe, is affecting; a buffalo is brought up to the corpse of the dead man, and slain, and the assembled Todas stroke his head and moan and weep over his fate. At one time many buffaloes perished in this way; the British Government has now interfered and restricted the number that may be killed.

Their social system is polyandrous; but by various expedients they recognise paternity and inheritance in the male line. They are divided into groups and sub-groups, with various rules for marriage, and they have innumerable names for relations. Custom allows a woman a recognised paramour besides her husbands, and we seem to approach the communistic ideal of "free-love."

The stability of their social fabric is secured by female infanticide. Sufficient women are preserved for breeding purposes, and the race has not exceeded the number which the Nilgiri plateau can support. The British Government has interfered with this regulation, and Mr. Rivers surmises that in the last few years the practice of infanticide has ceased.

From a moral point of view the Todas are well spoken of. They commit no crimes, live pleasantly together and treat their women and their buffaloes kindly. They are very intelligent, though devoid of literature, but not in the least artistic, though I heard one of them discourse some lowly music on a pipe. Their manners are free and dignified; though not a fighting people they regard themselves as lords territorial of the Nilgiris, a claim admitted by the Badagas, and even by the British Government, who still (I believe) pay them rent.

It is a nice question whether these Todas are Hindus, and not perhaps one that a European should try to answer. In fact, it is probably unanswerable, and instead of answering it one can only state again the problem of "Hinduism." What is the real origin of this system? I must confess it often seems to me that the orthodox view is doubtful and difficult to accept. It is fancied that the pale skinned Aryans of the Rig Veda when they entered India brought with them the civilisation which was the spiritual ancestor of Hinduism; that in time they modified it, borrowing elements from the "Dravidians," and turned it into Puranic Hinduism, but that the main current of influence was always "Aryan." Is it not equally possible that the saddle should be on the other horse; that Hinduism is really an ancient indigenous product of India, which absorbed a few, though very few, elements from the Aryans?

We have, I suppose, no records of what the early Dravidians were like. The Rig Veda speaks with scorn of the demons and black natives of the forests, but what does this prove? Nothing. Meanwhile we have the fact that no feature characteristic of the Hindu system is to be found in the Rig Veda. Caste is not there, reincarnation is not there, the cows and Brahmans have nothing like their later status, images of the gods are unknown, Shiva has not been heard of, nor is there any trace of the great monist philosophy, which makes the world a dream, or of that mortification of the flesh which is a sure mark of Hindu sentiment. Where did all these things come from? As I would suggest, from Dravidia. The strongest argument against me is the spread of the Sanskrit language. But the circumstances which favour the spread of a language are obscure; and against this consideration may be weighed the probability that the Aryan invaders were few compared with the natives of India and it is hard to see how they became the chief forming element in Hinduism.

For my part then I am disposed to look on the Parsi to-day as the true inheritor of the Rig Veda, though not of the Vedic Sanscrit. How much of that Puranic Sanscrit really possesses, or the Prakrit vernaculars, I wot not, but at least they have the tradition behind them. Perhaps, too, Vedic ritual; I am ignorant of the matter. The strength of my position is only an impres-

sion, going about India, that the Hindu system is indigenous to India. All races who came here before the Mahommedans,—Aryans, Greeks, Persians, Scythians and Huns,—have each in their turn been swallowed up by it, leaving perhaps some little trace behind, perhaps none at all, but joining the same current, which has no doubt swelled in volume but flows in the main from one primeval fountain head. And this is how Hinduism in the course of ages has so filled India that from Ambarnath to Comorin, from Dwarka to Jagannath, there is not a corner of land that does not belong to it, while north of the Himalayas there is not a vestige of it.

As for the Todas, we cannot say who they are. Mr. Rivers suggests they came from Travancore; but their language is Canarese, though the language of the country round them is Tamil. They have also a secret language of their own, the affinities of which are unsettled. We may be content at present to call them pre-Dravidian.

Their manner of life, on a superficial view, may appear uncivilised, but is it so certain that civilisation has anything to offer them? They lack knowledge, but not intelligence, which is more important than knowledge; they enjoy as much comfort and luxury as most civilised men; and there is not much to complete in their scheme of morals. Infanticide has an objectionable sound, but a philosopher may urge that the stability of society is worth the momentary pangs of a few infants, and Toda society has no problems; no suffragettes and no anarchists. When not employed in milking their buffaloes ennui does not afflict them; they sit and whittle bits of cane into the semblance of buffalo horns, whereas the civilised man would be cursing his stars and wondering what he was born for. I should not on this account recommend the people of Mayfair to adopt the Toda formula, but neither should I join myself to any scheme for changing the Toda.

Unfortunately however for the Todas the enemy is at their gates. The microbe of civilisation has entered their system, and that most unfortunately the microbe of a white civilisation from Europe. Now I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. I do not condemn the white man's system; I do not concur for instance in Mr. Ali's view of it.* Even the unsuccessful white races, the Turks, † for instance, do in many ways deserve the respect and sympathy of mankind. But there is no doubt their influence on unsophisticated brown men has been bad. I leave alone their relations with the highly developed brown races; I am thinking of what we have done for the North American and the Tungus. The benefits we have imparted to him have been —drink and disease; that is all we have been able to give him or he has been able to take from us. So too the learned judge sums up the case:—

"Civilisation is brought to their doors with beat of drums and clangour of arms, in the shape of trousers and top hats, ‡ drink, disease, infant murder and prostitution. * * * They drink and die and there is an end of it. But their fat lands remain to reward the labours of the [white] civilised man."

The case is spoiled a little by dragging in infant murder and prostitution, because the Todas invented these things for themselves; and it is also true, (pace Mr. Ali,) that missionaries are not meant to accelerate the downfall of these unhappy beings, but to rescue them. They do not however succeed. The trader is too much for them, and the barbarian, powerless to help himself, incapable of being helped, hurries headlong to the devil. "Everywhere during my travels in North Siberia," says Mr. Stradling," "I have invariably found that the genuine pagan reindeer nomads stand on a much higher level, physically, intellectually and morally than the fishing nomads and other nomads who have come into contact with civilisation and are nominally members of the Orthodox [Russian] Church." "There is the pleasure of coming into contact with genuine good heathens, undefiled by civilisation, honest and excellent people rendering you all the services they can as a matter of honour and duty, never bargaining, and

* See the *Nineteenth Century* for April, where Mr. Amir Ali, C.I.E. discusses "The anomalies of Civilisation." Mr. Ali takes an exceedingly low view of the white man.

† I need hardly remind the reader that the Turks and Magyars are white races. In Africa the word "Turk" like Feringhi in India is the regular term of contempt for a white man. I remember a British Officer, who was at Omdurman, telling me how after the battle some Bagara prisoners, the last relics of the Mahdi's army, were brought before him and invited to make terms. Not they. "Turk!" they yelled and spat upon the ground and bade him do his worst. Accordingly, at their own desire, they were bayonetted.

‡ It is a dreadful fact that an old Toda was induced to go to America to be exhibited, and was returned to his countrymen in this disguise.

expecting as a matter of course that you will treat them in the same way.*

And so to-day we perceive that the Todas are being in every way demoralised. They have begun to use articles that require buying, kerosine oil tins for instance instead of bamboo buckets; they have been spoiled by presents from foreign visitors and their women sell themselves for a few annas to loafers from the bazaar. It is lucky they have been studied and recorded in time.

I did not part from them without purchasing a relic; a bamboo churn wherewith the sacred milk is churned. It now ornaments the wall of my office, and I daresay I look upon it with more affection than its Toda owner did. For Todas do not, apart from religion, enter into intimate relations with their property and implements; this is, I fancy, a habit of the materialistic white races. In *East and West* for May 1905 I read a poem by Dr. W. H. Drummond describing how the Canadian peasant envisages his "cabane":—

"I look on de corner over dere, an'
see it, ma birch canoe,
I look on de wall were ma rifle
hang, along wit de good snow shoe,
An evting else on de worl I got,
safe on the place near me;
An here you are too, ma brav ole
dog, wit your nose up agen ma knee."

I should like to know if any Hindu, Aryan or Dravidian or Pre-Dravidian, has ever written a poem of this sort. My old friend Tukaram would not have wasted his time on such a theme.

One more observation and I have done with the Todas. I have noted more than once how the newest civilisation in the world is reverting to ancient ideas—I mean that of America. It is in America the Vedantist propaganda is making progress; it is America that has rejected the English fiction of law and set up in its place the vendetta; and it is in America that the prevalence of divorce is bringing back the system of polyandry. I abstain from saying that any of these usages and views are wrong,—they are different from those current in England.

I have left myself little space to speak of the Badagas, a people quite interesting but not so peculiar as the Todas. They cultivate the ground and furnish most of the coolies of the Nilgiris. I had the good fortune to come across one of their funerals. The deceased was a woman, who had died in childbirth; her corpse was exposed on a bed with a canopy over it, and underneath were her winnowing fans and other domestic implements, all destined to be burned. There was a large concourse of people, and her friends and relations were dancing round her bier. I realised for the first time how such proceedings foster common sentiment in a tribe. In one way they protect society against selfishness; in another they encourage it, by confining sympathy to a circle. The proceedings were orderly and dignified, and ended in an interesting ceremony where the sins of the deceased are formally recited and transferred to a buffalo calf, who carries them off. There were some "Badaga Brahmanas" who joined in the dancing, waving cocoa-nut ladles in their hands. I thought it highly creditable that these unsophisticated people should celebrate with so much pomp the obsequies of a woman.

J. Nelson Fraser.

* Mr. Stradling is a Norwegian, who crossed Siberia to Seavol for vestiges of the Andree expedition.

INDIANS IN THE "FAR EAST*"

THE progress which India has been making during the last few decades can be gauged by judging the character and integrity of Indians out of Hindostan. Indians in the Far East, in America, in Australia, in Africa and Europe appear to a student of conditions in the light of a thermometer which accurately indicates the heat generated by the present-day renaissance of India.

One characteristic of Indians, no matter where you find them in the Far East, holds true of all. Enterprise is writ large on

* Since the term "Far East" is used loosely, it will be advisable to state that it is here employed to describe Oriental countries east of India. In this article "Far East," wherever found, will include Burma, Malay Straits Settlements, the contiguous islands, Siam, China, the Philippine Islands and Japan.

their countenances. All of them, without exception, are imbued with the "pioneer spirit"—the will to dare and experiment—the patience to suffer and the perseverance that commands success. One and sundry they show an utter contempt for precedent. All exhibit an intrepidity which laughs with derision at difficulties and struggles. The impression they give those with whom they come in contact is that they consider it their birthright—their privilege—to undergo hardships and trials, in order to mow down the bushes and the jungles and blaze the way for those who are to come after them. The spirit to risk and blaze the way for those who are to come after them, the spirit to risk and then to undemurringly, ungrudgingly bear the loss, if the experiment proves abortive or even disastrous in results, is the trait most conspicuous in them.

This estimate of Indians in the Far East applies to one and all, without reference to the province from which they hail, the dialect they speak, or the religion or creed they profess. It is equally true of the man who is engaged in some sort of physical labor, in policing the streets, in guarding the wharves, banks and warehouses; and of those who are clerking in stores, working as salesmen in shops, employed as office help, or are independent merchants. It also holds good in the case of Indian students in Japan and elsewhere in the Orient. They are all enterprising and daring. They are not hidebound; nor do they display race or creed exclusiveness—much less hatred.

This point needs amplification. The enemies of India take special pains to paint in diabolical colours statements to the effect that the people of India at home and abroad are the same—that irrespective of where they are, they are fettered by caste regulations, embittered by race hatred and rendered malevolent by religious bigotry. So far as this characterization deals with the people in India, every intelligent Indian is aware, it is but specious. But very few Indians stop to consider that the same is true of this estimate concerning our people abroad. Spite and jealousy, selfishness and continental and national animosity inspire such statements, and, when considering them, they always ought to be discounted.

As a type of our enterprising travellers, Mr. Banwari Lal Varma, of Delhi, who at present is in Shanghai, North China, may be cited. Mr. Varma was employed in his native city as a telegraph signaller. From his boyhood days he was possessed with a longing to girdle the globe, and this passionate desire kept increasing in volume and intensity as day by day he read the world news and studied the march of civilization in various countries. Descended from an old, aristocratic family as he was, Mr. Varma made up his mind to leave Hindostan without obtaining his parents' consent, which he knew perfectly well never would be given, no matter how hard he might plead for it. He left Delhi on some trivial pretext. With the money he had managed to scrape together he was barely able to reach Rangoon. There he worked in a number of stores and offices and obtained the wherewithal to travel through Burma. From Burma he went to Bankok, Siam, overland on foot. It took him many weary weeks to cross the jungle and swamps, but, accompanied by other friends, he at last reached the frontier of Siam, footsore and exhausted. He had contracted fever in travelling the three hundred odd miles over damp, swampy land, and suffered from malarial disorders for a number of weeks. In Siam Mr. Varma did odd jobs and secured enough money to travel through several Asiatic countries. In Northern China he has qualified himself as an expert electrician and in a few months expects to set out once more on his travels in other lands. Finally he expects to journey back to India and help along the industrial uplift of the country in which he is so vitally interested. Mr. Varma loves his countrymen passionately and renders invaluable assistance to Indian travellers in North China. The writer knows of a case where he was instrumental in preventing a young, promising Indian from committing suicide while depressed by discouraging circumstances, caring for him like a brother until he was on his feet.

The Indians in the Far East are tied together with bonds of brotherhood which transcend caste and creed. They are, be it said, nonetheless Hindus, Sikhs, and Mussulmans, for treating members of other religions and castes with brotherly consideration and benignant toleration—for realizing the community of interest and for refusi

to be parted because of difference in religious faith.

For the sake of convenience, Indians in the Far East may be divided somewhat arbitrarily into three groups. Those engaged in the police or military force, or work as watchmen in the night or day, or who perform manual work of any kind, may be considered together in a class by themselves. For lack of better nomenclature they may be called the indian immigrants. They are to be found everywhere in the Orient—Hindus, Mohamedans and Sikhs—of all castes. The second group consists of Indians who are merchants, traders, clerks or travellers. These may be called professionals. They are to be met with in all the leading cities and towns in cis-India Oriental lands. Then, there is the band of Indian students, chiefly confined to Japan.

Let an honest observer of conditions make a tour of investigation through the principal cities of the Far East. Let him study any one of these or all of the groups of Indians. Even a cursory examination will show how skilfully our people have solved the problem of caste and creed. In the Sikh Temple at Hongkong he will discover Hindus and Sikhs intermingling with one another. He will be surprised to find in the same crowd a few Mussulmans. In the Muslim Mosque in Shanghai a tour of investigation will bring out the fact that Hindus and Sikhs have frequently been given hospitable shelter. Ten chances to one he will come across, in the Muslim place of worship, non-Mussulmans who are temporarily making the Mosque their home. In the home of a Hindu merchant in Kobe he will come face to face with some Mohamedan traveller who is sojourning in the Sunrise Kingdom and is being taken care of by his non-Muslim countrymen.

When a Brahmin youth of nineteen summers works in a shoe factory in Tokio, Japan, enthusiastically cobbling a boot, the caste prejudices amongst Indians in the Far East do not appear to be particularly intense. The only inference which can be drawn from an instance such as this, is that the baneful institution of caste is fast crumbling to pieces. Such an example, instead of being in a class by itself, to-day is a commonplace feature—so frequently met with a careful observer of things rejoices over the fact that the Indian in the Oriental countries has emerged from the thraldom of the old regime.

The erstwhile caste-ridden and priest-trodden Indian student is to be found in all parts of Japan. His very presence there is an eloquent testimony to the fact that the shackles of caste and priesthood which interdicted foreign travel and dining with members of other races, have loosened their grip on the community; and that he has asserted his manhood, living a less conventional and less conservative life. As further proof that the absolutism of caste and precedent does not enslave him, it may be pointed out that the student is not engaged in academic or philosophic studies, as was his wont; nor is he endeavouring to increase his usefulness in the art or craft which, according to the old-time custom, many generations of his forbears pursued. He has once and for all time cut his moorings from the past, linked himself to modernism, chosen a new vocation for himself, and is doing his level best to acquire proficiency in the profession or trade of his own selection, which in nine cases out of ten, from the view-point of an Indian of yesterday, is incompatible with his station in life and heritage.

The same Hindu who, in India, would consider his food defiled and unfit for use if a Mohamedan barely touched it, in Japan or China boards with the Muslim. They cook their victuals with the help of each other, despite their religious differences and hoary traditions, and dine at the same table.

The significance of the transformation which is taking place in the lives, habits and ideals of Indians in the different Asiatic countries, lies in the fact that they are merely temporarily sojourning in foreign lands and expect, after a brief term of years, to repair to their native country. In India these men will be looked upon as the patterns according to which the teeming millions of Hindostan should shape their lives and habits. These men will introduce the yeast of modernisation, invest the masses with superior ideals and conceptions, and strive for the general uplift of the nation.

The return of these Indians who have resided abroad augurs great good to India, in as much as their experience in foreign countries renders them wise and hardy.



MR. BANWARI LAL VARMA,
TRAVELLER, ELECTRICIAN AND LINGUIST.

KUNTALINE PRESS, CALCUTTA.

The Indians, merchant, student and immigrant, find abundant difficulties. They one and all have to wage a relentless struggle to overcome the barriers that lie in their paths. They succeed only after the toughest and keenest effort. Naturally, their wits become sharper—their minds grow more supple—their hearts become stronger. The Indian merchant has to succeed in the face of the most fierce competition. In Oriental centres, such as Rangoon, Singapore, Bankok, Hongkong, Shanghai, Kobe and Yokohama, representatives of all the nations of all the world are to be found. Everyone is imbued with the spirit of gain and grab. Each tries his level best to capture the lion's share of the trade. Everyone, without exception, is endeavouring to beat everyone else at his own game. Then there are the vagaries of exchange to be considered. All these give a liberal education to Indian merchants in the Far East. They are all capable men, otherwise they would not be where they are; but their abilities are constantly increasing. They are developing their powers of observation, calculation and action. The same, in a measure, is true of the Indian immigrant in the Far East engaged in some kind of manual work. Competition tries his mettle and gives him new ideals and new strength. The Indian student finds himself in the University of Hard Knocks, and when he obtains his diploma there, every inch of him is a MAN—the word spelled in big letters. As a sample of the hardships and struggles many of these young men have to put up with, I quote from a letter recently received by me from a student in Japan:

"I told you in my previous letter that I had a tough struggle in wedging my way into the.....Factory; but scarcely had I joined the institution when I received a note from the Secretary of the Fund which had sent me out to Japan on a scholarship, which informed me that through lack of money it would be impossible to continue my stipend any longer and therefore within a short time passage money would be sent me to forthwith return to India. A fortnight later yen 140 reached me from the Fund. This was in the middle of May, 1907. I at once wrote to the Secretary in question beseeching him to do all in his power to continue sending me money for a few months more, as it would be suicidal for me to leave my studies but half-finished.

"Meanwhile I spent forty yen to liquidate the debt I had contracted, owing to my stipend not reaching me regularly. I was overtaken by sickness and when I had paid the doctor's fees and the druggist's bills barely seventy yen were left in my possession out of the 140 which had been sent to me as passage money.

"I found myself in hard luck. There I was, stranded in a foreign country, and I felt myself sandwiched between the devil and the deep sea. The ambition to do something for my country, however, kept tugging at my heart. I said to myself, the industry I was learning in Japan was something entirely new—a craft which was not at all pursued in Hindostan. India had the materials—but not the skill to work them up into finished products. The demand for the manufactured goods was great—but we could not meet it at home. The trade I was learning was one, therefore, which would furnish occupation to hundreds of starvelings—would rescue tens of thousands of lives from the death-grip of famine. I had learned enough of the industry, seen enough of the inside secrets of its workings in the factory where I was working, to appreciate what this craft introduced into my Motherland would mean to its hungry millions—but, I had not yet been able to equip myself with the knowledge which would enable me to go home and, on my own initiative, and without external help, set up a factory of my own and operate it successfully.

"What was the most advisable thing to do? This was the query which began to torment my soul. I decided to wait for the reply to the letter which I had sent to the Fund, beseeching the Secretary and members to help me a little more, until I was able to thoroughly qualify myself in what I had undertaken to do.

"That long wait! It gave me excruciating pain. Here was I, spending a yen a day—each night my little pile of money would depreciate by one rupee and a half; and I was by no means certain that my prayers would be heard by the Fund which had sent me to Japan.

"But in my ear kept ringing: 'Shall I give up the study? Shall I turn a deaf ear to the agonising wails of the famishelings of my land, whom I could serve by a very little effort?'

"But thanks to the example of one who left his home with two pice of his father's money in his pocket and who travelled round the world with that as his capital, enjoying the greatest of fame wherever he went, leaving behind friends whom he had won by his solid merit—thanks to the example of this friend, I decided the question, after a great deal of deliberation, once for all and irrevocably.

"I visited the manager of my factory and with great difficulty got him to accept me as a paid laborer at ten yen a month. This amount was just one-third of what I needed for my living; but I did not lose hope. I advertised that I would teach English. For a month I waited for a reply; but none seemed to take cognizance of my advertisement. After a great deal of weary waiting a few prospective students turned up, but all I could get out of them did not amount to five yen a month. For a time I made up the deficit by borrowing of the Manager of my factory, who admired my eagerness to help myself.

"More than six months I have spent in the bottomless pit. But, now I see my way clear to the goal. My wages at the factory have been raised. A merchant has promised to help me with five yen a month. A Japanese musician wishes me to translate into English some of his songs. I teach two classes of Japanese boys in the evening. Between these I am not only able to pay my current expenses, but am decreasing the little debt that piled up on me during

the early days of my struggles. My life is far from being an easy one—but, there is a sweet satisfaction in helping one's self—and in gaining the object aimed at, by putting up with struggle and hardship."

This is a long extract; but it tells the tale of trials ad tribulations far more strongly than any words from my pen could do. Every Indian student in Japan does not go through privations of this kind, but there are none of them there who lead a life of ease or voluptuousness. Indian young men are in the Sunrise Kingdom for a purpose—and they are in dead earnest in achieving their ambitions. They are too doggedly in pursuit of acquiring technical knowledge—too absorbed in the study of the particular subject they are engaged in studying, to permit themselves to wander into the "primrose path of dalliance."

The Indian merchants in Japan take a lively interest in the students. The business people help their youthful countrymen, financially and otherwise. The older men place their experience at the service of the young folks—through wholesome, timely advice steer them clear of many shoals and reefs.

Like the Indian merchants in Japan, the Indian businessmen in other parts of the Far East render invaluable service to their countrymen who are sojourning in their cities. The Indian men of affairs in Oriental lands almost invariably live and transact business in the same house. At all times of the year there is rarely an Indian merchant of any prominence in the Oriental countries who is not entertaining one or more travellers from India. Some of the professional Indians are particularly interested in young men from their country who are out in the world to learn arts and crafts to benefit India. The writer knows of one liberal-minded, generous-hearted Indian of high culture aud varied experience, Mr. U. L. Joshi, who until recently was at the head of one of the largest Indian business houses in the Far East, who to his knowledge, has many and many a time gone out of his way, and to considerable trouble and expense to help a stranded countryman.

The Indian merchants in the Far East are democratic in their conduct to their countrymen, of whatever caste, religion or station of life they may be. This adds cohesion to the Indian community in the Oriental lands. The literate as well as the illiterate, forget their differences of province and money, and treat one another with camaraderie. The Indians in the Far East are intensely patriotic. To their love of country, is due the establishment of *dharamsalas*, *sarais*, *gurdwaras* and *musjids*, erected and maintained in many parts of the Far East, to a large extent, for the benefit of their compatriots sojourning in the Asian countries. Most of these institutions, though primarily built for religious purposes, yet serve patriotic ends, in as much as they are very largely patronized by travellers and by people who are moving from one place to another. As has been already mentioned, these buildings in many instances shelter Indians without reference to creed, and it may be added here that the Hindus contribute munificently to Sikh Temples as well as Mohamedan Mosques, and the Sikhs and Mohamedans return the compliment.

One distinguishing characteristic of the Indians in the Far East is that they are liberal-minded and magnanimous. I have already spoken highly of the generosity of Indian merchants, large and small, and referred to their rendering invaluable help to the students, tourists and immigrants. But in justice to the other classes of Indians it must be said that liberality is not confined exclusively to the business men. Even the students, by means of clubs and associations, and individually, help one another. There have been many touching instances in which Indian young men in Japan went to no end of privation in order to help along their fellows in difficulties. In fact, to stand by each other through thick and thin, and ignore prejudices of province are the leading traits of Indian students in Japan. Likewise the Indian immigrants in the Far East are not stingy. They are large-hearted. Essentially thrifty and saving by nature, they are ever ready to assist a brother who is in need of help, irrespective of the part of the country from which he comes and the sect to which he belongs. Without any disparagement to our merchant princes in Oriental lands, it must be stated that the institutions which do the most good in sheltering our countrymen who have just arrived from their Motherland, who are out of a position or looking for a job, or who are travelling and have become stranded, are maintained

by means of money the bulk of which comes from the pockets of Indians who are in the police, army, working as watchmen or engaged in some sort of physical labour. Probably one reason for this is that the number of Indian "immigrants"—to use the term as indicated above in this article—is much larger than that of the merchants, though the latter fraternity is increasing by leaps and bounds. There are hundreds of thousands of Indian immigrants in the Far East, although there is no way to arrive at a definite figure regarding them. The number of Indian merchants in the various Oriental countries—using the term "merchants" broadly to indicate small and large traders—runs into the thousands. Taking into account the young men scattered all over the Far East who are engaged in learning trades and professions, and adding to them those who are in Japan, there probably are more than one hundred and fifty students in Asian lands East of India.

As to morals, Indian men in the Far East, bulk for bulk and class for class, are the superior of immigrants of other nations. The large metropolises of the Orient are hot-beds of vice and gambling. In Shanghai and Hongkong, for instance, the phrase "American girl" is a by-word; and I have seen American and European men drinking and debauching at all hours of the day and night, in hotels and cafes of the principal cities of the Orient. In many of the large towns the Anglo-Saxon young men occupying ordinary clerical positions lead irregular lives, and are guilty of all kinds of immoralities and vices. Not so with the Indians.

Our merchants and their Indian clerks can hold themselves up to Europeans and Americans of the same class as models and, in a dignified manner, can ask the Christian Anglo-Saxon to re-shape his private life after the pattern of Indian merchants. The morals of our students in Japan when compared with those of Chinese in the Mikado's Empire, give Indians an opportunity to pat themselves on the back. Likewise, when a comparison is instituted between Indian immigrants and those of other nations, their lives appear to be more clean and upright.

This must not be taken to mean that Indian merchants, clerks, students and immigrants in the Far East are the very pink of perfection. Far from it. There are many things in the lives of Indian men that do not appear to be just right, measuring with the high moral standards set up in the *Hindu Shastras* and the *Muslim Koran*. But, speaking relatively, Indians in the Far East must be given credit for leading more honest and sober lives than the representatives of other nations.

If some Indian immigrants in the Far East show any tendency to lead irregular lives, the reason of their lax morality is not far to seek. Wine is exceedingly cheap in all these parts. Gin, the brand of liquor which is commonly used by Indian immigrants in the Straits and South China, is so cheap that it lures the poor man to seek consolation for his home-sick heart in its liquid depths. A big bottle which is equal to about $2\frac{1}{4}$ wine bottles in use in India, is sold for fifty cents (fifty cents, at the present rate of exchange is about 12 annas, roundly speaking). The native wine called *Samsau* is still cheaper—10 cents per big bottle (one dollar—100 cents—is equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ rupee). Then these people receive salaries that they would not have been paid, in any case, in India—wages which are large compared with the pittances given the wretched quill-drivers in the Government offices in India. In the Far East a man who stands guard at a door is paid from 10 to 45 dollars a month. Living, of course, is much dearer in the Far East than it is in India, but these people who are receiving 10 or 15 dollars can manage to save considerable money. It is no wonder that some of their savings, on holidays and gala days, find their way into the drink shops. But, if these people were under the watchful eyes of their kinsmen, as in their native villages, even the minor delinquencies would not happen. As it is, the percentage of Indian men in the Far East convicted of crime is a negligible quantity.

With the wonderful virility and adjustibility that Indian men of all classes and conditions possess, with the remarkable enterprise and pluck that is native to them, with the inclination for hard work and perseverance that they are gifted with, with the tenacity of a bull-dog to achieve success or perish in the struggle with which they are endowed, the Indians in the Far

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East hold their own against the natives of the lands, as well as the foreigners. Speaking generally, they are eminently successful and prosperous. The Far East is an arena where representatives of all nations and countries are arrayed against one another. The competition in trade is fierce. Yet Indian merchants who deal in cotton, yarn, opium, silks and curios, have things pretty much their own way. The berths in the Police, in cities like Shanghai, are coveted by Europeans; yet Indian men have proved to the authorities that they have the acumen which recommends them for detective and every other kind of police work. In some of the China towns, tall, plump forms of swarthy Sikhs tower over the Chinamen. In his hand the Indian Policeman holds the queues of perhaps a dozen celestial criminals. Triumphant, the Sikh marches in the streets, covering many blocks, piloting the ten or twelve captives to the police station. Constantly the courage, rectitude and executive ability of the Indian policemen are unstintingly praised by the high officials.

Nothing can bear a more convincing testimony of the fact that Indian men are "making good" in the Far East than the admiration of a European police officer. The European in the Far East is rarely a friend of the Asian. He in his heart of hearts, is really afraid of Asia. He sees Asia leagued against the Occident. He is a votary of the *Orient contra mundum* theory. That is the fetich before which he is always in a bowing attitude, during his waking hours—that is the night-mare which haunts him in his sleep. For centuries the brains of the Asiatics have been in a state of inaction—their senses have been in a numbed condition. The Orientals have been half-asleep in their waking life. There has been a lien on the sensibilities of the natives of Asian countries—a sort of mortgage which influenced the people of the Orient to judge themselves, their civilisation, their religions, their systems of philosophies with the standards set up by Occidentals. The ambition of the Asian—at least of the enlightened Asian—has been to metamorphose himself into an Occidental. His desire has been to display in his drawing room products from European studios and manufactories—to deport himself *à la* European. The Occidental has been quick enough to take advantage of this weakness. He has exploited the Orient and the Oriental. The Occident has been leagued against Asia for tens of decades. *Europe contra Orient* has been the policy—the creed of the European in the Orient and out of the Orient. The despoliation, the plunder of the Asian lands and nations has been the aim, the propaganda of the Occidental—and the exploitation of Asiatic countries has been carried on in a systematic, scientific and even by hypnotic methods. Now that the Asiatic is shaking off his centuries-old lethargy—now that Japan has commenced a policy and propaganda of aggression—now that China is showing unmistakeable signs that the day is fast arriving when the Dragon Empire will brook no longer the wily machinations of the Occidental exploiter—now that India is surveying her weaknesses and attempting to present a bold, impenetrable front—now that Persia is up and doing—now that the entire Orient is vibrant and thrilling with a new life, the European in the Far East, like all monopolists, is in the throes of frenzy. So far the Occidental has had things pretty much his own way: but now that he is slowly but progressively coming into the realization that the time is fast arriving when the loaves and fishes he has usurped for so long will be wrested away from him by those to whom they really belong, the European is beginning to feel somewhat uneasy. All this adds to the difficulties of the Indians in the Far East. The European is gentle and well-behaved toward the Oriental in the Orient—but his good manners mostly are assumed—they have been put on through compulsion and for a purpose. Behind a polished, calm exterior, there is a volcano in activity raging within the Occidental's heart. He is redoubling his efforts to nip the Oriental competition in trade circles in the bud. Our Indian merchants in the Far East have to face this new activity of the Occidental to retain the commerce of the Far East in his grip. The Shanghai municipality is doing all in its power to place difficulties in the way of Indian aspirants for berths in its police department. Ordinances are being planned and put through, so that the Indian policemen will be enlisted in India and sent out direct from that country. This

measure is being taken in hand so that enterprising Indians will not come out to Northern China hoping that they will be able to obtain work.

Great Britain is said to be carrying on negotiations with the King of Siam with a view to cede certain extra-territorial rights over its Oriental subjects and receive in exchange certain provinces of Siam. The Siamese are highly civilised people and it will be a matter of great regret for the entire Oriental people if pressure is brought to bear upon the ruler of Siam to dismember his kingdom: but the Indians in the land, in the estimation of the writer, would rather gain than lose by the arrangement being carried out. As it is, the position of the Indians in Siam and other foreign countries is anomalous. They are supposed to be taken care of and protected by the British Consuls: but as a rule the British legations do not feel any interest in them and in many instances are apt to show them the cold shoulder. It will therefore considerably improve matters if this anomoly of British protection is taken away from Indians in Siam and the Far East. But the alleged move of the English people to gain possession of a portion of Siam by giving up jurisdiction over Indians is significant. To one gifted with imagination it shows how far the people of India should place credence in the blatant expressions which so often emanate from British sources and would have us believe that we are "Britishers" without reference to caste, creed or country and entitled to all the rights and privileges of those born in Britain.

To sum up:—

Indians in the Far East are prospering despite drawbacks and competition. The sterling materials of which they are made are of such a nature that difficulties and trials do them more good than harm. They all are intelligent and bright, no matter what walk of life they happen to be engaged in, in the Far East. Class for class and bulk for bulk they are capable of holding their own against odds. Their future holds many rich rewards. Life for them does not spell a bed of roses on which to repose day and night. It signifies struggle—albeit VICTORY.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

EVOLUTION, NOT REVOLUTION, IN RUSSIA

RUSSIA is passing through EVOLUTION, *not Revolution*, is the dictum of several of the Russian leaders interviewed by the writer.

Such a forecast is, at least, hopeful; but in the light of the happenings in Russia during recent years, one cannot but pause to consider this conclusion.

The year 1907 was not a revolutionary year—from the Russian point of view: yet, according to the estimates of "*La Tribune Russe*," 11,066 Russians were sacrificed at the altar of liberty. This is by no means a complete record of the victims of the Russian bureaucracy; yet it means that thirty were killed or gaoled for "political" crimes. In a year's time, 748 Russians were actually executed, 344 incarcerated for life, 600 condemned to death (but what became of them did not transpire), 413 were deported from the country, 981 were confined in fortresses and 1,041 were sent to disciplinary troops. For the crime of taking part in action on the masses, 207 were awarded the death penalty, 805 were jailed, 123 deported and 1,862 subjected to other sentences. For being implicated in agrarian agitation, 2 were condemned to be hanged, 39 were sent to prison and 2,805 punished in various ways. Fifty-five were decapitated, 682 imprisoned, 258 exiled, 1,392 summarily treated for belonging to Socialist associations; 686 were executed, 384 confined to penitentiaries, 14 driven from Russia and 173 penalised for resisting the police and being terrorists; while the balance were punished for attacking persons, for agrarian terrorism, press offences and various other causes. Of the victims 8,907, or 80 per cent.,

were peasants, soldiers, workingmen or students—proletariat.

It is not easy to wade through these figures. They are ponderous. They represent an agony—a heartache which the ordinary mind is incapable of grasping. With the weight of these figures crushing his imagination, the Russian worker for his country's progress and freedom still sees Russia passing through evolution!

To brand the Russians striving for a popular form of government in their land as "revolutionists," "nihilists" or "terrorists" is unjust—they are not "Reds"—they are not "rebels" through design, of their own free will. Refraction is not inherent in them—they are not anarchists by nature. It is desperation that drives them to redden their hands with gore—it is the exigencies of the times that incite them to bloodshed,—criminal and fruitless though it be.

Personally, the so-called Russian revolutionists are gentle-mannered, cultivated people, with amiable, kindly, intelligent faces. Their talk is polished. They impress one who comes in intimate contact with them with the feeling that their predilections lie in the direction of books and reflection—that they are in no way prepossessed with the work of playing with rifles and gunpowder. If you meet them face to face, look squarely into their eyes, converse with them, you are sure to detect behind their words an inclination to live peacefully and progressively. This is true of at least the intelligent Russians who have exiled themselves from their country on account of political conditions and settled in different parts of America.

A Chicago newspaperman relates an incident which illustrates this point: "A group of Russian revolutionists," he says, "gather of an evening in one of the leading parks of Chicago. In discussing the affairs of their country they become so very absorbed that almost every evening they forget that the time has arrived for them to depart to their respective houses. The blue-coated, burly, fat policeman, good-natured but conscious of his superiority in as much as he formed an integral part of the Chicogo city police, whose duty it was to look after the park, peremptorily used to disperse the crowd when the time came for closing the park to the public for the night. But, night after night, the so-called revolutionists left the park when requested to do so by the policeman, without the least ado, and he could not help but feel that the foreign settlers were peaceful, law-abiding citizens. In course of time, the policeman decided to learn the Russian words, "*Gospoda, pora domoi*"—"Ladies and gentlemen, it is time to go home." Each night he amiably approaches the Russian group, utters these words and the men and women disperse, after thanking the policeman profusely."

More than 2,000,000 Russians dwell in the United States of America. They are engaged in various peaceful professions. Two hundred thousands of them work in the Pennsylvania mines. There are probably 11,000 Russian doctors and 4,000 Russian writers in the country, while 40 Russians work as writers in English papers in America. In Boston, Massachusetts, the Russians have their own private library, which has been in existence since 1830. The Russians in the United States conduct 11 newspapers and 4 magazines in their native language. Almost every adult of the two million settlers in America is able to read and write. Most of them are non-conformists—and a large majority of them are Socialists. As to their wealth and prosperity, the Russians sent, within three weeks, Rs. 4,80,00,000 over to Russia during the days of the revolution to help along the cause; and this money, to a large extent, was wholly made up amongst themselves.

Judging Russia from the Russian settlers in North America, one cannot but feel that the dawn of good government in that unfortunate country is not far distant. The most hopeful indication consists of the fact that out of the hundreds of thousands of Russians who settle in the United States, voluntary or forced exiles, a great many belong to the fair sex. In fact, recent statistics show that the Russian women refugees exceed in numbers the men exiles. This indicates that the women of Russia are awakening to a sense of responsibility. Furthermore, these "girl-revolutionists" chiefly belong to the working classes. This is a proof of the fact that the masses in Russia are becoming more and more interested in the cause of their country's freedom.

The Russian revolution commenced almost three-score years ago but it has so far failed to achieve its object, as, until lately, the revolutionists came from the ranks of the aristocrats and the upper middle classes. The masses—the proletariat—remained apathetic during the early years of the struggle. It is but lately that the yeast of revolt has been introduced into the mass of working people and farmers—but, with the advance of time, the common man and woman in Russia are imbibing democratic notions.

It has been in Russia like this :—

Those who have watched the workings of a hand-mill know that the motion of the upper stone, while the nether stone is stationary, produces friction, but not fire. Rub both the stones together rapidly and you will observe flames. So it is with the aristocracy of intellect. So long as it operates by itself, independent of the masses, it generates a certain amount of friction, it causes commotion ; but when it works together with the proletariat it begins to achieve the end. The progress of a revolution, bloodless or otherwise, may be compared to building a fire. If the mass of timber is properly organized in the fire-place, all that is needed is to apply the match from below. The only thing the blue-veined revolutionist is good for is to serve as a match to set fire to the masses. It is the proletariat that supplies the real heat—the dynamic force—the all-conquering energy. The blue-veined Russian refugees who left their motherland in the earlier stage of revolution and settled in Germany, Switzerland, France and England, knew the language of the country of their adoption. They lived by tutoring, translation and literary work. But the proletariat Russian who is leaving Russia voluntarily or involuntarily, comes to the United States and engages in manual labour. The "street" man and woman from Russia are so intensely interested in the evolution of their mother country that they live cheaply, save money, and send it to Russia to be used in propaganda work.

Speaking collectively, the Russian masses are sunk in ignorance and the funds sent from America for educational purposes cannot but do Russia a world of good. The intelligent leaders of Russia have come to realize that the centrifugal force of evolution is exerted by the masses and not the classes, and they therefore are doing their level best to raise the educational status of the Russian proletariat. The population of Russia in 1903, was 14,41,94,000, out of which 2,35,58,000 alone could read and write. The Russian bureaucracy, whose existence hinges on the ignorance of the masses, spend but $2\frac{3}{4}$d per head per annum on education. The educational outlay by the State, municipalities and Zemstovs, all combined, in 1903, amounted to barely $10\frac{1}{4}$d per head per annum. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* computes the number of children between the ages of 8 and 12 in Russia to be 1,32,50,000. Allotting 50 to a School, 2,65,042 School-houses are needed to accommodate them. Assuming the annual pay of a teacher to be £ 43. 15 shillings, the salaries paid to the teachers alone would mount up to 10,33,66,000 roubles. The upkeep of the establishments would need another 18,20,21,000 roubles, the total expense amounting to 28,53,87,000 roubles. An idea of the insufficiency of educational facilities in Russia can be formed from the fact that the Russian government expends barely 91,14,000 roubles. Contrast with these educational figures the amount of money Russia spends on the army. The strength of the standing army of the country is 11,00,000—in addition to this there are 7,00,000 reservists, the total war strength being 18,00,000.

In a country where mass education is so cruelly neglected, the propaganda work carried on in Russia by the agents of the Russian refugees is bound to accomplish a desireable end. The Government of Russia, instead of promoting the interests of the people, is engaged in plundering them. It is naturally opposed to this propaganda work being carried on. There is, therefore, conflict between the people awakened to the gravity of their situation, and those who wish to continue exploiting them. This has caused much bloodshed during the last few decades—it is necessitating the sacrifice of many a patriotic Russian to-day. But, despite the shedding of blood, despite the reign of anarchy and of social insecurity, chaos is yielding place in Russia to cosmos. The Russian people, as a whole, are becoming invested with more liberal and advanced ideals. Already the number of Russian revolutionists—that is to say, Russian

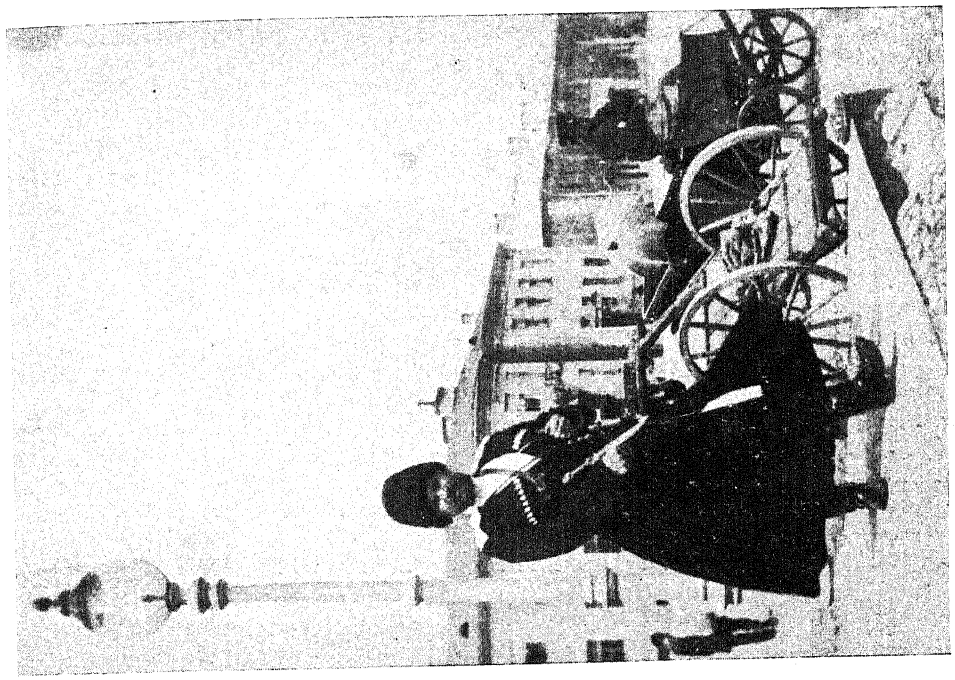
patriots—it is estimated, approximates 2,20,00,000 people, and this figure is becoming larger every day.

Russia contains many congeries of races. In Eastern Russia are to be found Lithuanians, Levonians, Estonians and Poles; in Southern Russia, Roumanians, Tartars and Groozinians; in Western Russia pure-blooded Slavs; while in the Caucasian and Siberian Provinces there are over 36 distinct nationalities. All of these races have furnished their quota to swell the ranks of the Russian refugees in America, who are doing all in their power to hurry the doom of the Russian autocracy by educating the Russian masses to a sense of duty and responsibility. They are modest people. They work silently but steadily, without ostentation, invariably declining to take the credit which they really deserve. "I a leader?" one of the active propagandists will exclaim with a naivete peculiarly their own, when spoken of as such. "Leaders stay in Russia and there bear the brunt of the burden," he will add. Yet this very person, the chances are, is stinting himself to save money for the enlightenment of his less fortunate countrymen. Yet this very man or woman left the country only when considerable pressure was brought to bear upon him or her by the organisation to which he or she belonged. Were it left to the party in question he would have preferred to remain at home, dying with the last words he spoke:

"Forgive me, my people. I can give you so little—only my life."

When the Russians first come to the United States they appear to be dazed and dumb. The persecutions through which they have passed have shattered their nerves —deadened their sensibilities—and it usually takes a year for them to gain their mental equilibrium. Some of them are in such a state of collapse when they arrive on the American Continent that they are never able to regain their grasp on life. They try in vain to adjust themselves to the American way of living. Some of them find rest in an early grave. Others go back to Russia—to die, or to be shot dead by some hireling of the Russian government. Those who come in their old age, suffer no end of privations, and tribulations; although to the credit of Russian young men and women it must be said that they do all in their power to support their older relatives. Furthermore, many anomalies take place—those who in Russia were at the top rung of the social and financial ladder, find themselves in the bottomless pit, and *vice versa.* The story is told of an old Russian Jew who, while tramping about the city looking for work, wandered into a shop and asked the foreman to give him a job. He was given work, but at the end of a few days was told that he would have to go, as he did not work half as fast as he ought to. The man pleaded to be permitted to remain and do as well as he was able, being paid low wages to correspond with his slow work, but the foreman told him it was against the policy of the shop and such an action would not be tolerated by his employer. The man prayed so hard to be given work that he finally was allowed to enter the office of the "boss." As he entered the room his employer, a robust man in the prime of life, turned toward him. The two men gazed steadily at each other for a few minutes, and then cried out each other's name. The old man fainted, and the younger one explained to the wondering crowd that twenty years before he had worked for the old man who now was praying to him for a chance to earn a pittance, when the now poverty-stricken refugee was a prosperous timber merchant in the old country.

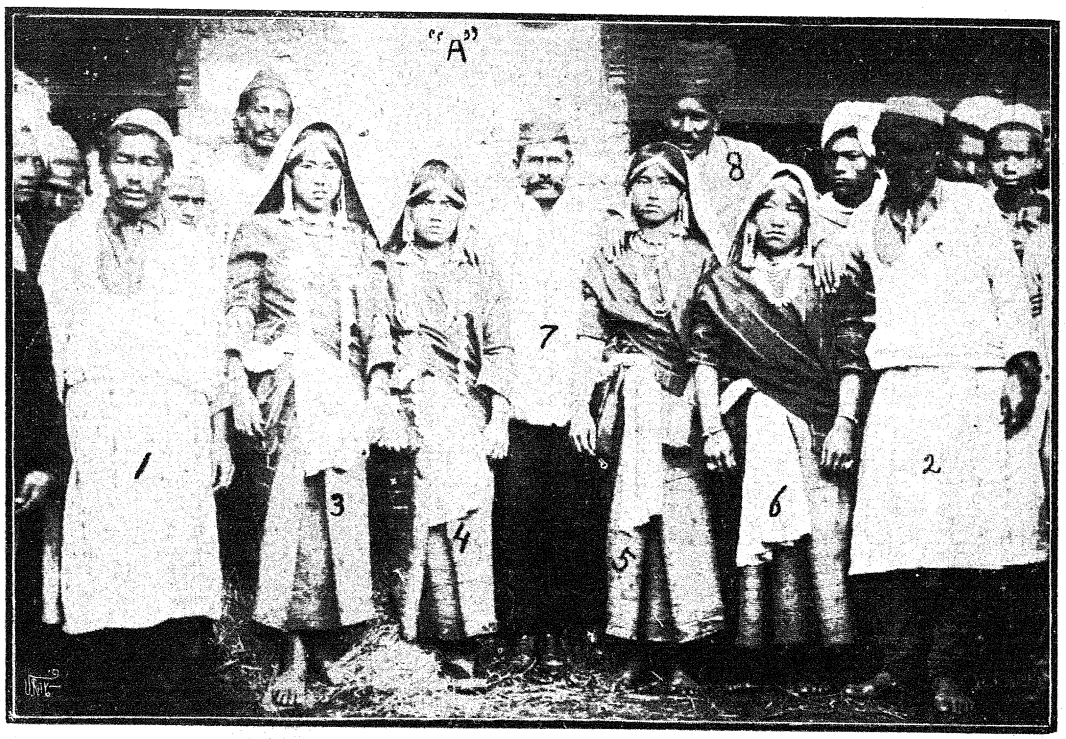
It is related of a young girl who came to America and secured a position as nurse in an American family, that she had been a nurse in Russia, and at the time of the massacres she offered her assistance to all victims of the pograms. Later she became a member of an organization in Odessa which was formed for purposes of self-defence. This association supplied all its members with ammunition, and they were instructed to fight the Black Hundreds in case a pogram was started by them. Russia punishes a man or woman with death for being a member of that organization, and the young girl was liable to be shot at during the year she was a member of it. After several narrow escapes from the clutches of the Russian officers she realized that it was but a question of days when she would be arrested by them, and she finally left for America on the advice of her anxious friends and relatives. Now, in her quiet American home, when she



COSSACK OFFICER IN ST. PETERSBURG.



MEMBERS OF THE DUMA IN THE WOODS.



A Group of Bhotias.

is attending a patient with tender care, the young Russian nurse is reminded by those who know her story of the time she carried a gun ready to use it at a moment's notice in defending the rights of her beloved country-people. And her stereotyped reply to this bantering is:

"We are what circumstances make us."

INDO-AMERICAN.

THE BHOTIAS: THE PEOPLE OF THE EASTERN BORDER LAND OF KUMAUN

ON this side of the Himalayas, on the borders there live three distinct races of people. On the borders of Garhwal District they are called Marchhas and carry on trade with Tibet through the Mana and Niti passes. The features of these people are quite different from those of the people living on the eastern borders (who are the subject of the present paper). They have a pleasing appearance. They seem to be descended from the "Aryan" people and are generally identified with the people of Garhwal Proper.

The second tribe living on the western side of the Kumaun Borderland are called Juharies and correspond to the Marchhas of the Garhwal Borders and also practise intermarriage with the latter. They perform most of the rites prescribed in the Hindu scriptures, and are anxious to be identified with the Kshatriyas; and in fact they deserve to be so identified to some extent. They are called Rawats (a very high caste of Rajputs). In the present paper I do not intend to deal with the Marchhas and Juharies; as the reader would find in their life a general likeness to the Hindus and there is no special oddity or quaintness in their manners and customs.

In the present paper I deal with the people living on the eastern borders, whose ways are in some respects remarkable. The country inhabited is called Darma and so the inhabitants are known as Darmias or Bhotias. The illustration "A" represents a group of men and women of this class. Those marked 1 and 2 are specimens of the males; 3, 4, 5 and 6 are four young unmarried girls, who are called "Minchies". Numbers 7 and 8 are two chaprasies who happened to be present at the time when the photograph was taken and seemed very eager to be present in the group with the damsels of Bhot. The rest are all Bhotias.

During the six summer months these Bhotias carry on trade with Tibet through the Neo or Darma pass, in salt, borax and wool (the articles which they export), and cloth, corn and cutlery (which they import). For the other six months of the year their families migrate to the foot of the Himalayas, the women taking charge of household affairs and the males going down to the plains. They are seen even at Bombay and Calcutta.

The people are supposed to be of Khasia origin. A recent writer is of opinion that they have come from Tibet or through Tibet. It cannot be so. For they do not have anything in common with the Tibetans. Their manners and mode of living are different. Their customs are different and their language, too, is quite different. If they retain anything of a different tribe, they have some amount of hill civilisation (of the Hindus).

I need not say anything about their dress, as it is represented in the illustration, but this much I may be allowed to add that the women who have short sleeves are inferior in rank to those who have full sleeves, 5 and 6 representing the former and 3 and 4 those of the superior rank. They generally wear a kind of Tibetan shoe called "Larnbu," such as is worn by No. 4.

Amongst the ornaments that the women wear, some need explanation. The long garlands are formed of rupees. Numbers 3 and 4 have a bunch of the long curved teeth of the musk-deer on their breast.

They speak a Tibeto-Burman dialect, in addition to which it is essential for them

for trading purposes to learn the Tibetan language.

Their staple food is rice and meat and 'chapan' (tea). Their 'chapan' is quite different from what English people and Indians use. It is a kind of very strong Tibetan tea prepared with Tibetan solid butter and 'sattu' (roasted flour of barley), and sometimes meat too is added to it.

They respect their women, who occupy the same (if not a superior) position as men, in their society. Women dine side by side with the men. They have no 'pardah' for women.

They have no caste or other similar distinctions. They are divided into two classes, higher and lower, the former corresponding to the Kshatriyas or Vaishyas and the latter to the Shudras. They like to be called Hindus and are generally included within the pale of Hinduism.

Some of them who live in remote parts still retain their primitive religion and customs. They worship 'Gabla' to attain success in business, and also Kebang-Rangchim, who is both male and female. To be free from mountain sickness they worship and offer a goat sacrifice to 'Chan.' The god Sain is invoked to recover lost sheep. They worship two demigods Sidhua and Bidhua, two brothers, who are supposed to preside over the destiny of flocks and protect them from sickness. Their country is, as it were, a land of magic and romance; with nearly every tree and bush the name of some god is associated. Evil spirits and ghosts are warded off from houses by means of some Tantrik performances.

Their women enjoy a considerable amount of liberty. They select their own husbands at a mature age. They have to be wooed and won by the suiors. Although polyandry is not common among these Bhotias like the Tibetans among whom even 3 or 5 brothers share a common wife, yet the wife of the deceased elder brother generally becomes the wife of the younger.

A certain house or spot is set apart which is frequented by the young men and women every night. They call this place 'Rambang.' Boys and girls after the age of 10 meet at Rambang. They have very free intercourse there. They exchange views and hold conversation and cultivate love. They often form two groups: one of males and the other of females and sit opposite to each other round the hearth and sing lewd songs or ballads concerning their heroic ancestors. They pass the whole night there. A girl never sleeps in her house after the age of ten. There, they smoke, drink and dance. Marriages are mutually settled in these Rambangs. But the selection is always made by the girl. Very often even scions of rich families who might happen to be deformed in features, remain unmarried for their whole life. Chaste and virtuous girls are said to be rare birds in Darma; though it is always unsafe to speak ill of a whole class of people. The women are at liberty to remain unmarried for the whole of their life; and it is generally such unmarried damsels that are called 'Minchies.'

The courtship already having taken place in the Rambang, only certain formal rites remain to be performed. The bridegroom has to win the favour and approval of his parents and friends or relations that he may be allowed to take the hand of the girl. Having got their consent he sends a small sum of money to the bride wrapped up in a piece of cloth, not directly but through her associates. If the present is accepted, the marriage is practically settled. The bride in her turn wins the consent of her parents and guardians in his favour. Then the parents of the bride have to pretend that they will not give their daughter in marriage willingly. The father of the bridegroom invites his son's friends to a dinner-party and under cover of darkness despatches them secretly to the Rambang where they take the girl by force, as it were; and carry her a little way and then she comes to her father-in-law's house. There they are welcomed by the women with cups of liquor in hand. The relatives are invited to dine, in honour of the marriage. They eat and drink together to excess. The pair exchange morsels of food—which is an essential part of the rites of marriage. Then certain rites and worship are performed, which terminate the marriage, on the part of the bridegroom. A small amount of money is generally sent to the mother of the bride as the price of her milk and sometimes a sum is presented to the father too. After some time the friends (girl associates) of the bride approach her father to accept the marriage as a settled fact, and

with his consent invite the party of the bridegroom to the Rambang and entertain them. This is the last formal ceremony.

Divorce is not in vogue or is regarded practically as illegal, but often some husbands turn away their wives, who go out quietly. The re-marriage of widows is not approved of. A second wife is taken only with the concurrence of the first, in case of sterility. The women are generally not modest and are very bold and free.

A man's death is supposed to be caused by some demon. When a man breathes his last the corpse is left alone till a Lama (a priest) comes to relieve the soul and help its passage to paradise. Then an astrologer-Lama prepares a horoscope, to settle what persons should touch the corpse. The dead body is fastened in a sitting posture and made to sit in a corner of the room for 49 days. During this period the corpse is offered the usual food. Then the coffin is taken out in a procession led by a Lama holding a white scarf connected with the corpse. The Lama whistles or plays on a human thighbone and beats the drum and looks behind repeatedly, as if he were calling the spirit to follow. The corpse is either cremated or buried or exposed to be torn by vultures and dogs. Then in order to expell the demon who is supposed to have caused the death of the man, they make the figure of a tiger, which is mounted by a toy-man led by a bird-headed-man and driven by a man with an ape's head. Nearly all kinds of food and coins are placed before these figures, and after sunset men assemble on the spot and flourish their swords, etc., in the air, make a noise with trumpets and drums and thus make sure of having turned out the demon. Then the figures are removed from the house to a crossing of four ways, and a Lama, to insure the expulsion of the demon from the house, remains within to repeat mantras and to throw roasted stones in the four directions of the house. Besides this a clay figure of the dead man is prepared; and his own clothes are put on it with a paper mask on his face and every kind of food and drink is presented to the figure. One usual share of the meal is placed before the figure during the next 49 days, at the end of which period the paper mask is burnt and the image dismantled, and the remains are deposited at some adjoining hill under a rock.

The aforesaid funeral ceremonies with slight changes and modifications resemble those of the Tibetans. And on this fact Mr. Sherring in his "Western Tibet" bases the conclusion that the Bhotias of Darma have migrated from Tibet. This seems doubtful, as there is not sufficient ground to think that they are the descendants of Tibetans.

They are probably the most superstitious people on the face of the earth. They believe that all sickness is caused by evil spirits. They keep some weapon on the door of the sick person, and when he or she goes out to the physician's house or elsewhere, they attach some weapon to the patient's waist. When a traveller returns home, he puts some thorn or thistle under a stone so as to leave behind the evil spirits which might have been following him.

In cases of sickness the practice of burning and bleeding the part affected is resorted to.

Firing a gun was once supposed to bring down a thunderstorm.

During the time of eclipse a gun is fired that the blacksmith (an imaginary demon supposed to harass the moon) may leave the moon. They believe in ghosts and goblins.

The people are very energetic and active. They never sit idle. Even while talking or walking, they (both men and women) spin with their hands. Women do spinning and weaving besides various domestic duties. They prepare very good Bhotia patties and blankets. Their beasts of burden and conveyances are sheep, goats and jibbus, a cross between the yak and the cow.

MUKANDI LALL.

THE STIFFENING OF CONGRESS

IN so far as the nationality of India and Indians can be helped or retarded by Great Britain, it is singularly unfortunate that the magnificent records of India's over twenty National Congresses are practically unknown in Great Britain. If those records had been known and studied, as they appeared, their many statesmanlike qualities, to say nothing of their literary and scholarly qualities, would certainly have prepared the way for a serious consideration of present demands. As it is, Great Britain has to learn, through disorder or pressure, what, by its own fault, it missed, through neglect. The National Congress has always been India's unauthorised Parliament, truly representative of the people, and wisely voicing its aspirations and needs: but the rulers of India despised, ignored, or feared, and the great nation for which they acted was kept in ignorance. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*

Unfortunate, too, was the collapse of last year's Congress. That gave to the world an altogether wrong impression of what Congress had been. Its past seriousness, mastery, nobility of tone, serenity, and, in the truest sense of the word, dignity, went for nothing with the ignorant. 'See,' they said, 'The National Indian Congress is Bedlam, and its representatives are Hooligans!' It was all the more unfortunate because that was the first Congress which had a chance of being watched and heard. Immense attention had been drawn to it and Great Britain was on the *qui vive*, to report its proceedings in India and to study them at home. It was a moment of intense anticipation; and the result was, to the friends of India, for the time, crushing. But good may come out of it. It may dawn upon us that behind the old statesmanship there was and is a spirit of resolution that will force attention if not respect; and future Congresses may gain by the failure last year, especially if the leaders can be heartened to do something more than propose and pass Resolutions as of old.

But what more can it do? That is the question. It may be difficult, or even undesirable, for a mere onlooker to say; but if the onlooker is an old Londoner, and an old politician, his advice may have at least the value of a balloon.

Before him lies all the Reports of past Congresses. Comparing them and perusing them, what is the impression that lies uppermost? This: the almost tiresome futility of what it did. There were speeches, as eloquent, as diplomatic, as keen, as dignified, as statesmanlike, as any ever delivered in England:—the splendid eloquence of them perfectly astonishing:—and what else?—the passing of Resolutions; and then the bills were paid, and every one went home: and Congress after Congress the same old clay-pit was stirred by the same splendid old horse. It was not and it is not good enough. The Congress must *do* something. It must set up in business. It must take down the shutters and keep them down. It must actually legislate, and carry out its legislation until it is stopped: and then the stopping of it may be the making of it.

Take, for instance, the Report of the Congress for 1904. There were 22 Resolutions; some of them formal, but the large majority of them on urgent and vital subjects, referring to the Employment of Indians in the Public Service, Education, The Economic Situation, Indebtedness of the Peasantry, Police Reform, Military Expenditure, The Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions, The Partition of Bengal. At first sight it might be questioned whether a National Indian Congress could do anything that would have a legislative character; but organisation for practical work, or in preparation for practical work, might have a legislative tone in it. Much might be learnt from Ireland in this matter, especially in assisting the mass of the people to resist pressure by that very 'passive resistance' which has become both respectable and effective in England. Violence on the

part of the people is not necessary. And if any British bureaucrat made the mistake of being violent to crush passive resistance, he would thereby probably strengthen the popular cause. There would soon be a limit to that, for John Bull, with all his arrogant masterfulness, cannot afford to be known, and would not enjoy being known, as John Bully.

One thing could surely be done. All over India the Congress might establish Arbitration Courts as alternatives to the regulation Courts: and it is just conceivable that a clever and wisely moderate provision of such Courts might become exceedingly popular, and go far towards compelling a Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions. Such Courts, even though few in number and covering but a small area of administration, would at all events be an object-lesson which Great Britain would take to heart, and serve as an admirable starting point for the possession of those strictly legal functions which must come.

Take again the question of Police Reform. Here something like a beginning has been made. Why should not the Congress establish a volunteer police force in suitable localities, and in as many localities as possible, to maintain order, to watch and check injustice, to encourage the people to be united and self-reliant? It would be splendid training for India's young men, and perhaps for women also: and this again would be an object-lesson which would singularly impress John Bull.

Even as regards Education, it is quite possible that the Congress might go far on its own account. Why should it do nothing but go cap in hand to its master? The Resolution of the Congress of 1904 asked four things in regard to Education:

A wider range of primary education, and an advance in the direction of education compulsory and free.

Instruction in manual training and in scientific agriculture.

The improvement of Colleges and High Schools.

The establishment of at least one central fully-equipped Polytechnic Institute, with Minor Technical Schools and Colleges in different Provinces.

That is a programme which no Congress could fully carry out, without compulsory powers in the matter of taxation, but surely a substantial beginning could be made, especially so far as primary education is concerned. But, considered in connection with the grave Resolution on Military Expenditure, with its exposure of the waste of Indian revenue on British interests, one is almost tempted to suggest the possibility of non-payment of taxes in order to provide funds for education. This form of 'passive resistance' has long been both common and reputable in England. Half a century ago some of the best men in England went to prison rather than pay a Church Rate, and they made imprisonment an honour.

It is not necessary to pursue the subject farther at this stage. The main point is the suggestion that the Congress should cease to ask, and begin to act. This would be good training for the people. And it would be precisely what John Bull would understand.

JOHN PAGE HOPPS.

THE ARTS AND INDUSTRIES OF SIND*

BY KUNDUMAL MANGHIRSINGH, ESQ.,
Editor, Sind Journal; and Chairman, Sind Exhibition Committee, Hyderabad, Sind.

THE Province of Sind is at the present moment very backward industrially.

At one time we were far ahead of some other provinces and our province was famous for her indigenous products. But alas! owing to keen competition our industries are deteriorating. It is not only that our local manufactures are not exported outside the province but they are not patronized to any appreciable degree even by the Sindhis themselves, and the result is that some of them are dead and others are dying. Unless the new *Swadeshi* spirit spreads in Sind as it has done in several parts of India, the fate of Sind industries is sealed. As matters stand at present, one cannot help sounding a note

* Prepared for the Third Indian Industrial Conference.

of despondency regarding almost one and all of them. The important arts and industries are :—

1. Glazed pottery, known in our parts as *Kashi* work and among Europeans as *Hala* pottery.
2. Lacquer ware.
3. Cloth printings.
4. Silk and gold thread embroidery.
5. Cloth manufacture and handlooms.
6. The carpet industry.
7. The sugar ,,
8. Mats and reed work.
9. The leather industry.

I.—Glazed Pottery.

Our glazed pottery seems originally to have been introduced into Sind by potters who came from *Multan* or *Kashi*. The Sind glazed pottery very much resembles the Multan pottery, but in variety of colour and gloss is superior to the latter. The chief centres are Hala and Nasarpur in Hyderabad District. It is after the first named place, Hala, that the Europeans have named the pottery. A village in Rohri Taluka too boasts of this industry. The Sind potters produce a variety of beautiful art-ware, such as vases, flower-pots, water jars, pickle-jars, teapoys, inkstands, and a number of articles which are used for decoration and for domestic and other useful purposes. But the most important of all are the famous glazed tiles to be seen all over Sind. These tiles are used for roofing, flooring and for wall decoration. The patterns are purely oriental, uncontaminated by European taste. The process of colouring is kept a family secret, and is handed down from generation to generation. But there is, however, a deterioration in the execution of the work. The glaze is not so lasting. One great defect of the Sind glazed pottery is that the clay is not sufficiently hardened and is porous and consequently it is not so useful. If the artisan could learn how to harden the clay, it would be a great step towards finding a very good market for this industry in India as well as in European countries. The clay used is the ordinary one and so utensils and jugs made of it are very brittle and consequently our pottery cannot serve the purposes of stoneware or Chinaware. It is not that we have not a better kind of clay. We have plenty of it, but it is not to be found in the centres where glazed pottery has been localized. The potters have not had the advantage of the white clay and have not tried it. Our Sind potters are too lethargic even to think of procuring the superior clay and experimenting with it. Suggestions have been made to them and inducements offered for such experiments, but their conservatism simply does not allow them to take advantage of them and they go on working in the old grooves. It is to be hoped that this conservatism may yet be overcome, and that the Sind potter may some day profit by the recent improvements in the art.

II.—Lacquer Ware.

The next important art industry is that of lacquer ware. This industry is localised in two villages in Sind, Khanot in Hyderabad District and Kashmore in Upper Sind Frontier District. Recently the work is being done by some Technical Schools in Sind and in the Khairpur State. The best and most artistic ware is, however, produced in the village of Khanot, which is about 3 miles from Hala. This village contains about 15 families of turners, who lead a hand-to-mouth existence. The most important and marketable articles of their produce are the famous cradles—not the baby cradles but the big ones—which have come to be a necessary piece of furniture in almost every rich and middle class family in the province. They cost each from Rs. 30 to Rs. 700 and afford a very large scope for a display of artistic workmanship. The turners of Khanot also produce a variety of articles for household decoration, such as flower stands, circular boxes (Ganj), chairs, spinning wheels, toys, rulers, &c. The lacquer work is done mostly on wood; but in one part of the province on the frontiers, some workmen have been able to produce beautiful specimens of it on pottery and on glass. Our lacquer ware is superior to any found in different parts of India, so far as colours and designs are concerned. In glaze, however, Sanwatwadi ware beats it. I wish our workmen could imitate that gloss. For the last 3 or 4 years the industry was in a bad way owing to an abnormal rise in the price of lac. It is to be hoped that with the present fall in the price of that article, there will be a slight

impetus given to this ancient industry. It is a matter of regret that this industry is also languishing partly from want of organisation and partly because of the unbusinesslike habits of the workmen.

III.—Cloth Printings.

The printings of Sind are very much appreciated by foreigners. Almost every town and village of importance has its printers—called *Khatis*. The costumes of Sind ladies—both Mohamedan and Hindu—as also of Sind Mohamedan males require much of dyeing and printing to be done. There is a number of articles of apparel on which the printer can exercise his skill and display the beauty of his patterns. The gowns of both Hindu and Mohamedan ladies have to be printed. The Mohamedan ladies cover their bodies with printed sheets and the Mohamedan males generally carry printed scarves with them. Apart from clothes, printers make a number of other articles, *e. g.*, shamianahs, table-cloths, quilt-covers, saries, bed-covers, &c. It is a pity that the printers have left off the natural vegetable colours and have taken to foreign dyes. Still the effect and the designs of the prints are purely oriental. The industry is in a decadent condition. The cheap British prints in gaudy and attractive patterns are slowly and steadily replacing the indigenous genuine articles, and the time is not far off when the printing industry will be only a minor industry of the province.

IV.—Embroidery.

The silk and gold thread embroidery of Sind was at one time famous throughout India, but is gradually losing its former place of honour. Only 20 years ago there were as many as about 100 men hard at work in Hyderabad alone, supplying embroidered table-cloths, caps, slippers, coats, &c., in response to the enormous demand, local and foreign. To-day there are hardly a dozen. The change is due to the cheap and showy embroidery of other places having ousted the costly but real and lasting articles of Sind embroidery. To some extent the change of fashions and tastes has considerably diminished the demand for this industry. So much for the embroidery done by males. The female embroidery is peculiar to each district. The gold thread and silk embroidery of Hyderabad District, the rough silk embroidery of Thar Parker, and the cotton-thread embroidery of Thatta and Shikarpur are all appreciated by foreigners and find a ready sale in European markets.

In Sind we have beautiful embroidery worked on leather. The leather *nats* serve the purpose of carpets and are very lasting. Besides these, the other embroidered leather articles are used in the harness of horses and camels.

I may mention here that at the Ahmedabad exhibition the Sind section displayed some pictures worked in embroidery which were greatly admired for the exactness of their portraiture.

V.—Cloth Manufacture and Handlooms.

Handloom weaving is a very important industry of Sind. Every town and village has a number of weavers who ply their shuttle in the primitive fashion. There are two villages—Thatta and Nasarpur—of which the cotton fabrics are famous throughout Sind. The great specialities of these places, the famous coverlets (*Khes*) in geometrical patterns—costing from 5 to 100 rupees, are so strong and durable that they will last a life time. The striped cloth of these places—called *susis* and *garbis*—is used for trousers by the rich and the poor of the province alike. It speaks not a little in favour of our fabrics that we secured a silver medal at Ahmedabad, the centre of cotton manufactures. The silk fabrics of Thatta—known as *loongis*, which are peculiar to Sind—are used as turbans by Muhammadans. A *loongi* would cost from 5 to 50 rupees. It is a pity that these beautiful products of the province are going out of fashion, and are being replaced by the cheaper and worthless products of Manchester. The minor handloom products are *mushroos*—a mixture of silk and cotton cloth, which will compare favourably with any produced in other parts of India. We have also waist bands, which are produced in innumerable patterns and are very durable.

The handloom industry, owing to the keen competition with Manchester goods, is dwindling away in Sind as in other parts of India. As the *Swadeshi* wave has hardly touched our province, it has received no

impetus as in other provinces. I am glad to note, however, that some of our educated men are introducing new handlooms. But want of experience stands in the way of great success. One or two concerns in Upper Sind are turning out beautiful work in cotton, wool and silk and promise to come up to the level of other indigenous products of the country. Finding the Indian loom not up to the mark, one or two firms have imported foreign handlooms and are working with them. A Shikarpur firm and the Khairpur State authorities are working with Hattersley looms. Local men have now learnt to handle and to repair them easily.

The indigenous loom is primitive; the out-turn, therefore, is not at all profitable. It requires great improvement. A wholesale change is not desirable: it will quite do if the automatic shuttle arrangement is introduced in the primitive machine. Our villagers will not be able to repair the new handloom, even if they be able to manage to buy it. Hence it is best to make only the necessary reform in the native loom, so that the weaver may earn good wages.

We have a number of ginning factories but up to now we have had no cotton spinning and weaving mills, though Sind has been producing and exporting a good deal of cotton. With the prospect of Sind Egyptian cotton being acclimatized, there is a stir among our men to introduce some mills in Sind. Just now there are three or four proposals for starting such mills in our province. One or two prospectuses have been issued and shares are being collected. It is hoped that in the near future Sind will have its mills as other cotton growing parts of the Presidency. It is, however, necessary to strike a note of warning against the establishment of too many mills at one and the same time in our province, where none has existed till now. A mill or two will quite do for the present. Others may be started after the first ones have got successfully established.

VI.—Carpets.

The Sind woollen and cotton carpets and rugs are strong and used throughout the province. They are cheap and very durable. The industry is, however, languishing because people are taking to the cheaper and more showy importations from European markets. Recently a well-equipped carpet factory was established in Khairpur which turned out very good carpets. The Hyderabad and Sukkur Jails are producing very good patterns and durable ware. Nor should I omit to mention the very strong camel hair rugs of Thar and of the mountain tribes of Kohistan and Baluchistan which are famous throughout the province for their wonderful durability. The work is done in Sind and on the frontier by the females during their leisure hours. It is very desirable that this industry should be put on a sound commercial basis.

VII.—The Sugar-cane Industry.

Our province produces a large quantity of sugar-cane. The upper Sind cane is much superior to the lower Sind one, the former being softer and sweeter, but it is grown only for consumption in the unmanufactured condition. In lower Sind we have many sugar plantations and there are sugar-cane crushing machines, but these are, as our other indigenous machines, primitive, and these produce only molasses. No attempt has yet been made to manufacture sugar. An enterprising firm may find in this industry a good and profitable investment. Sugar producing plant does not cost much, so the work can easily be undertaken by any intelligent, energetic man.

VIII.—Mat & Reed work.

This small industry extends through different parts of the province. Several kinds of mats are made. But the Bubak mats and reed work deserve special notice. The mats are thick and cheap and can be profitably used by the inhabitants of the Presidency Proper who usually sleep not on cots but on the floor. The reed work consists of trays, baskets and other useful domestic articles.

IX.—Leather.

Sind is one of the provinces which export a very large quantity of raw hides and skins to foreign parts. In the year 1905-06, 66,411 maunds of these worth Rs. 18,58,812 were exported to foreign parts. In the year 1906-07 nearly 50 laks of skins and hides, weighing 130 thousand cwts., worth about Rs. 1,09,63,836 were exported from Sind

and Upper India, *via* Karachi. Hyderabad forms the centre of the leather trade in Sind. From all parts of the province hides and skins are brought to Hyderabad where they are cured and a very small portion retained, but the bulk is exported to England and America. In the vicinity of Hyderabad is situated a village inhabited only by *Kalals* and *Jatias*, numbering about 1000 men, women and children, whose sole occupation is to deal in leather. They cure hides and skins and sell them to the agents of European firms. Sind hides are also sent to Cawnpore and Madras, where they are tanned. The curing of skins and hides in Sind is done in the most primitive way. There are two well equipped tanneries in Hyderabad which employ about 50 to 60 men, and these are doing good business in curing skins only. What is wanted is a technical school in the locality itself where the children of these people could be taught up-to-date methods of curing and tanning leather. It should not be on the model of ordinary technical schools, the sole purpose of which is considered by the authorities to be to train the eye and the hand of the student and not to turn out trained artisans who can earn their livelihood on their finishing the course. But it should be on the lines of those foreign institutions which produce well-equipped workmen ready to enter the world. Considering the fact that Sind exports a very large quantity of raw hides and skins, I would very much like to see an enterprising firm establish an up-to-date tannery and a boot and shoe factory somewhere near Hyderabad, Sind, where it will find ample raw material for the manufacture of leather goods.

Leather is not the only raw material which is exported from Sind to foreign countries. Wheat, cotton, seeds, bones, wool, indigo, and lac and many other articles produced in Sind and Upper India are exported in large quantities from Karachi and other Sind ports, as the following figures will show:—

1. Wheat—1,54,34,060 cwts., worth Rs. 6,95, 59,421, (the largest quantity having been exported in the year 1904-05 when the figures ran up to 2,83,80,715 cwts., worth Rs. 11,92,44,927).
2. Cotton—7,98,130 cwts., worth Rs. 2,33, 45,329.
3. Seeds—10,17,965 cwts., worth Rs. 6,15,06, 470.
4. Bones—22,306 tons, worth Rs. 12,02,867.
5. Wool—2,17,61,735 lbs., worth Rs. 1,13,20, 034.
6. Indigo—about 2,500 cwts., worth Rs. 2, 66,068.
7. Lac—1337 cwts., worth Rs. 1,33,180.

If these could be retained in the country and worked into local manufactures, India would be richer for it.

Minor Industries.

There are several minor industries of the province of which I need name only a few, for instance, the ivory work of Hyderabad and of Thatta, the inlaid work, the enamel industry and the sword manufacture. All these are almost dead: I may here mention that two firms in Hyderabad, Sind, have produced enamel for work on gold and silver which has been pronounced to be in no way inferior to the stuff found elsewhere.

I must not omit to mention our fish curing industry. It is in its infancy, but if properly handled it has a great future before it. We have several kinds of fish peculiar to the province, especially the *pulla*-fish. If these could be properly preserved and imported, they would be able to secure a good market.

It will not be out of place to mention here that our province produces a good deal of dates, which are eaten fresh. No attempt has been made to preserve them. For such dates we have to depend upon Persia and Arabia. A small industry could be started for preserving dates or for extracting sugar therefrom.

Agriculture.

So far I have been speaking of the arts and industries of Sind; but, as elsewhere in India, agriculture is the mainstay of the province. Here I have not to strike a note of despondency but of great hope. For agriculture we have not to depend, as you do, on unreliable and irregular rains but on the steady supply of irrigation water from the great, beneficent Indus. Ordinarily we get a good supply and so we are not at the mercy of the rains. This year, however, the water in the river was very low and the result was a poor crop. This in the opinion of some is due to the water of the great river having been tapped in the Panjab.

For providing against such contingencies. Government is arranging for creating a weir at Sukkur and two canals on the two sides of the Indus, which will supply us water perennially. Our chief products are jwari, bajri, rice, tobacco, indigo, oil seeds, pulses, wheat, cotton—Sind and Egyptian—, and sugar-cane. As I have shown above, a large quantity of these is exported away leaving the local peasantry without their sufficient necessaries. At present the supply of water in several districts of Sind is limited to one season. In the Jamsao District, however, it is perennial and there experiments on Egyptian cotton are being carried on very successfully. I do not agree with the Hon. Mr. Muir Mackenzie and Dr. Mann, the Principal of the Poona Agricultural College, when they say that Sind is not capable of of extending this cultivation and therefore suggest that some of the Gujratis should go over to Sind to grow Egyptian cotton according to scientific methods. I do not grudge the Gujratis a little exploitation of our soil; it is, however, but fair that we, the residents of the province itself, should be given a chance. We should receive the same inducements that are being offered to outsiders.

With a good supply of Egyptian cotton, we are sure to see in our midst tall chimneys by the dozen. As I have said above there is already an attempt in that direction.

We have to thank Government for establishing an experimental farm in Sind. But a single one is not at all sufficient, as climate and other conditions are different in different parts of Sind. We require several District and Taluka farms in order to reach the cultivator. Strangely enough Government has been encouraging uneducated, unintelligent and unenterprising landholders but not the educated go-a-head capitalists. In one notable case, where Government has departed from its mistaken policy, remarkable success has been achieved and it may be hoped that this will lead the authorities to lend the same encouragement to other capable men, as they have extended to Professor S. C. Shahani, the gentleman referred to.

Conclusion.

I have now dealt with both the agricultural and art-industries of Sind. I have described the situation as regards the one as well as the other. To put the whole matter in a nut-shell, we are not at present doing well at all. But there is no earthly reason, why we should not, in spite of our difficulties, be able to advance to a position of honour among the many provinces which compose this great country. If we have difficulties to contend against, we also possess certain special advantages. And God helping, we will rise and avail ourselves of the opportunities that lie before us, and make the land of sacred Sind smile with prosperity.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE AMERICAN FLEET IN THE PACIFIC WATERS AND ITS HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

IT is intelligible why in the monarchies of Europe the great military leaders occupy also the highest places in society and in the nation. But one is rather surprised to notice the same phenomenon in a democracy. Of the 25 Presidents of the United States most served in some capacity or other in the army, while Andrew Jackson (1829—1837), Zachary Taylor (1849—50), and Ullysis S. Grant (1869—77) owed the chief magistracy of the nation almost entirely to their achievements in war. Washington, of course, holds a unique place in history. He is not more famed in war than in statesmanship. Even Mr. Roosevelt, as he himself acknowledges, owes his present position to a large extent to his short but brilliant military career during the Spanish War of 1898. The explanation is that in all ages, and in all countries, be they republics or monarchies, absolute or popular, the nation's defenders have always claimed the most cherished spot in the people's heart. This singular pheno-

menon has been once more demonstrated on the 7th May, 1908, in the streets of San Francisco. On the preceding day, the attention of the people centred round the impersonal men-of-war entering the San Francisco Bay through the famous Golden Gate. On the 7th the personality of Admiral Evans monopolised the whole situation. The San Francisco "Chronicle" in its editorial of the 8th morning writes:—"In the lines of his (Evan's) face the spirit of '76, the spirit of '61, the spirit of '98—the spirit of the nation—touched the spectators, and they cheered him with a force which had something of reverence in it." The American democracy seems as much appreciative of its army and navy as the monarchies of Europe. The sixth of May, 1908 presented a unique spectacle in this part of the United States. The Atlantic Fleet is entering the harbour of San Francisco proudly flying the "Stars and Stripes"; men, women, and children have gathered in various vantage points to welcome the nation's defenders; some curious balloonists are hanging in the air. The enthusiasm and the inspiring cheers of the people were rather strange features of the situation, considering that in everyday life the average American is a typical economic man. He measures every thing with the rod of dollars and cents, and he does not seem to understand much of what is known as patriotism. Yet on this occasion his inspiration affected even the foreigner, who could not avoid singing, "Hail Columbia, motherland of Liberty!"

What is the meaning of all these celebrations and stirrings of the people! Do they simply indicate a temporary and local outburst of sentiment in honour of the national navy? Or could we discover in them anything of permanent national interest for the Americans, and of international import for the whole world?

The Americans, on their part, regard the advent of the Atlantic Fleet into the Pacific as one of the greatest historic events of their Republic. And any one having some knowledge of the Pacific politics will admit that the event is of great international significance also. For here the national interests of the United States are intricately mixed up with grave international questions. The situation is not without interest even to dependent India, for one of the greatest factors involved is the greatest State of Asia;—it is full of interest for all Asia: for here is another feature of the great historic question of Asia *vs.* Europe. The old European who came to Asia *via* the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal has been answered three years ago; for the great conflict of 1905 has been understood in a broad sense as a conflict between Asia and Europe by the thinking section of both continents. Now again, the new European is coming to the front *via* the Carribean Sea and the Panama Canal. New issues have attracted our attention, and greater achievements seem to be in store for future heroes and martyrs. The conflict of 1905 was fought between an intensely patriotic people and a worn-out autocracy. The new conflict is going to be fought between a poor though patriotic monarchy and a rich and vigorous republic. In the old conflict Europe was represented by a state which had no popular support at its back; in the new conflict Europe is going to be represented by a state where, inspite of all shortcomings, popular rights and governmental authorities have been merged in each other. Internally Japan is now passing through a great financial and economic crisis. The condition of the poor has been terribly aggravated by the last war. Slowly and silently a spirit of discontent with the present state of things is growing in the kingdom, and the task of adjusting the situation to satisfactory conditions seems to be pretty hard. Externally she has her interests opposed to almost all the European Powers. But against all these dangers must be counted the intense patriotism of the Japanese people. America, on the other hand, is financially one of the best equipped states. The condition of the poor in the U. S. is far better than in Japan. Externally America is the most favoured state in the world. This fact is perhaps more due to her geographical position than any thing else; yet other considerations must be taken into account. Her Monroe Doctrine, *viz.*, that no European monarchical and military system shall be permitted to be extended in the New World, has been practically accepted as an international law by the Powers. She has moral friendship, which is by the way better than political

alliance, with Germany. Her only trouble with England, *viz.* the question of the Newfoundland fisheries, has been satisfactorily adjusted recently; and a systematic attempt is being made to manufacture love for England and her people, and I may say with success, by the publicists, writers and teachers in this country, so that a sort of Anglo-Saxon unity of a permanent character does not seem to be beyond the range of practical politics.

Thus the coming conflict appears to be of greater moment than the past one. And from this point of view all Asia has peculiar interest in the arrival of the American fleet in the Pacific waters.

In order to have a full apprehension of the question at issue, it is necessary to note at the outset that the prospect of a conflict does not arise from the exclusion of the Japanese labourers from California, whereas the exclusion itself has been necessitated by some deeper considerations which constitute the root cause of the whole question. The necessity of exclusion has risen more from political and ethnological than economic considerations. It is universally believed by the Americans that there cannot and ought not to be any inter-marriage between the Japanese and the white man; because, which is the opinion of representative Americans, the two civilisations which they respectatively represent are quite distinct from each other and are incapable of assimillation. Thus the more sober of the Americans do not advance any argument of race-superiority or race-inferiority, which is the weapon of the impulsive mob. Another argument advanced by many Americans against giving citizenship to the Japanese is that the Japanese are intensely patriotic and hence are incapable of forgetting the ideals of their native land and adopt those of another country and thereby merge their own interests in the interests of the adopted country, so that the Japanese will not make good and patriotic citizens of the American Republic. Therefore, the Americans say, the Japanese immigrants, and for that matter all the orientals (I do not intend to discuss the question of Hindu labourers here—which differs from the Japanese and Chinese labour-question in some important aspects), should be excluded to make room for white immigrants and thereby opportunities should be created to assimillate the white immigrants and train them up for citizenship. This is the ethno-political cause of Japanese exclusion. There is another and the most important consideration which is commercial and political and which demands that the Japanese foot-holds in the Pacific Coast of the U. S. and its neighbourhood should be destroyed. In view of a possible conflict with Japan arising out of commercial and territorial interests in the Pacific the United States deem it necessary to clear the Pacific Coast and its neighbourhood of all sorts of Japanese influenee and interests. National security demands and wise statesmanship dictates the policy. The following considerations will explain the situation.

America has permanent trade interests in the Orient. Her flourishing industries and commerce require outlets and the Orient is the greatest purchaser. In order to protect her commerce in the Pacific and, as commerce is always followed by political entanglements, to defend her Pacific Coast she must have some bases of naval operations in the Pacific. So she has under her control the Hawaiian Islands and the Phillipines. Hawaii is now a territory and its next political development will be its recognition as a State of the union. So there is no intention on the part of the American Government to give Hawaii complete autonomy as she is going to do in the case of Cuba within a few months. Hawaii then must for all purposes be an organic part of the U. S. This position of Hawaii is necessary, because apart from its being a base of naval operations to protect American commerce in the Pacific, its strategic importance as a base of national defence is very great. The future of the Phillipines from the diplomatic point of view is hard to tell. The American government has declared its intention of giving complete independence to the Phillipines when the Phillipines are prepared to protect themselves against foreign aggression. Whether this declaration has any prospect of realisation nobody can tell. We have seen that America has to keep some bases of naval operations in the Pacific to protect her commerce in China and the Orient. Now for this purpose the position of the Phillipines is very important because of its nearness to China. We cannot

apply the analogy of Cuba to the Phillipines. Cuba does not constitute any strategic point either for national defence or for protecting any extensive commerce. So America in giving Cuba complete independence, will not lose much except an object of imperial pride; but it should be understood that imperialism is not yet an epidemic here. Thus judging from the ordinary standards of conduct of European nations it seems improbable that America will ever willingly grant complete independenee to the Phillipines. But on the other hand, you cannot apply the same standard in judging America as you do in judging European nations. Because the history of American activity in the Orient does not in general agree with the tradition of European nations in Asia. The English, the Dutch, and the French are carrying on substantially the same policy as regards their dependencies in Asia, and share substantially the same view that Asiatics are not capable of self-government. But America after only six years of occupation in the Phillipines has been able to establish a really popular legislative assembly, though on a limited suffrage. The memorable 16th of October (that day of national mourning for all India), 1907, will be written in golden letters in the history of the modern Phillipines. On that day the first Phillipine Assembly was inaugurated by the American Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, in the city of Manila, and to-day young Fillipinos are enacting legislation for their nation, voting appropriations for the expenditure of the government and to a great degree are controlling the public affairs of their country. (And this has been possible in spite of the fact that the Fillipinos are in no way superior to the people of India in respect of educational and moral elevation, and previous practice in the art of self-government). There are yet many steps to be passed over before the realisation of a complete parliamentary system, but the foundations are hopeful and unmistakeable. Thus America has pursued a policy quite unprecedented in the annals of European administration of Asiatic dependencies. Other instances of America's fairplay in the Orient may be mentioned. It was the American Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, who by his far-sighted statesmanship and honest diplomacy rendered conspicuous services to China in protecting her integrity in that most critical period of her history when the European Powers were about to partition that ancient empire. America has set up the singular example of excusing the indemnity which China owed her on account of the Boxer troubles. But the other powers are exacting the indemnities to the last penny. It is the American Consul General who is at the present moment persistently advocating Chinese Sovereignty against the combined Russo-Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Thus it is evident that in judging America we cannot apply the same standard which we do in the case of European nations. But whatever may be the intention of the American Government as regards its ultimate treatment of the Phillipines, this is certain that she will continue to exercise her sovereignty over the Archipelago for some generations to come. This seems to be the position of America in the Orient.

I hold no brief for America. Her history is stained from page to page with instances of inhuman treatment and systematic destruction of the original inhabitants of this continent. But I am judging her with reference to her present policy in the Orient, and that according to the ordinary conceptions of justice and fair-play, which are the basis of modern international dealings but which may not be, and I think are not in strict conformity with our notions of justice and equity.

Let us now turn to Japan. Her lands and her resources are inadequate to the rapid growth of her population. The solution of her economic problem needs two things, *viz.*, colonisation to provide for the already surplus population, and development of manufacturing industry and commerce to improve the material condition of the nation and to provide for future increase of population. As for colonisation, she has Formosa and Korea. But these two regions cannot meet the demand to any large extent. Japan wants more places to accommodate her surplus population. Emigration to the United States has already been limited by a treaty. Hawaii and the Phillipines are under American control. Australasia belongs to England. Where is the room for Japanese colonisation? If the little island kingdom of the Atlantic could

establish an empire upon which the Sun does not set, could not the island kingdom of the Pacific also aspire to an empire! But Japanese expansion in all directions finds obstructions. A conflict seems inevitable. That America should be the first Westerner to come into this conflict is due to her peculiar geographical position as well as her commercial and territorial interests in the Pacific. As regards commercial expansion, Japan comes into conflict with America as well as other western nations. She wishes to extend her commerce to all the Far Eastern countries, if not to all Eastern countries; but the Europeans are already there. This explains the fact that we hear from time to time talks of war between Japan and Germany, or Japan and France. England also does not go out of the category.

In view of these considerations the careful student of Far Eastern affairs will not hesitate to prophecy that in the not distant future the Pacific will witness a struggle more sanguinary than ever before. It is therefore worth-while for students of Asiatic politics to keep in close touch with the development of this question. And here I wish to introduce before the reader a subject which is as interesting as perplexing. In the last conflict all Asia had sympathy with Japan. Will she receive the same universal Asiatic blessings in any future conflict? I presume, not. And here is a most strange phenomenon worthy of serious consideration on the part of all Asiatic peoples. The history of Japanese activity in the Far East since the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war does not present an honourable record. She has deprived an Asiatic state of her ancient liberties and freedom—the country to which the Japanese directly owe their civilisation and culture. The Japanese seem to have forgotten that once their anxious forefathers received the message and the blessings of the Princely Teacher of Bharatavarsha at the hands of his Korean followers. Before the Russo-Japanese war Japan snatched away the fair island of Formosa from the country which is the mother and cradle of her civilisation. And at the present moment her greedy eyes have been placed over the fertile fields of Manchuria. The Chinese people, indignant at the humiliation to which their country was put in the Tatsu-Maru affairs, have announced a boycott of Japanese goods; and the Japanese Foreign Office has been persistently asking the Chinese Government with threats to stop the boycott, while Japanese peddlers have crowded in the streets of Canton to pick some quarrels and so create a plea for a war by which some large indemnity and, if possible, some lands, presumably Manchuria, might be extracted from the Chinese Empire, the milch-cow of greedy nations. Then consider the Japanese method of dealing with Korea and Formosa. The German attempt of dispossessing the Poles from their native soils by German colonists has caused righteous indignation throughout the conscientious world. Yet the German Government had the honesty of attaining its object under the cover of a parliamentary statute. But Japanese immigrants are dispossessing the Koreans in darkness and the world has not got any opportunity to pass judgment. The attrocious conduct of the Japanese soldiers and adventurers in Korea has been revealed to the world by some sympathetic foreigners in Korea and we have ample reasons to believe them. The protest against Japanese oppression in Korea put forth by the Korean delegation to the Hague Conference, the assassination of the American adviser to the Korean Emperor, who was an appointee of the Japanese Government, by two Korean young men in San Francisco, and the recent proclamation published by some Korean patriots appealing to Koreans resident in all parts of the world to unite, and make the last effort to recover the liberties of their unfortunate country, show to what extent Korean feeling has been roused against the Japanese occupation of Korea. And however we may disapprove of the injudicious and ill-considered measures of the Korean patriots, the fact remains that they do not want the so-called protection of the Japanese just for the same reason that the Egyptian nationalists resent a British protectorate in the land of the Pharaohs. The barbarous conduct of the Japanese adventurers and soldiers in Korea is unworthy of a civilised Asiatic nation. The truth of the statement has been amply attested by some foreign residents in Korea; and the recent introduction in the Japanese diet of a bill providing for a *better class of emigrants* to

Korea is an indirect recognition of the fact on the part of the Japanese Government. The Japanese policy in Korea has already been given out by a Japanese official, *viz.*, to completely Japanise the Koreans in national habits, language, and ideals—a foolish proposition indeed, especially in this epoch of a general Asiatic *renaissance*, considering that the Koreans are proud of an ancient civilisation, a long history, and honourable traditions. The same kind of policy is being pursued in Formosa, where the Chinese settlers have been given very slight provision for their language and literature, their history and ethics in the new educational system of the Japanese colonial government. Contrast the Japanese policy in Korea and Formosa with the American policy in the Phillipines, where the American Government is trying to revive the native languages of the islands, which had been almost lost during the Spanish *regime*, though English has been adopted as the common language of the Archipelago.

I do not apologise for adding the following few lines, for I think they may be of some interest to my countrymen as giving some idea of the Japanese view of the life and aspirations of a country which through all her adversities has protected her honour of upholding the ideals and spirit of Asia. Count Okuma, one of the makers of modern Japan and the hero of Young Japan, is reported to have said in a meeting of the Peers' Club in Tokyo that the Indians are not capable of self-government. Again in a meeting of the Chinese Youngmen's Christian Association of Tokyo he is reported to have said that the Chinese have the Eastern civilisation, the Japanese have harmonised the Eastern with the Western civilisation, but India, Persia and Turkey have no civilisation worth the name. I do not wish to make this picture still darker. On the other hand I have not had occasion to refer to the exceptional virtues of Japanese life, both private and public. The patriotism of the Japanese, their patience and perseverance, and their anxious desire of grasping the new are qualities which could not but ennoble any receptive heart. Their hospitable and kind treatment of the foreigner is a unique feature of their social life, and even after a short residence in their beautiful country one cannot leave it without regret, and the memories of sweet Japan become permanently stamped on one's mind.

I think what I have said will give some indication of the respective positions of Japan and America in Far Eastern politics. I have also tried to show that Japan, though an Asiatic country, is acting exactly like a greedy western nation and the same imperialism which has degraded Britain has affected Japan. Japan was expected to be in the vanguard of the great Asiatic Revival, but she has proved herself utterly unfit for the office. She is acting contrary to the ideals of the East and her militant advancement seems to be a menace to Asiatic civilisation. And if we realise this fact, then in any future event in the Far East inviting our attention we shall be able to give an impartial verdict. The permanent peace and progress of the world can only be ensured by the spiritualisation of the West and the partial secularisation of the East; and for this purpose interaction between the two is absolutely necessary. And although the Asiatics are being excluded from western lands at the present moment, Asia is catholic enough to welcome the Europeans into her land, provided they lead an honourable life; and the time will surely come when Asia also will receive the same respect and honour in the west, as the west never forgets to claim in Asia. Let us therefore welcome the American fleet into Asiatic waters. But we welcome the fleet as the protector of American national honour, and not as a robber of nations' liberties. And though the apprehension of a coming conflict is perplexing us at this moment, let us hope that our apprehension will not be realised. The object of this paper is simply to introduce a thesis awaiting further discussion from abler pens.

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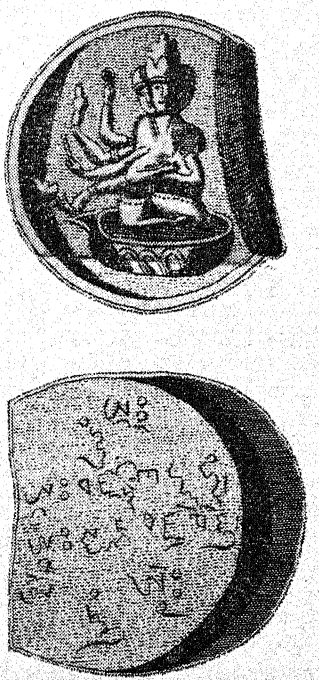
SATIS CHANDRA BASU.

P. S. Though the fleet is returning to the Atlantic Coast after taking a journey round the world, our discussion does not lose its importance to any conceivable extent. We are trying to look into the future and not the present, and in the opinion of the writer, the return is meant to be only temporary and a subtle diplomatic move.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE TRIAD IN ANCIENT ASIA

THE notion of a Divine Triad governing the universe, was a doctrine that immemorially prevailed in the schools of Asia. From India, if we direct our ideas northward to the great empires of Tangut and Tibet and over the vast Tartarian deserts to Siberia itself, we find the same sentiments predominate. In the former country, if the authors quoted in Parsons's Remains of Japhet may be credited, medals, having the figure of the Tri-une Deity stamped upon them, are given to the people by the Dalai-Lama, who unites in his own person the hierarchal and regal character, to be suspended as a holy object around their necks, or conspicuously elevated in the chapels where they perform their devotions.* It is there also asserted that the Roman missionaries, arriving in those regions, found the people already in possession of the fundamental doctrine of their Christian religion, which among others they came to impress upon their minds, and universally adoring an idol resembling as nearly as possible the idea of a Trinity in Unity. Dr. Parsons is of opinion that as there is no record of their having had the principles of Christian religion ever propagated among them, they could only have attained to the knowledge of the doctrine by means of traditional dogmas, handed down to them from very high antiquity, which in the course of so many revolving ages, and such numerous vicisitudes as Asia has undergone, has never been obliterated from their minds. With respect to the Tartars and Siberians, Van Strahlenburg, after remarking how universal a veneration prevails through all Northern Tartary for the sacred number THREE, acquaints us that "a race of Tartars, called Jokuthi who are idolators, and the most numerous people of all Siberia, adore in fact only one indivisible God under three different denominations, which in their vernacular tongue are *Artugon, Schugo-Tengon, Tangara*", the first of which words Colonel Grant translates *creator of all things*; the second, *the god of armies*; and the third he renders *Amor ab utroque procedens*, the spirit of heavenly love proceeding from the two former.

The celebrated Siberian Medal published by Dr. Parsons and now deposited in the valuable cabinet of the Empress at St. Petersburg, on one side of which is engraved the figure of a tri-une deity and on the other side certain Tibetan characters, illustrative



THE SIBERIAN MEDAL.

of that figure, was found in an old ruined chapel, together with many ancient manuscripts, near the river Kemptschyk, which falls into the great river Jenisei near its head. It is composed, according to

* See Parsons's Remains of Japhet, pp. 185 and 206.

M. Van Strahlenburg, of a substance resembling *terra figillata* and is of the exact shape and size of the accompanying engraving, the border of one part of the medal being very much corroded. Of the medal Dr. Parsons's description is as follows:—

"The image, which appears upon one side, and which represents a deity, is one human figure as to the body and lower extremities, but is distinguished above by three heads. The figure sits cross-legged upon a low sopha, or stool, in the manner of eastern sovereigns: an arched urn, or something resembling it is under the sopha, but seems empty. It is thought that this figure is thus made with one body, three heads and six arms, from an idea prevailing from those who fabricated it of a Trinity in Unity."*

To this account of Dr. Parsons it will be necessary to add the remark of Strahlenburg: that the people who fabricated this figure were perhaps of opinion that the first person in it, content with having created all things, rested in tranquility; they therefore drew him with his hands folded across, as if he had resigned all care of the universe to the other two; and they figured out this his pre-eminence by adorning his head with a high mitre cap. The inscription on the opposite side of the medal is then translated into English as follows:

"The Bright and Sacred image of Deity conspicuous in three figures. Gather the whole purpose of God from *Them:* love *Him.*"

The mode of expression and the alternate use of the singular and the plural noun decisively mark the real sentiments and intent of those who caused it to be thus engraved.

Dr. Parsons describes this triple image as seated upon a low sopha, with an arched urn or *something resembling* it underneath. It is rather surprising that our author, who was by profession a physician, an order of men to whom one should suppose botany ought to be somewhat familiar, and a member of the Society of Antiquaries in whose noble engraved collections the lotus perpetually appears sculptured on innumerable medallions, vases, and other precious relics of Egyptian and Asiatic antiquities, should not have discovered that the urn or cup, alluded to, is that of the lotus. In respect to the figure itself, it is evidently the Indian Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, who are pourtrayed sitting upon that lotus, the usual throne of the gods of oriental mythology; and it is one among many other forcible and direct testimonies over how vast an extent of Asia, in ancient periods, the religion, and with it probably the laws and sciences of Hindustan were diffused.

In this connection I cannot pass unnoticed by, the ancient race and religious rites of Scandinavia. Its religious code does not differ from other codes of religious institutions in Asia, as it plainly inculcates the worship of a Triple Deity in the mythologic persons of Oden, Frea, and Thor. Concerning the first of these deities, there is incontestable evidence of his being the very identical personage denominated *Taut*, *Hermes* and *Boodh*; through all the East M. Mallet has produced an irrefragable proof that Frea, the second person in this Scandinavian triad, is no other than the celebrated Dea Syria adored at Babylon and the Venus Urania of the Persians. She seems, indeed, to be the prolific mother of all things, the great principle of fecundity, and her name and rites demonstrate her close affinity with the Rhea of the Greeks.

With respect to *Thor*, the third of these northern deities, otherwise known among the Celtic nations by the name of Taranis, a title which in the Welch, that is, the old Cimbrian language, M. Mallet observes, signifies thunder; he in every respect greatly resembles the *Indra* of the Indians and the *Jupiter Tonans* of the Greeks and Romans. This Scandinavian Jove seems to have been also armed with the *chakra* of Vishnu, inscribed as instinct with life; for, says our author, *Thor* always carried a mace or club which, as often as he discharged it, returned of itself to the hand that launched it. He grasped this restless weapon, which, like the thunderbolt of the Grecian Jove, vibrated to be gone, with strong gauntlets of iron and he wore around his loins a mystic girdle which had the virtue to renovate his strength when necessary. "It was with these formidable arms that he overthrew the monsters and giants" (the *asuras* and evil demons of India) "when the gods sent him to oppose their enemies"†

In that valuable relic of northern genius, the *Edda*, in which is contained an authentic acount of Runic mythology, these three deities are represented as sitting on

* Remains of Japhet, p. 187.

† Northern Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 97.

three thrones with each a crown on his head.*

The right Revd. Editor inform us, that, in the manuscript of the *Edda* preserved at Upsal there is a representation or drawing very rudely executed of these three thrones, and three persons sitting upon them, before whom Gangler (a character introduced into the lofty palace of the gods) is drawn in a suppliant position. These figures, the Editor adds, bear so great a resemblance to the Roman Catholic pictures of the Trinity that one can reasonably infer that these figures allude to that doctrine and the Roman Catholic pictures of the Trinity are but improvements of the rude figures.

But let us turn to the great theatre of the present investigation, to Asia, and inquire if the ancient and celebrated Empire of China affords a system of theology illustrative of a subject so deeply involved in the obscurity of Eastern philosophy and entangled in the mazes of Oriental allegory.

In that remote and happy region, secluded not less by situation than by the wise policy of its sovereigns from all intercourse with the other nations of the Earth, the true religion imparted, as some think by Noah himself, to one of his pious posterity flourished longest unadulterated.† A succession of virtuous and magnificent monarchs, descending for near three thousand years in regular succession from the Great Fohi, whoever he was, made it the proudest glory of their respective reigns to support it by their whole authority and enforce it by the noble and splendid example of regal piety.

Since it is our intention, in relating the ancient history occasionally to consider India upon the great scale of its more extended geography, as the ancients seem to have understood the term, as stated by Sir William Jones in the Asiatic Researches‡ *i.e.*, to say, as an Empire extending from the great northern range of the Caucasus to the extreme southern point of Sinhala or Ceylon, and from the frontiers of Persia on the west to the Chinese Ocean in the east, it will be our province hereafter to detail a variety of circumstances that have relation to the early history of China, at present so little known, which will afford the strongest corroberation to the Mosaic history *and incontestably evince that the great lines of the most ancient Asiatic and the Christian theology are the same.* From an elaborate comparison which has also been made of the most ancient histories of China as they stand translated and epitomized in Couplet, Martinius and Du Halde from those celebrated Chinese books of profound antiquity the Xukim or *book of books* containing the annals of the three first imperial dynasties; Xikim, a more extensive historical detail; and the writings of Confucius, with such authentic Sanscrit accounts of ancient history as far as procurable, there are confident hopes that new light will be reflected as well upon the intricate history of these countries as upon that of Japan. The history of the latter country by *Kæmpfer* shows that an immemorial connexion has subsisted between these three countries which, after all that has been written by De Guignes and the learned Pauw, have probably all three descended from one common stock, the early history of one must under certain restrictions and with due allowance for the changes of customs and opinions during a long course of ages, be considered as the history of the o hers. It is worth while to present a few of the points in which that affinity may be clearly traced; and in the first place, let us attend to it in regard to their theology.

Martinius, who from a residence of ten years upon the spot, and from understanding both the letters or characters, and language of the country, must be supposed well qualified to judge of their religious doctrines and practices, asserts that they anciently worshipped one Supreme God, a spirit, using neither images nor figures to excite the devotion of the people. Therefore no idol in the most ancient periods of their empire was to be seen in all their temples but only an unornamented tablet upon which was engraved, in large Chinese characters in gold, the following inscription. "The Sanctuary of the Spiritual Guardian of the City." The pure worship of the Deity whom they denominated Xangti or Tyen continued unadulterated till after the death of Confucius, which took place 500 years previous to the Christian era, and is a remarkable and almost solitary instance of the influence of the pure primeval worship

* Edda, translated by the Editor of Mallet's Northern Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 3.

† See Sackford's Connexions, Vol. I. p. 33 and Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, p. 54.

‡ See Asiatic Researches, Vol. I., p. 412.

flourishing among a people confining upon nations immersed in the basest idolatries of Asia. That they believed in the existence of subordinate spirits, the ministers of the great God in the government of the Universe and that they paid an inferior kind of homage to those spirits is to be accounted for in the persuasion so generally prevalent in Asia, that they might be their intercessors with offended omnipotence, and avert his apprehended vengeance.

The purity of Chinese primeval theology has been noticed. They originally adored no sculptured images of the deity, although they worshipped him in the emanations of guardian and benevolent spirits that issue from the exhaustless fountain of deity. The doctrine of those emanations and the lapse and immortality of the soul, afford the strongest reason for supposing that the tradition of a God mediator, to appear upon earth after a certain revolution of ages, was cherished as in India from time immemorial in China.

Lao-Kiun, the founder of the "sect of immortals", flourished before Confucius about the year 600 preceding the Christian era. Although the principles of Epicurus have been attributed to this great philosopher, and though the followers of Lao-Kiun at this day are, as has been observed, rank materialists, yet from the account of his writings given by Couplet and Le Compte, there is the greatest reason to suppose that his original doctrines have been grossly corrupted and misinterpreted by his disciples. They are called *immortals*, say these writers, from a certain liquor, which Lao-Kiun invented, and which he affirmed would, drunk, make men immortal. This has every appearance of being an allegory, and hereby may be meant no other than the *Amrita* or an ambrosial nectar of the Hindus. In the leading feature in Lao-Kiun's system of philosophical theology a sentence is to be found, which he continually repeated as the foundation of all true wisdom, that Tao, the eternal reason, produced One; *One produced Two*, and *Two produced Three*; and *Three produced all things*; and as Le Compte, from whose memoirs of China, the above sentence has been copied verbatim, observes relative to it, a very evident proof that he must have had some obscure notions of a *Trinity*.

The ancient Jews distinguished in their religious books the divine essence into three lights assigning them names very nearly resembling those by which the modern Christians denominate the three persons of the Christian Trinity. The Jews along with other ancient nations affirmed that number in God does not destroy his unity and believed the system of *Emanations* issuing from and returning into the abyss of the Divinity. This system was generally admitted into the theology of all the kingdoms of ancient Asia or "Greater India" as defined above.

The system of theology could not be the invention of Pythagorus, Plato or Parmenides. It was from the fountains of Chaldean, Persian, Indian and Egyptian learning as well as by their own personal travels in these countries, that those Grecian Sages derived their copious streams of theological knowledge which was afterwards by their disciples so widely diffused through Greece and Italy. The doctrine could not be the invention of Plato, as asserted by some, in as much as it existed in India a thousand years before Plato flourished; for of that remote date are the Elephanta Caves and the Indian History of the Mahabharata, in which a plain triad of the Deity are alluded to and designated. Again the doctrine long before Plato flourished was admitted but concealed, among the mystic Cabbala of the Rabbis, and as undoubtedly one of the strongest, if not the *strongest* of the arguments adduced in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity being known and acknowledged by the ancient Rabbis, is that deduced from the evident appearance of it in the Chaldee paraphrases composed before the violent disputes on the subject broke forth.

MAHANANDA GUPTA, B.A.

LEGUMES AS NITROGEN GATHERERS

THE question of maintaining the fertility of the soil, is a problem of first and vital importance in all agriculture. There is no other problem that touches the root of the whole system of farming, and yet how many farmers realize this and adopt a rational method that would permanently maintain the fertility of their soils? This problem of restoring and maintaining the supply of plant food in the soil confines itself to the supply of three elements, nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium. The problem of the agriculturist is how to keep a constant and plentiful supply of these three elements, because the rest of the essential elements of plant food nature has provided for us and provided in abundance. Of these three elements, except a few peaty swamps, nearly all of our soils contain an abundant supply of potassium. Though the supply of phosphorus is more limited, still we can buy commercial phosphorus at a price that is profitable to the farmer, but when we come to sypplying nitrogen to our common field crops we face the situation that commercial nitrogen costs about 15 cents per lb. and that one bushel of corn contains on the average 1 lb. of nitrogen. And then we must remember too that the supply of nitrogen in commercial forms, like guano, nitrate of soda, is not unlimited; they are being rapidly exhausted, in fact it has been calculated that these supplies cannot last for more than 100 years. Then again we must bear in mind that nitrogen is the element that we are constantly losing from our soils and in the greatest quantities. Surely it would not be saying too much to assert that the greatest problem in agricultural practice is keeping up the nitrogen supply of our soils. Recently a solution of this problem has been offered by the discovery of the power of legumes to fix atmospherical nitrogen by the help of bacteria. Of the total weight of the air four fifths are nitrogen. This means that over every square inch of the earth's surface there are more than 12lbs. of nitrogen and over every acre of land nearly 38,000 tons. If there are plants that can be used to gather any considerable amount of nitrogen from the air without cost, the fact is surely of immense importance.

Long before it was discovered that legumes have the power of fixing the nitrogen of the air through the bacteria growing in their roots, it was quite well known that certain plants of the legume family have small swellings, called root tubercles, developed on their roots. These tubercles on the roots of plants were known 200 years ago, but nothing was known as to the origin or the nature of these tubercles, and no one suspected that these had anything to do with the assimilation of nitrogen. Though these tubercles were never associated with any power of accumulating nitrogen there was quite a widespread belief that leguminous plants could in some way absorb nitrogen and enrich the soil, and in some parts of the world, the rotation of crops with legumes, has been a practice followed from very ancient times. It was at first thought that green leaves could directly assimilate the ammonia, if not the free nitrogen of the air. As far back as 1771 Priestley affirmed that certain plants had the power of absorbing free nitrogen. Later George Ville confirmed Priestley's results by his own experiments carried on in 1850. Some time was occupied in arriving at the conclusion that ordinary green plants do not directly assimilate or fix either the gaseous ammonia or the free nitrogen of the air. This conclusion in opposition to that arrived at by Ville, was regarded as so thoroughly established by the experiments of Boas, Singault and afterwards Lawes and Gilbert and Pugh, that it was definitely accepted and taught for many years. Their experiments seemed to prove that leguminous as well as non-leguminous plants have no power to assimilate free nitrogen. They made cultures of various leguminous plants in sand which was washed free from all plant foods and sterilized; and then, after the plants had grown up, determined whether

any increase of nitrogen had taken place. They found none, and of course concluded that acquisition of atmospheric nitrogen does not take place in these plants, not realizing at that time that they had excluded all microbes by which the assimilation is brought about.

The formation of those nodules were explained in various ways. Malphigi thought that the tubercles were galls, due to insects, DeCandolle considered them diseased tumours, Clas as hypertrophied rootlets, caused by injurious influences in soil, Gasparrini regarded them as abortive rootlets, while recently Erickson considered them caused by fungus. The true origin of the nodules was found by Woronin, who assigned their cause to bacteria.

The question of nitrogen assimilation which seemed decided for ever by these classical experiments was reopened in 1876 by Berthelot, who showed that free nitrogen was fixed by various organic compounds, under the influence of silent electrical discharges. In 1881 Prof. Hellriegel in association with Wilfarth first announced his experiments, in which he recognized the importance of the root tubercles in connection with the assimilation of nitrogen by legumes, and soon other investigators recognised the importance of his results and started investigations of their own. Among others the names of Atwater, Woods, Nobbe, Frank, Schloessing, Hawes and Gilbert, and Prazmowsky may be mentioned, as having brought positive evidence on this question by their experiments.

Though the question of nitrogen assimilation by legumes was now settled, it was not shown definitely how this was brought about. There was also much conflict of opinions about the exact nature of these organisms, As stated before, the tubercles at first were supposed to be insect galls. This idea was soon abandoned; they were then regarded as buds of incomplete plants, or as rudimentary roots. In 1866 Woronin found in them minute bodies like bacteria. On account of their irregularity of shape he called them bacteroids. In 1874 Erickson by careful study of the nodules discovered branching threadlike bodies in them, which made him think that the organism must be a true parasitic fungus. In 1886 Hellriegel found—after a long series of experiments—that plants produced no tubercles on sterilized soil, but readily if inoculated with soil infusions—thus proving that the tubercles were caused by living organisms. After a lapse of two years, Beyerinck resumed the controversy—declaring that his extended observations on a large number of legumes (and not peas only as before) show that bacteria are associated with all tubercles and that they differed in different species. He named the bacteria Bacillus radicicolas. This is the first time that the organisms were given a distinctive name. In 1888 Prazmowski concluded that the bacteriods are protoplasmic structures found within fungus hypheae, and called them Bact. radicicola, because they are always in short rod form, and not slender and threadlike. In 1889 Frank joined the discussion, on the whole confirming Prazmowski's results, but differing from him regarding the origin of the tubercle membrane. He considered the tubercle as a formation from the protoplasm of the root cells for the reception of the microbes. Gonverman about this time gave a different name to the organisms. Laurent of Pasteur Institute, Paris, also made investigations at the time, making use of water cultures in his experiments for the first time. His results confirmed those of Prazmowski and Frank—but he considered the bacteroids as normal forms of the organisms rather than degenerate forms of the bacteria.

A few years later—about 1893—the investigation took another direction. It had been definitely settled that legumes do have the power of fixing the free nitrogen of the air, it was also agreed that this fixation was brought about by bacteria living in the nodules of the roots—it was left to be seen by what process the legumes and the bacteria growing together are able to extract the nitrogen from the atmosphere, and also whether any other organisms aside from the nodule bacteria have the same power of fixing nitrogen. Frank made investigations in 1892 proving that some algæ have this power beyond any dispute. He went further, claiming that the ability of fixing introgen is a function of protoplasm, and was resident in the higher plants as well as the simpler. He showed an increase of nitrogen in his pot cultures with oats, rape and other non-leguminous plants; but

his experiments were not accurate, nor conclusive and were disproved by those of Lotsy's who showed that neither S. alba nor S. nigra are able to live without combined nitrogen, also Schloessing and Laurent's which prove that oats, cress, mustard, etc. are unable to assimilate free nitrogen. These two latter scientists have also shown by both direct and indirect methods of nitrogen determinations that not only algae but some mosses also possess this power. Then came the experiments of Berthelot that several soil bacteria (A. niger, A. tenuis) can fix the elemental gas. It is now well known that besides the legume tubercle bacteria, there are two other kinds of soil bacteria that can fix some atmospheric nitrogen. The first is an anærobic—C. Pastorianum—isolated by Winodgrodsky, and the second includes the genus Azotobacter. In trying to determine the nature of the tubercle bacteria there has been quite a little controversy as to whether they are symbiotic or not. Frank seemed to maintain at first that symbiosis is not essential for nitrogen fixation, others have claimed that the organisms are entirely parasitic in nature; but recent researches have brought out that the relationship between the nitrogen gathering bacteria and leguminous plants is not parasitic but symbiotic. The plant supplies the bacteria with shelter and nourishment, but as these bacteria die with almost the same rapidity that they originate, the host plant dissolves and absorbs the combined nitrogen, which the organisms had stored in their tissues from the air. As to how the bacteria extract the nitrogen from the air and in what form it is absorbed by the plant has not yet been worked out.

It has been said at the beginning of this paper that from very ancient times it was known that leguminous crops did not require the same amount of fertilizers as other crops—they seemed even to improve the soil instead of impoverishing it, but it is only very recently that we are learning to make intelligent use of legumes in order to maintain and increase the fertility of our soils. Legumes will develop tubercles on their roots only where bacteria are present —and it is known that the same bacteria will not grow on roots of all legumes, but different legumes require different bacteria. To introduce the proper bacteria into soils where the nodules do not form, some methods of inoculating the soil have been devised. The simplest way it was done at first was by inoculating with infected soil. But the first to suggest a plan for utilizing root tubercle bacteria on a commercial basis, and to secure letters patent for the process, were Nobbe and Hiltner, who in 1896 put out cultures of bacteria called "nitragin." This was made by preparing pure cultures of the bacteria and transferring them to tubes or bottles of a nutrient jelly. Great hopes of success were cherished for this artificial inoculation. But the anticipated practical results were not realized—and nitragin was withdrawn from the market —and is no longer manufactured. In 1901 another patent inoculating material was put out by Hartleb from Germany, which was essentially the same as Nobbe's but slightly improved. But this too was unsuccessful and had to be withdrawn from the market. In 1904 Dr. Moore in charge of the Laboratory of Plant Physiology of U. S. D. Agr. devised a method of distributing the specific bacteria in a dry state upon absorbent cotton. This seemed to have aroused a great deal of interest all over the country. Several experimental stations made tests of this method of inoculation with varied success. There was a good many failures, and the general opinion seems to have been that if the trained bacteriologists could not be successful in inoculating from that culture— it is pretty sure the farmers would not be more successful. The Geneva station a few years ago tested the material and concluded they were worthless for practical purposes and condemned not the principle of inoculation, but the method of distributing the bacteria upon dry cotton. There are three methods that have been employed for inoculation—(1) by artificial cultures, (2) water extracts from soils already infected (3) by use of soils already infected. Something has been already said about artificial inoculating materials. Very few that have been placed on the market have proved to be satisfactory— and until better methods are found out for making these artificial cultures, it is advisable for the farmers not to waste money over these so-called "vest pocket fertilizers." The method of inoculation by water extracts from inoculated soils is effective but it has its objections and is not very much practised.

The best and the simplest method that is yet known, is inoculation by means of infected soil. This is the method that is most practical and least expensive for the farmer to follow. Where the soil has not to be shipped from a great distance it will not cost more than a dollar or two to get 100 lbs. of infected soil—which can be applied to a small piece of ground and this will then supply any amount of inoculating material after one or two years. The only objection that has been raised against it is that there is chance of spreading weed seeds from one locality to another. That there is little or no such danger from this practice has been clearly pointed out in Bulletin 9 of the Illinois station.

The benefits to be derived from inoculation seems to have been altogether greatly exaggerated and there is still much wrong impression upon the popular mind about this matter. It is not uncommon to find people think that successful inoculation is all that is necessary to secure a good stand of a legume. It should be always remembered that inoculation does not in any way take the place of thorough preparation of the soil, supply of phosphorus, potassium, or lime in producing desirable crops of legumes. Aside from the artificial cultures of tubercle bacteria, there was on the market a patent microbic soil fertilizer of German origin known as "abinit." It consisted essentially of a pure culture of B. Ellenbachiensis, which is not a nodule bacteria that enters into symbiotic relationship with plants—but a soil bacteria that has the power of fixing atmospheric nitrogen without the help of legumes. After a few years of trial, it was found to be unsuccessful and is now no longer in the market.

There has been recently a few experiments made to determine, if possible, how much nitrogen is fixed by legume crops under field conditions. It cannot be done by simply analyzing the plants, and finding out how much nitrogen they contain, because it will be impossible to tell how much came from the air and how much from the soil. Dr. Voorhus has done some very accurate work in New Jersey experimental station, but the greatest work that has been done along this line is in the Illinois station, where the results obtained from pot cultures in the laboratory have been verified by those from fields under natural conditions. Voorhus showed by keeping careful account of the income and outgo of nitrogen in the pot soils that in one case a single crop of cow peas fixed enough nitrogen required for two succeeding crops of millet. In another case, cow peas increased the nitrogen content of the soil from 57 grams originally present to 66 grams or an increase of nine grams ($\frac{1}{6}$ of that originally supplied). From this Dr. Voorhus calculates that "assuming the nitrogen content of a fair arable soil to be 5000 per acre to a depth of one foot, an increase by one third this amount (assuming the crop is ploughed under) would mean more than 1600 of nitrogen to the acre and that in the course of two short growing seasons." It might be said here that this sweeping conclusion is quite unwarranted. It is impossible to draw such a quick conclusion from the results obtained in the laboratory.

In the Illinois experiments under the most favorable conditions when both phosphorus and potassium were applied it is shown that the bacteria gathered nitrogen from the air at the rate of more than 90 lbs. per acre, worth about 13·50$ at market price. Under field conditions the amount of atmospheric nitrogen fixed by alfafa bacteria was 53·65 per acre where both lime and phosphorus were applied. "Almost two-thirds of the total nitrogen contained in the crops from the inoculated unfertilized plot was secured from the atmosphere by the alfafa bacteria."

In both of these experiments it was very evident that addition of soluble nitrogen in any form decreased the action of the bacteria; only where the legumes cannot readily obtain nitrogen from the soil do they develop the largest tubercle. This had also been shown before by Nobbe and Hiltner in their experiments. Where nitrates were applied a more rapid development of the plants took place at first, and with that a more rapid growth of smaller nodules but these were of less benefit than the larger nodules in nitrogen free soil. These experiments also showed that the infected plants contained a much higher percentage of nitrogen than the plants not infected. The infected plants contained nearly four times as much nitrogen as the plants not infected,

while the roots and tubercles contained six to seven times as much.

For any system of agriculture that is going to be permanent, the growing of legumes is absolutely essential. Whether it be grain farming or live stock farming, we can keep up the fertility of our soils only by growing crops in rotation with legumes. We cannot apply artificial fertilizers with profit to our field crops to supply them with nitrogen. It is absolutely impossible to supply all the nitrogen removed by crops from the soil by the manure that is produced on the farm. The only cheap and rational way of keeping up the nitrogen content of our soils is by growing legumes.

R. N. TAGORE.

THE BHADDA SALA JATAKA*

LONG ago, when Brahmadatta, who observed the Ten Duties of a ruler, was reigning in Benares, there came into his mind this thought: 'Everywhere in India are kings whose palaces have many columns; what if I build a palace supported by a single column only? Then shall I be the first and singular king among all other kings!' So he summoned his craftsmen, and ordered them to build him a magnificent palace supported by a single pillar. 'It shall be done' they said, and away they went into the forest.

There they found a tree, tall and straight, worthy to be the single pillar of such a palace. 'Here are trees,' said they, 'but the road is rough, and we shall never be able to remove them; let us go and ask the king what is to be done.' But when they did, the king said, 'Somehow or other you must bring them, and that immediately.' But they replied, 'Neither somehow nor anyhow can it be done.' 'Then,' said the king, 'look for a tree in my own park.'

So they set out for the park, and there found a lordly *sal* tree, straight and beautiful, worshipped by village and town and the royal family alike. They told the king, who answered 'You have found me a tree in the park; it is well, go now and fell it.' 'So be it', said they, and returned to the park, taking scented garlands and other offerings in their hands. When they were come back to the great tree, they hung upon it a garland of five branches, and girt it with a cord, fastened a knop of flowers against it and lit a lamp, and so honouring the tree, they spoke thus before it: 'On the seventh day from this we shall fell this tree, for this is the king's command. Let those *devas* who may be dwelling in the tree depart elsewhither and not unto us be the blame.'

The *deva* that dwelt in that tree heard their words, and thought to himself, 'These craftsmen are agreed to fell my tree, and to destroy my home. I myself shall perish when my place of habitation is destroyed. Also the young *sal* trees that are all round about me will be destroyed; and in them there dwell many *devas* of my kith and kin. My own death touches me not so near as the destruction of my children, let me then save their lives if I may avail thereto.' So at the hour of midnight, the tree *deva*, in the radiance of his divinity, entered the King's resplendent chamber, and stood beside the royal pillow sobbing, his glory lighting up the whole room. At which the king was overcome with fear and surprise, and stammered out a couplet thus: 'What god art thou, that dost appear floating in the air, wearing an angel's garb: what is thy grief, for what dost thou weep so heavily?' To which the *deva*-prince replied, 'I am called in thy realm, O king, the Lucky tree; for sixty thousand years all men have loved and worshipt me. Many a house and town, many a palace too they made, yet never did me wrong; honour thou me, even as did they, O king.' But the king answered, 'Never have I yet seen a trunk so fine, so tall and great of girth, so thick and strong. I mean to raise a glorious palace, resting on a single column; there shall be thy abiding place, there shalt thou long endure.' The *deva*-prince answered,

* Adapted from the translation in the Cambridge edition of the *Jatakas*, 6 vols., 1895-1907.

'Since thou art set on my destruction, one thing I ask, to cut me small, cut me piecemeal and limb from limb, O king, or cut me not at all. Cut first the top, the middle next, and then the root of me—and if so thou fellest me, O king, death will not give me grievous pain.' The king said then, 'This is a painful death to sever first from the living frame the hands and feet, then nose and ears, and last of all the head. O Lucky tree, O Forest-lord, why wilt thou thus be cut piecemeal, what gain is thine thereby?' To which the Lucky tree replied, 'Hearken now while I reveal the meaning of my wish to be felled in pieces. There is a sufficient and a worthy reason for it: my kith and kin have grown up around me, and beneath my shade. I should crush them if I fell entire upon them, and very great would be their sorrow.'

The king was greatly moved at these words and thought within himself, 'This is a noble-minded god that would save the dwellings of his fellows despite the destruction of his own; he acts for their good rather than his own'; and he broke into these words: 'O Lucky tree, O Forest-lord, thy thought is noble indeed; as thou wouldst save thy kindred, so I shall spare thee. Have no more fear.'

Then the *deva*-prince spake to the king and counselled him and left him. And the king took to heart his words, and gave generous gifts and alms, until the time came for his departure to join the hosts of heaven.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE PLACE OF THE KINDERGARTEN IN INDIAN SCHOOLS

I

THE beautiful word *Kinder-garten*—garden of children—is known to-day throughout the world. Unfortunately, the truths that brought it into being, are not equally familiar, or equally apprehended. The ideal child-garden would seem to be the home, with the mother as the gardener. And if all mothers understood the development of man, and knew how to make the most of their flower-world, this would undoubtedly be the truest and noblest school for childhood. Nay, so far goes instinct, and so much greater is feeling than learnedness, that a babe were better abandoned to the loving care of the simplest mother, than to the harsh knowledge of a soured and withered teacher. But as facts stand, the mother needs the teacher's knowledge of the aim subserved, while undoubtedly the teacher needs the mother's lovingness and care.

Great men work out knowledge, and give it to the community. Thus each civilisation becomes distinguished by its characteristic institutions. Nothing could be more perfect educationally than the *bratas* which Hindu society has preserved and hands to its children in each generation, as first lessons in worship, so in the practice of social relationships, or in manners. Some of these *bratas*—like that which teaches the service of the cow, or the sowing of seeds or some which seem to set out on the elements of geography and astronomy—have an air of desiring to impart what we now distinguish as secular knowledge. They appear, in fact, like surviving fragments of an old educational scheme. But for the most part, they constitute a training in religious ideas and religious feelings. As such, their perfection is startling. They combine practice, story, game, and object, with a precision that no Indian can appreciate or enjoy as can the European familiar with modern educational speculation. India has, in these, done on the religious and social plane, what Europe is trying, in the Kindergarten, to do on the scientific. When we have understood the *bratas*, we cease to wonder at the delicate grace and passivity of the Oriental woman. Where a child has learnt to stand before a plant, asking permission mentally to cut its blossoms, how shall the acts of the woman be rude or ill-considered? "O *Tulasi*, beloved of *Vishnu*," says the little maiden, about to gather the

basil-leaves for worship, "grant me the blessing to take you to His feet!" and only after a pause does she begin to pluck.

The Kindergarten lessons of Europe, then, might be described as a series of *bratas*, designed to launch the child's mind on a knowledge of science. Like the religious *bratas* of India, they deal, in the first place, directly with concrete objects. These objects are introduced by means of stories. In the course of the lesson, or "play,"—or *brata* as it might be called,—some definite act is performed repeatedly. And finally, in the highly-perfected lesson, the result is a game, consisting of a song set to music, to be sung by the children, henceforth, in action. These four parts, then, story, object, action, and resultant game, make up the typical child-garden exercise. By their means, the mind of the learner is made to go through a definite sequence of experiences, on which a higher sequence may be constructed later. These four elements make up the child-world, as a whole and in its parts. And the problem of child-education is so to use the typical *brata* as to initiate by its means in the learner, an ordered consciousness of place, time, quantity, form, causation, and the rest.

This form of lesson is based upon the observation of child-nature, as shown in children's play. Our own ancestors, never at fault in matters of religion, seem to have understood the revelation made in play, sufficiently to use it for the foundation culture of soul and feeling. The European thinkers and observers,—Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Cooke—asuming that it is general knowledge of the world that makes man, turned to the same field of study, little children at play, in order to find out from it how the child might be made to acquire this knowledge, and gain a mastery of the world. When we have studied both forms of education, and know all that there is to be known about them, we shall probably be struck by this fact—that the Oriental is always trying to develop the child *within*, and the Occidental to put weapons into his hands, by which to subjugate the *without*. It is another instance of the great truth that these civilisations are rather complementary to one another than ultimately antagonistic. And one can only hope that when the problem of general education has been solved for India, there will arise some one to put on eternal record for the world, the science of the Indian *bratas*.

The young of all animals play, and while this may often seem to us aimless and bewildered, we shall generally find on looking closer that the gambols and capers of infancy are at once a dramatisation of the past, and a forecast of the future. The play of kittens is the drama of the hunt. The kid revives the memory of the rocky mountains in which his forbears roamed. This expenditure of energy without immediate return is an overflow of health and strength. The starved have no spirit for play. But while not directly profitable, play is always educational. The cub or the pup is learning his future trade, by those unreasoning movements, repeated over and over again, during the period when he is still dependent for food on his parents. Young birds, by play, train themselves for future flying or swimming or scratching of the soil. And the human child, similarly, teaches himself, from the beginning of his life, by spontaneous movements. Mothers know how many are the components efforts by which a baby learns to turn over in bed, to crawl, to walk, to speak. And all these efforts, undertaken wilfully, energetically, repeatedly, are what we regard as play. Yet they are leading, slowly but surely, to the coordinated activities of manhood.

When the baby can walk and talk, his mother watches him less closely. Yet the old process is going on, with the same vigour as before, but on an ascending plane of mentality making, destroying, frolicking alone, playing in groups; digging, grubbing, modelling clay dolls, investigating mud, sand, water; catching insects, fish, birds; throwing balls; flying kites; whittling sticks, catching knuckle-bones, imitating weddings and funerals; taming pigeons; organising cricket and football; in all this medley of pursuits, there is no confusion, but a certain definite sequence of progression, corresponding to the mental development of the age. This is nature's way of turning the whole world into the baby's school-room, putting the weapons of his sovereignty into the hands of the future king. Nature makes no mistakes. Under that benign rule, *all* the causes construe to bring into bring *all* the effects. And the

child's interest never flags. As hunger precedes healthy digestion, so enjoyment accompanies all these lessons. The attention is concentrated, the whole being is absorbed.

The whole of this, however, would in its totality make nothing more than a man of the Stone Age—a great chieftain, loved as a leader, mighty in the chase, resourceful, brave, tuneful and a lover of beauty, all this might be produced by Nature's Education, but it is difficult to see very much more. All the rest is the work of man on man, and is initiated in the processes that make up what we call education. Even in the Stone Age these higher elements were at work, or none of us would have emerged from it. Even in the Stone Age, man had his dreams, and woman her hero-tales. Old crones by the hearth-side stood for the children as weird embodiments of wisdom. There was always a super-world for Humanity, of imagination and symbol, of love and hope. As civilisation has grown more complex, this super-world has become more and more definitely an object of aspiration, and enquiry has concerned itself increasingly with the initiation into it of each separate human being. Only with the full elucidation of this question, can there be real hope for man, for only with perfect knowledge of how to educate, can man be rendered independent of birth and inheritance, and stand some chance of being fully humanised. Every religion carries with it its own scheme of initiation, and expresses its own hope and pity for humanity in some form or another. And to-day, having entered upon the age of science,—that age in which secular knowledge constitutes Truth, and is held as sacred as all the scriptures of the past,—it behoves us to formulate, to the best of our ability, that theory of education, by which the human unit is to be *virilised* or initiated into the full powers of Humanity.

'Nature is conquered by obeying her,' says Bacon, and to Pestalozzi,—the great educator who was created by the French Revolution, with its thought of the Rights of Man,—it was clear enough that the science of education could only be built up, on a keen and continuous observation of the laws of mind. Over and over again Pestalozzi refers to the modern problem as that of the "*psychologizing* of education." In this psychologizing, he made two great discoveries. First came the law that abstract thought has to be gathered from concrete experience. Second was the generalisation, that the child in its development follows the race. One hardly knows which of these two is the more important. In the first place, all knowledge begins with the concrete, that is to say, with the senses. Through the senses to the mind! never by ignoring or thwarting the senses, can we build up education. By *controlling*,—certainly! For control presupposes development, and training is only a larger name for it. But always from experience of the concrete, through the senses, to the power of abstract thought, is the great Veda of modern education. It is also the truth that underlies the use of the image in worship, and the *brata* in social culture.

It was on the basis of the laws thus enunciated by Pestalozzi, that his disciple, Froebel, devised the Kindergarten. For years he watched the play of children, and analysed the subjects they had to learn, trying to connect the one with the other. Finally he invented the collection of toys known as his "gifts"; tabulated a certain number of materials, such as string, sticks, sand, chalk, paper, and others; and left on record a wonderful series of games and observations. All these things together constitute what is known as the Kindergarten system. It is a system in which all knowledge is supposed to receive a foundation in concrete experience and all work to appear to the child as 'play.' The 'gifts' consist of balls, building-materials, and tiles, for pattern-making. The 'occupations'—such as stick-laying, mat-weaving, paper-folding, colour-drawing, and so on—are of perennial interest, being in fact based on the primitive occupations of humanity. And these games which do not occur simply as parts of lessons, are for the most part observation of the crafts, or of natural phenomena, turned into action-songs. The flight of pigeons, the catching of fish, the sailing of a boat, the work of the peasant, are all subjects that may be described in games, which are often of great spirit.

In every case, the educational value of all this depends largely on the particular qualifications of the teacher who is applying it.

The Kindergarten as arranged by Froebel, is perhaps a thought too complex, a shade too precise, altogether too "German," as one might say. It tends too easily to become mechanical, a hard and fast system, instead of a means to an end. The grasp of fundamental truths and aims, and a certain freedom and generosity in arriving at these, are far more important to the child-gardener than a full supply of material, and a knowledge of Froebel's sequences. No two Froebel schools are exactly alike. They will differ, not only in the detail of methods, but also in the dominant conceptions of the function of education. They will differ, also, in the extent to which they avail themselves of the material that has been added—by Cooke and others, from the year 1865 onwards,—to the foundations laid by Froebel, and the structure erected by him. But if, within the same country and a single village, the difference between various applications of the same principle can be so marked, it follows that the Kindergarten in Europe and the Kindergarten in India, ought to be two different things. And no one can create an Indian Kindergarten, save Indian educators; for the system must be an efflorescence of Indian life itself, embodying educational principles that are universally true of man. One educator in Bombay, Mr. Chichgar by name, has made attempts during the last fifty years, to Indianise the Kindergarten, and in certain directions he has succeeded wonderfully. His own face and form are irresistibly suggestive of the typical educator, the creator of educational philosophy. He is curiously like the pictures of Froebel, in appearance, a mixture of man and mother, both venerable. He has the divine witchery of calling the children to his arms, and he lives for his idea. Undoubtedly Mr. Chichgar has contributed an enormous number of elements of great value to the Indian Kindergarten of the future. He has concretised the study of number and quantity with great success. But he himself would probably be the first to point out that still further progress in generalising the Kindergarten is needed, and that the co-operation of every race in India will be necessary before the initiation of learning can be brought to perfection.

The Froebel school, as we know it, is immensely costly. The idea has suffered from exploitation at the hands of tradespeople, till it would seem as if one could not set out to teach a few babies without all sorts of large expenditure. Yet this is directly contrary to the idea of Froebel, who must have intended his educational material to be as fugitive and valueless as the broken pots and sticks with which children usually amuse themselves. A very good test for the Indianising of a given toy or occupation would thus lie in finding some object which offered an educational equivalent, without cost. For instance, the first gift Froebel offers the child* is a soft ball of bright colour. Obviously, for this we must take the common Indian rag ball, and cover it with red, blue, or yellow, green, orange, or purple, cotton. But for a variant on this, we can offer a fruit or a flower, of the requisite tint, dancing on its stem. With these, let the child and its mother, or the children and their teacher, simply play. It is true that such balls cannot be made to rebound, but with this exception, they will serve all the purposes of a game, and by their means the child can acquire language, and act in collaboration with his fellows. For the rudiments of military precision and uniformity are imparted by means of "ball drilling," or ball-games. The most distinctive feature of the modern school is its class-teaching, as opposed to the individual study, and sing-song in chorus, of mediaeval hedge-schools. And class-teaching begins with the united response of several to a signal, as in the case of Froebel's ball.

Another point to be noted here, is that each perception of the child is to be followed by its appropriate word. First the thing or the act, *then* the name or word. We *feel* the rag-ball, with the fingers, and pronounce it *soft*. But every word has its antithesis. 'Show me something not soft,' asks the teacher, and the child raps on stone or wood, or what not, pronouncing it hard. Other parallels are found, and 'soft, hard,' is realised and repeated over and over again. After knowing comes language, and each concept has its opposite taught with it. The

* Gift I Six soft coloured balls, blue, red, yellow, green, orange, and purple in colour.
Gift II Ball, cube, and cylinder, in wood, Little used in Kindergarten. Chiefly academic.
Gift III Cube-like box containing 8 one-inch wooden cubes.
Gift IV Box of equal shape and size, containing eight blocks, half the thickness of the former, and twice the length.

ball is thrown 'up' then 'down.' The left hand and the right are learnt in one lesson. It is as easy to the child to learn the proper word, in this way, as any simpler substitute for it. We have reached the law: on the object follows its name, on the deed the word.

Froebel gives a series of boxes, containing various kinds of bricks for building. These boxes are cubes in shape. The first is divided into eight smaller cubes, the second into eight brick-shaped blocks of equal size and shape; the third consists of twenty-seven cubes, some of which are divided diagonally into triangular halves and quarters; and the fourth consists of a cube made of brick-shaped blocks, divided in the same way. These four gifts, and especially the first two of them, are the back-bone of the Kindergarten. From them the child studies number, geometry, and the dividing of quantities. He listens to a history story, and makes of them, characters in the tale. They are horses in the hunt: soldiers in battle; houses and ghats in geography; boats, wells, trees, towns, worlds,—everything by turns, and nothing long. Fixed and solid as is their form, they are absolutely fluid to the child's imagination, at once his treasure and his friends. But they are made of wood; and to describe their form is to imply the skill and precision that went to their making. They cannot but be expensive. For an Indian Kindergarten, therefore, they are out of the question, unless they could be reproduced in earthenware, by the village potter, and so far, I have not once succeeded in having this done, often as I have tried. A substitute for the building gifts is to my own mind, one of the crying needs of the Indian child-garden. In America, however, with this perplexity in mind, I found that theorists did not consider the building-gifts absolutely essential to the Kindergarten. Prof. John Dewey, indeed,—one of the most distinguished thinkers on these questions—had discarded them altogether, and made large wooden blocks in their place, setting the children free to play with these on the floor, after the common manner of the unschooled child, making trains and engines, and so forth. "The child does not get out of these gifts what we imagine that he gets," was his brief reply, when I asked him his reason for the change. And a great English educator points out that these particular building-gifts are not the *only* way in which the child can be taught to think accurately, to count and divide and arrange. I have wondered, therefore, whether we might not make small *malas* of dried nuts or seeds,—a ring of eight for the first building-gift, and of twenty-seven for the third—and use these for the number-concepts that could be evolved from the bricks. In such a substitute, we miss, of course, the definition of form, and we miss also the freedom of manipulation, that go with the toys of Froebel's designing. But unless they can be imitated in half-baked clay, these last cannot be considered available, in India, on any sufficient scale.

NIVEDITA, OF RK.—V.

ARYAN LANGUAGES IN THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA

IN the first volume of the new edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India the chapter on Languages appears over the signature of Dr. G. A. Grierson. The learned author who conducted the 'Linguistic Survey of India', has considered and discussed the character of all the languages of India after having classified them under five families of human speech, namely, the Aryan, the Dravidian, the Munda, the Mon-Khmer and the Tibeto-Chinese.

The author's estimate of our mental training makes it doubtful whether we the people of India are at all capable of appreciating what has been dealt with in the chapter on

Languages. The author makes no secret of what he thinks, and writes as follows :—

"*Few natives* at the present day are able to comprehend the idea connoted by the words 'a language'. Dialects they know and understand. They separate them and distinguish them with a meticulous, hair-splitting subtlety, which to us seems unnecessary and absurd; but *their minds are not trained to grasp the conception*, so familiar to us, of a general term embracing a number of interconnected dialects."

Meticulous or overcareful study may be unnecessary and absurd; and the tracing of words to their roots by splitting their limbs, may appear ridiculous to the trained minds; but we fail to understand, because of our old and rotten ideas, how proper insight into the character of a language can be obtained without studying its grammatical structure by pursuing those obsolete methods. Had Dr. Grierson learnt Sanskrit and Bengali by these methods he would not have made himself the laughing-stock of all Bengal by asserting that the *bande mataram* song was addressed to the goddess Kali. But that is by the by. What has been appended in the name of grammar to the report of each Indian dialect, in the 'Linguistic Survey Reports,' (ably edited no doubt by scholars of much reputation), can hardly enable a man to pronounce an authoritative opinion in regard to the character of the dialects.

Be that as it may, I shall only examine here what the great Oriental scholar has said about the Aryan languages with which I am somewhat familiar. I set forth first of all the propositions which Dr. Grierson has given us to accept on his authority, and from which he has drawn all his conclusions. They are :—

(1) Modern Aryan languages were not derived from Sanskrit. "Some pastoral tribes" (long before the Vedic days) "found their way across the Hindukush", and spread their languages "over the whole of northern India as far as Dibrugarh in the extreme east of Assam" and Kanara, to the south of Bombay. All the modern vernaculars have their origin in the "patois of these pastoral tribes."

(2) The latest comers of the Indo-Aryans settled themselves in the so-called mid-land, by forcing the earlier immigrants "outward in three directions, to the east, to the south and to the west." "The latest comers would not necessarily be on good terms with their predecessors, who quite possibly opposed them as intruders, nor did they speak the same language." One particular Indo-Aryan dialect of these late comers, may be taken to represent the archaic language of the Rigveda.

(3) Sanskrit is the polished form of the archaic Vedic tongue, this polish was given to the Vedic by the grammarians, culminating in the work of Panini. This Sanskrit was never a vernacular, and even in olden times it was learnt as a second language.

(4) The outer languages (*i. e.* the languages derived from the patois of the earliest settlers), namely, Marhatti, Bengali, Oriya, &c., "remain unaffected in their essence, by the speech of the mid-land."

(5) The literary Bengali of the present day, is a false artificial language. Different dialects prevail in Bengal; and Mussalmani is one of them.

Coming to the last proposition, the readers may very well see that the opinion of the great scholar is fraught with some danger; for a time may come, when this opinion recorded in an authoritative book, *and expressed at a time when there does not* **seem** *to be any cause for dispute*, may prove weighty enough to crush the biased views of the ill-trained minds of the natives. We have to bear in mind the sinister indirect attempts already made to partition Bengal linguistically.

There are many European scholars, (not easily to be pushed aside as men wanting in mental training) who do not consider any of the above propositions to be correct,—though they possess knowledge of Indian languages. Had it not been so, it would have been difficult for us "natives" to say that we understood our own languages, and that these propositions, interesting because of their newness only, did not bear examination.

It is very difficult to meet Dr. Grierson, for he has not chosen to cite authorities or adduce reasons in support of his propositions beyond what he has added at the end of the Chapter by way of his own signature. Where he has adduced reasons, he has rather stated new propositions in the name of reasons, which stand equally in need of support. However, the questions are important; and I proceed to discuss them in logical order.

I. Earliest pastoral tribes and their languages.

As to the original cradleland of the prehistoric Aryans, nothing has yet been settled; and the oldest record of the Aryans, the *Vedas*, being far from replete with evidence as to their original home and migratory movements, the question relating to the appearance of Aryans in India is still a matter for careful inquiry and research. Dr. Grierson could take it for granted that those who had the archaic dialect of the Rigveda for their speech came to India by crossing the Indus, only because the philologists have been maintaining the proposition since long. But what facts are there to justify the author to take up the vague suggestion of Dr. Hoernle and to put it down with confidence that the patois of some pre-Vedic pastoral tribes had taken root in India before the Vedic dialect prevailed?

The evidence is declared to be linguistic and, it is said, has been obtained by Dr. Grierson while pursuing his Linguistic Survey. The method of reasoning, the facts set forth in support of the proposition, and the proposition itself, may be briefly stated thus:—The Aryan languages in use in Northern, Eastern and South-Western countries not only differ from the languages of mid-India but also differ from one another; the Vedic Aryans must have occupied the mid-land; hence it is established beyond any doubt that the languages other than those of the mid-land originated from the patois of some pastoral tribes who preceded the Vedic Aryans. All the dialects are admitted to be Aryan in origin, but as they differ from one another, their origin has been presumed to be different. The very fact that they are so many dialects, shows they must not be one and the same, and that they must have marked points of difference, even though they might have been derived from one and the same language. Dialectic variations took place because of distance and because of contact with other tribes or races; and thus it was that dialects were formed, as they are formed everywhere. But what points of essential difference were found to justify the conclusion have not been given us. On the other hand with reference to Dr. Grierson's remarks in the 'Report of the Census of India, 1901,' and in his monogram on the 'Pisacha languages,' I am constrained to say that the learned author has built a stupendous structure with very weak materials, on the foundation of a fancy of his own.

Need I make a statement of the well known truth that *it is grammar and not 'sound' or 'vocabulary' which gives a dialect its character?* Merely because some tribes use some words of Aryan origin, Dr. Grierson concludes that they are remnants in hilly countries of the old Aryan people. It is on the evidence of 'sound' and 'vocabulary' he has thought out different origins for some dialects of Northern India. Such reckless assumptions have brought philology into disrepute with all anthropologists, though philology as a branch of knowledge has a useful sphere of its own.

Dr. Grierson would not have been led to draw wholly upon his imagination—excited at the sight of some words—, if he had cared to analyse his summarily rejected Sanskrit, and then to follow the Prakritas of old, which being changed, all the modern Aryan dialects have been formed. It is impossible to do it here in order to show the unsoundness of Dr. Grierson's proposition, which is merely an assumption made at the suggestion of some words and certain sounds.

One word only regarding 'Sound' need be stated. "Shiboleth" test may be of practical value when two races remain apart from each other. But it must be borne in mind, that the pronunciation of words in a particular manner does not indicate peculiarity in the structure of the vocal organs but is due wholly to the *education* of the *ear*. If an infant born in England of pure English parents be nurtured wholly in an Indian home he will not display the peculiarities of English pronunciation, and will never mispronounce Indian names. Bengalis who have settled in Orissa but have not mixed their blood with the Oriyas, pronounce Bengali words in Oriya fashion with Oriya pronunciation and Oriya intonation. Not to speak of the higher caste people of Aryan descent, there is overwhelming evidence, that the very people whose environment has changed the pronunciation of even the Brahmans in East Bengal, do change their pronunciation when they settle in the district of Hugly. Thomson's 'Heredity' and

Baldwin's 'Social and Ethnical interpretations' may be referred to with profit.

Dr. Grierson requested Mr. Pargiter (who has recently retired from the bench of the Calcutta High Court) to show on a map the distribution of those people who were arrayed in the great Kurukshetra War, to see if the theory he has started at the suggestion of words and sounds, could get any support there from. He expected that the distribution would show ethnographical division of races under the Pandavas and the Kauravas. No one can question the fitness of Mr. Pargiter for the execution of the task. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April of this year publishes the learned paper of Mr. Pargiter, and a beautiful map has been appended to it. Excepting in one or two points the map is exactly what Mr. Pargiter published in 1896 in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I think that the position of Suhma was shown more correctly in the first map. But this is a digression. Dr. Grierson must have been greatly disappointed in not getting any support from the paper, for the facts disclosed go rather a great way towards demolishing his theory.

II. THE PLACE OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE IN ANCIENT AND MODERN INDIA.—

I cannot bring myself to imagine that Dr. Grierson, who is widely known to be a great Oriental scholar, has made his authoritative statements regarding our archaic and classical languages without possessing sufficient knowledge of them. Again it appears so strange that one having even very common acquaintance with the languages of old India could for a moment think that Sanskrit is the polished form of the Vedic language.

Those who commenced to call the literary language of olden days by the name 'Sanskrita' had not even the remotest idea as to when that language obtained its high position. Neither Panini nor his distinguished commentator of the second century B. C. —the author of the Mahabhashya, knew that the *Laukika Bhasha* which formed the subject matter of the grammar could be called in future by the name Sanskrit or polished language. Nowhere in the whole of the Mahabharata is there a single passage where the word 'Sanskrita' has been used for the language in question or for any language at all. Only in the rewritten Ramayana of a very late date, comprising the Uttarakanda, and composed in metres of many sorts, do we get the earliest evidence of the language of that book being called Sanskrit.

The grammarians who have been given the credit of having polished the Vedic language, called the Vedic language by the name *Chhandasa*, and described what is now called Sanskrit by the term *Laukika Bhasha* (or current language). I do not see any reason why Panini should have told a lie to the effect that the language of which he was then writing a grammar was then a *Bhasha* of the *Loka* or people; and I fail also to clearly see how such an audacious lie could be tolerated by Panini's contemporaries and successors. Dr. Grierson could not but have noticed the matter in Panini's book, when reading it, if he has read it at all, but he has not attempted to explain it away.

The great Oriental scholar must also have noticed in Panini's grammar, for which he has assigned a date ignoring Dr. Bhandarkar's opinion, that the Chhandasa language was an object of reverential study and nobody could even dare to handle it to reform it. Dr. Grierson must be presumed to possess some knowledge of the Vedic and later Sanskrit languages. Could he then not notice the fact that in moods and tenses and in other different forms of expression, the archaic Vedic language is *richer* than Sanskrit? It was then certainly a very bad polish which Panini gave to the Vedic language when he turned it on the lathe of his grammar. Panini's mental attainments have been highly spoken of by all European scholars. But it detracts greatly from his glory if to give a polish he made the language poorer.

We must acknowledge greatefully that western scholars have taught us and are teaching us how to make a critical study of things. But it is also true that from none but European scholars do we get at times theories which are only creatures of mere freaks of fancy.

Having given reins to his imagination Dr. Grierson has also found out some new meanings of old things. Merely from similarity of sounds he has inferred that the 'Pakthas' of the Rigveda are the modern Pathans. I would not have wondered if the Afridis, who are

called Apridis, were made the authors of the Apri hymns. It is regrettable that eminent and capable scholars sometimes neglect facts, and launch theories by sheer force of their superior mental training.

I refer the readers to the scholarly remarks of V. Fausboll in his preface to the 'Sutta-Nipata' (S. B. E. Vol X), wherein he shews that some portion of that book must be of very old date. Those richer forms of the Vedic language which we find wanting in the classical Sanskrit, were in use in the oldest Pali. The great scholar has pointed out that we meet with in the old Pali, "the fuller Vedic forms of nouns and verbs in the plural, ...the shorter Vedic plurals and the instrumental singular of nouns,.....Vedic infinitives.....and many other Vedic forms and words." That it is the Vedic language which in course of time assumed the form now known as Pali cannot be doubted.

It can be easily shewn that the language which Panini called *Laukika Bhasha*, and which very probably during the first century A. C. commenced to be called Sanskrit, did not differ much from the Chhandasa language, at the first stage of its evolution. A little later we find that Sanskrit is so allied to Pali that they cannot be said to be two different languages. Professor A. A. Macdonell has pointed out many instances of old Sanskrit forms in the preface to his excellent edition of Brihaddevata. That these forms agree with the Pali forms may be easily seen.

In connection with the learned paper of Mr. Rapson (J. R. A. S. 1904), wherein he has established successfully that Sanskrit was once a spoken language, Mr. Thomas shewed that if the text of the Pali inscriptions of Asoka's time, and the literal translations of the text in Sanskrit were placed side by side, one would find only such difference in pronunciation, &c., as always exists between the literary and spoken froms of the same dialect. Both the scholars stated it in clear terms, that "Sanskrit was a spoken language in precisely the same sense, as the literary English we all speak.'

How by the expansion of the Aryan possessions in India at distant centres different dialects arose by dialectic variations of one and the same language has also been described by Mr. Rapson. Sir Herbert Risley has very rightly remarked that without even resorting to the theory of patois-speaking hordes, the changes in the dialects of Central India can easily be explained. It has also been shown by Mr. Rapson that Sanskrit as a literary and standard language killed many provincial dialects and tried to kill many more that arose during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries. His analogy of literary English on the point is very apt; for this literary English has driven out many local dialects of England. The remark which Dr. Grierson then made need not be noticed, as there is nothing substantial in it.

Another fact may be mentioned. If the Bengali and Oriya languages be carefully studied, there will be no doubt left that those languages or dialects were derived from Pali. I cannot enter into such an analysis here, but I hope to show it in the papers which I intend to submit to the Sahitya Parishad of Bengal.

III. Is Literary Bengali a false language?

Now remains practically the only question in discussion as to whether the Bengali language of our literature is a false language. The remarks of Messrs Rapson and Thomas regarding Sanskrit, apply wholly to the literary Bengali. That this language has already driven out much of provincialism and is helping greatly towards bringing about a unity in respect of language throughout Bengal cannot be doubted by anybody. If Dr. Grierson had condescended to study the structure of the so-called different dialects of Bengal, he could not but have admitted, that they were not different dialects. Could literary Bengali be accepted so naturally by all people of all districts (including even the Mahomedans) if it had not exactly that position which literary English occupies amongst many provincial forms of the English language? The question is so simple that had it not been for the remark of such an eminent man, I would not have discussed it at all.

Even if we take it for granted that the remark of Dr. Grierson that the literary Bengali cannot be understood by the peasants easily, and that it has to be learnt by the ordinary people, is quite true; does that shew that it is an artificial language? Can the peasants and illiterate people of England understand the language which

Dr. Grierson uses in writing what he thinks? Is the language of the high class newspapers and reviews of England understood by the illiterate people of that country? Can high thoughts be expressed in the language used in ordinary conversation? Dr. Grierson considers it an unfortunate thing that the poems and essays of our literary men cannot be understood by the ordinary people, and so recommends the use of the language of daily conversation in expressing all thoughts. This can only be done if high thoughts be stifled and we write only popular ballads for the ordinary people. Why is it that Dr. Grierson does not lament over the sad condition which prevails in England where the people fail to understand and appreciate the effusions of poets from Chaucer to Tennyson without learning the English language properly in public schools? If in the language of Dr. Grierson, the growth of a "literary Bengali, may almost be called a national misfortune," and we must use the language that is used in conversation, we shall have the good fortune to get as many dialects as there are at least districts in the province of what once was Lower Bengal. Is it a consummation devoutly to be wished?

But it is only partially true that our common folk do not understand literary Bengali. They understand the Bengali Ramayan and Mahabharat and other poems written in literary Bengali; they understand the dialogue carried on by the actors in high-flown literary Bengali in *Yatras* (the indigenous theatrical performances of Bengal). Many a time have we noticed illiterate mothers bewailing the death of their children almost in the language used in Bengali books. But we must stop. For though Bengali be our mother-tongue, though we may have studied it, and written books in it, we are after all "natives" and must not presume to fathom the depth of a great European scholar's ignorance of Bengal and the Bengali language.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

NATIONALITY AND ITS BASIS*

TO write a complete paper on "Nationality" would be to write a book, for "Nationality" is a subject, so vast and varied in its aspects, that it is impossible to treat it from every point of view in the short space of a paper like this. I have, therefore, taken up only one aspect of nationality as the subject of this paper—namely the political aspect, or the nationality of the State.

A nation, as we all know, is a complex community, bound together by certain common sympathies. And the nation is national, in proportion as each member identifies himself with the common good of all the different communities that make up the nationality. For there may be, and there always are, many distinct communities, with aims and opinions of their own, making up a nationality. Nationality is the large circle that includes and embraces a number, large or small as the case may be, of other smaller circles. A man is first English before he is Liberal or Conservative—he is first an Indian before he is Hindu or Mahomedan. A Liberal has his own aims and opinions, a Conservative has his, but both the Liberal and the Conservative are bound by the same common aim, the good of England. Their differences of opinion in other matters melt into oblivion, when a national question is involved. For they are bound together by that all absorbing passion called "Patriotism," and common sympathies—sympathies that exist only between them and not with others—sympathies that make them willingly join hands under a common central government. Patriotism is in political life, what faith is in religion or integrity in social intercourse.

We see, therefore, that nationality is a vast and comprehensive circle including and embracing many smaller ones. But al-

* A paper read to the Indian Union Society of London, July 5th, 1908, by Mr. B. K. Das.

though, nationality has been made up of these other smaller ones, yet this circle, thus constructed, controls and governs all the others. Its power is supreme. Individuals must give in where nationality demands, for is not nationality a symbol of the Godhead? It is the central power, overriding and overruling those other forces that made it the central power. It possesses supreme authority, because it fulfills the whole. For the theory of nationality has its basis on the democratic theory of the all important supremacy of the general will. The general will has the greatest power, and therefore the power of nationality, which has been created by the general will, is supreme. Thus we see, that nationality is founded on the paramount supremacy of the general or collective will, any resistance to which is an act of treason.

The nation, thus constituted, stands on its own authority. It does not consider the rights and wishes of particular individuals. The variety of their interests is merged in it. It sacrifices their distinctive wishes and duties, to the higher and nobler claim of nationality. The child of individuals—it becomes more powerful than those very individuals. To illustrate this point is not difficult. The British cabinet was formed by Parliament—and now the cabinet is more powerful than the Parliament itself. Or to employ a more common simile: The human body is made up of different organs, each of which is essential. But the body as it thus stands completed, is more powerful than those different organs with which it was made up. Its interests are greater than the interests of each one of the organs.

So far we have seen that nationality is the sum total of a number of minor groups and communities; and that thus constituted, its power is higher, its authority greater than, and its interests supreme, over those of the smaller communities that built it up. If we look more closely, and examine more minutely the theory of nationality, we find that it is merely an extension of that family system, which was once the pride and glory of Ancient India, and which still exists, though its spirit seems to have been lost, in almost every part of India. In the family system we find different members constituting the family, each having his own ideals and his own separate interests—but when the interest of the family as a family is involved, the interests of these different members sink into nothingness. In the family we find brothers totally different from each other by nature and constitution, and yet bound together—and bound very closely—by the common interests of the family. The same patriotism that we found so absorbing in political lfe, we find in the family, for one aspect of patriotism is derived from private life. The original basis of patriotism was the idea of self-preservation—and this developed into a moral duty. So it is in the family. The family ideal, too, started with the instinct of self-preservation, for the different members of the family cannot prosper, if the family does not thrive, and gradually this idea, selfish and material in its origin, developed into a moral duty in which self was merged in self-less-ness.

Thus we see that nationality and the family system have their origin in the same idea, and that nationality is merely an extension—a development of the family, with a wider sphere of activity and a more comprehensive range. And because nationality covers such a wide area, it follows of necessity, that sometimes the interests of the family and those of nationality are antagonistic—that is when the family stands in the way of nationality. For we have seen before that nationality recognises no interests save its own, and all the divergent interests that stand in its way are swept aside and crushed. When the public weal is concerned, and national purposes are to be subserved private interests, and sometimes even private existence, must be sacrificed. Therefore the interests of the family are subordinate to those of nationality, as are all other interests. Then it follows, that one has to serve one's nation before one's family. This does not seem strange when one has grasped the theory of Nationality. Let us take again the example of the human body. Each organ or limb that builds up the body, is important no doubt, and must be saved and taken care of, if possible, at a tremendous cost and sacrifice. But if it comes to a question of either losing that organ or losing the whole body—then that organ must be sacrificed and not the body. This is a universal truism. The same is the relation between the family and the State. Each

and every family must be saved if possible; but when it comes to a question of either sacrificing the family or the State, then the family, and not the State, must be sacrificed. Therefore when one stands midway between the family and the State—when the family pulls him in one direction, and the State in another—it is the imperative duty of every man, who has a grain of national feeling left in him, to follow the State and sacrifice his family. For he must remember that the life of the State is more important than the life of the family—nay, the life of the State is essential to the life of the family, for if the State did not prosper, the family would be doomed; and therefore one would defeat one's own purpose by serving the family rather than the State.

It is the proper object of the family to mould and shape the character of the individual, to educate him during his period of minority. After that he is called out into an independent self-directive activity. Then nationality claims him for its own. The ties of the family still bind him, no doubt, but they bind him, with silken, not iron bonds. Then nationality gives leave to his individuality, so that individuality may add its quota of variety to the sum of national activity.

I have attempted so far, to explain the nature of nationality and to give an appropriate definition. We have seen that nationality is the unity of a number of different peoples or communities, bound by common sympathies. We have also seen that nationality is more powerful than those very forces that build it up, and that its claims are higher than the claims of the family or any other tie.

Now let us examine what is the basis of this feeling of nationality. If that basis is to be summed up in one single phrase, that phrase would no doubt be "Common Sympathies" as we have seen already. But this one phrase is not enough. For it may be asked and asked quite reasonably—what is the basis of "Common Sympathies" or in other words, under what conditions and between what people do common sympathies grow up? That is the question I shall now attempt to answer.

The first answer to this question that suggests itself to every mind is "Community of race, language and religion," that is common sympathies grow up among people of the same race, language or religion, or in other words, the basis of nationality is race, religion, or language. That is no doubt true to a certain extent. Community of these help and help materially—to the formation of Nationality, but they are by no means a necessary or essential factor. I mean diversity of race, language, or religion is not an insuperable bar to the building of nationality. This would no doubt seem a very audacious statement to some, but if we consider the point carefully we find that neither in reality nor in theory has diversity of race, language or religion ever stood in the way of nationality. If historical examples are needed they can be found in abundance. Ethnologically Switzerland—perhaps, the best governed country of Europe—is divided into three parts. They are either French or German or Italian;—one-third of the population speak French, one-third speak German, and one-third Italian. Neither in religion are they united. But did that in any way interfere when Switzerland rose to a man and claimed her inherent birth-right, independence? Take again Belgium, The Flemish provinces have very much more in common with Holland, and the Walloon provinces with France, than they have with each other—and yet are they not bound together by the common nationality of Belgium? Can hostility on account of diversity of religion attain a higher pitch than the hostility between the clericals and protestants that exists in France? And yet in spite of it, is not France a united nation? Are not the United States of America made up of people of different races and religions? One might go on citing example after example—for they are abundant. And the reason is as clear as daylight. For, after all, what does diversity of race or religion mean? Is it not merely that people of different races or religions have different opinions on certain subjects? Does it not amount to this only? My brother and I have different opinions on every subject under the sun—and yet are we not of the same family bound by the same ties? So is it in nationality. Its silken bonds bind together people of different races and religions.

Then, there is another basis of nationality—and it is on this that Mill puts the

greatest emphasis. It is argued that common historical traditions—a common national history, common pride and humiliation—is the strongest basis of nationality. Here again the same argument applies. Common historical traditions are no doubt a very strong basis of nationality. It was by this that the Italian nation was revived and Italy won her independence. But is it an essential basis? Did the people of Switzerland have any common historical traditions when they established their nationality? To what common historical event or glory could the Americans refer, when they formed themselves into a nation?—And so the examples multiply!

What then is the true basis of nationality? We see that it is neither community of race, language, or religion, nor common historical traditions. What then is it? What made the Swiss forget their differences and join hands under a common nationality?—What impelled the Americans to sink their differences and form themselves into a nation?

Let us go back to the family system for a moment—and we shall be able to answer this question. What is it that binds my brother and me although we feel and think differently on every question? Is it not merely the feeling that every stone and every brick, every creek and every corner of the family dwelling, belongs to me, me as well as to my brother? Is it not the feeling that we belong to the same common home?—the home! the home! Can any tie be greater or any claim stronger than that which binds together our home and us? So is it with nationality. The Swiss were fired with the thought that every hill and every dale—every stream and every river—every inch of land in Switzerland, was their own common property—theirs and theirs only.

Thus we come to the only true, the only real, the only essential basis of nationality—the same geographical boundary—the feeling that ours is the same homeland. Neither race nor religion, nor language can divide a people who are knit together by the same homeland—the same common soil. Man and soil are inseparably bound together—that is the essential basis of nationality.

And now I come to my real point. All this time I have been merely beating about the bush—so to say—but now I come to my real aim—the purpose that made me undertake to write this paper. My true object was to prove that India as it exists to-day is a nation, if only the Indians would realise that fact. There is nothing in the way, no real barrier—no insuperable difficulty—that can prevent the whole of India from being joined together under a common nationality. Of course we have been told from our childhood—taught by the British Government—that India can never be a United Nation, because there are so many races and so many religions. Let us refuse to listen to this—let us refuse to allow our minds to be drugged. Let us realise that the only basis of nationality—I mean the only essential basis—is a common soil, and that India possesses.

Then there is another point that the British Government is never weary of reminding us of. In season and out of season it is being dinned into our ears. "Not only have the Indians no common historical traditions," they say, "but what historical memories they have are fraught with bitterness! How can the Sikh and the Mahratta unite, how can the Hindu and Mahomedan unite? for were they not fighting with each other till we extended our benevolent rule and protected them"?

Yes, this seems to be the trump card of Government, for they end their argument with this, and we like so many school children, accept this view as gospel truth! Can we not retort and say: "How can the English and the Scotch unite, for were they not fighting with each other till modern times? Have the Scotch people forgotten—can they ever forget that treacherous deed of the English—the massacre of Glencoe?" Yes, we can easily retort by saying this. But this is not the only example we can cite. There existed in England itself two parties—two parties that went to war with each other and fought to the bitter end to settle their differences.—Those two parties still exist in England, though under different names. And yet were they not—have they not always been and are they not still under the same nationality? I refer to the Cavaliers and the Puritans, who went to war with each other—a war that resulted in the execution of King Charles I. After the war and the restoration, under the names of Whigs and Tories, these two parties still had their differences—and as Liberals

and Conservatives they retain those differences at the present day. Have they not bitter memories—these two parties? and yet do they not belong to the same common nationality?

No, let us refuse to be drugged, to be hypnotised, into the belief that we are not a nation, for we are, only we have to realise that fact. Do we not all, each one of us, belong first to India, before we belong to any sect or creed? To quote those exquisite lines of Sister Nivedita, "when a common hunger is fed by common harvests, when a common death is meted out by common famines, when a single burst of thanksgiving hails the advent of each season in its sequence, when a single wail is heard in the terror of rains withheld; when need is one, and hope is one, when fear is one and love is one, how can there be barriers dividing them? Those whom truth joins, how are human hypnotisms to divide?"

Does not every Indian heart swell with pride, when they hear that national song, "Bande Mataram"?

"My mother-land I sing,
Her splendid streams, her glorious trees,
The Zephyrs from the far-off Vindhyan heights,
Her fields of waving corn!
The rapt'rous radiance of her moon-lit nights,
The trees in flower that flame afar.
The smiling days that sweetly vocal are,
The happy blessed mother-land!

* * * *

Of splendid streams, of glorious trees,
My mother-land I sing!
The stainless charms that e'er endure,
And verdant banks and wholesome breeze,
That with her praises ring"

Does not this exquisite, this glorious song, speak of the India of the Hindu as well as of the Mahomedan, of the Sikh as well as of the Mahratta? Does not this song speak of the only India—the India that is the home of every Indian?

NOTES

Liberty *versus* Authority in Education.

We wish to call the attention of all educators to the article printed in this issue, on "Liberty *versus* Authority in Education." The paper has a value for all of us, transcending its more immediate and direct application, so clearly does it distinguish between the authority that is merely repressive and compelling, and the authority that gives shelter to the growth of liberty, even in the earliest stages of development. Besides this, the paper affords us a glimpse into the perplexities and ideals of western civilisation. The strife of wills which it describes is perhaps an inevitable result of individualism carried to excess; and if we are to embark on such a phase of evolution it is all important that we should, from the beginning, carry with us the corrective of appropriate saving ideals. Many forces in the life of to-day are propelling us in the direction of smaller family-groups and greater social isolation in cities. While we yield to these influences, as we must do, more or less, let us not forget the sweetness and glory of our past. Let us never decry the deep civilisation of our communal life, in home and village, where the old and the young form a common care, and find a common happiness, where labour is shared, and the social will is expressed through the individual, in sweetness and sacrifice. Keeping a firm hold on these virtues and achievements of our *dharma*, we shall be the better able to make our advance in isolation an advance also in that mutual generosity which is 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.'

But there is a more direct and obvious value in the paper published, than any of these. It is true that the estrangement here described as between parent and child, is somewhat startling to the Indian mind. It is true that the principle laid down by the writer, has been enunciated in the famous Sanskrit maxim, "after sixteen, a father should treat his son as his friend." But, on the other hand, if for parent we substitute teacher, or school master, throughout this paper: if for 'home,' we read school or college, we shall find the method described, and the question discussed, exceed-

ingly illuminating. There can be no doubt that now, and for some years to come, **education is our national function.** It is a function that no other can perform for us. When Prof. Geddes, commenting on Sir Henry Craik's remarks on this subject, said recently that the last persons to be entrusted with the problem of its future direction were those "wooden heads," the Europeanised lawyers and others, whom Government Education in this country had already turned out, he was wrong. Wooden-headed as some of us may be, it is we ourselves, and no other on our behalf, who have now, consciously and deliberately, to undertake the problem of our own education. We *dare* not leave it longer to others. We cannot longer profess the confidence that would make it possible to do so. Some of those who have been called 'wooden-headed' will undoubtedly be led to interest themselves in this great task. What then? They are surely not *more* 'Europeanised' than Europeans themselves! They have a love for their own land, and a sense of responsibility for the future of their own people, to which it would be absurd for Europeans to lay claim. And however superficially Anglicised they may be, their sub-conscious knowledge and associations are all Indian through and through. We do not deny that they are likely to make some mistakes. But we do deny that their mistakes are likely to be in any sense so serious or so misleading as those of foreigners. Better the very woodenest of these wooden heads of our own, than the utmost mechanical perfection of outsiders. From the point of view of the wooden-head himself, again, it may be asked, why is he wooden? Is it not just because he has had no opportunity of *applying* his education, such as it is? He has a right to carry all the responsibilities, and do all the duties, of a **man.** Only by facing these can he rise into the fulfilment of his own humanity, and become truly virilised. As W. J. Bryan said of self-government, so we of education: "It is always only a relative term: No people do it so well that they could not be improved, and none so badly, that it might not be worse." We must begin where we are. We must express ourselves, nay, we have a right to express ourselves, and by self-expression, by steadily proceeding from known to unknown, to achieve our own development.

Decrease in the means of Higher Education.

There is an impression abroad that the authorities are feeling their way towards a progressive decrease in the means of Higher Education. In the name of the importance of the vernaculars and the sacred necessity of primary teaching, we expect to see the collective intellect of our people degraded in status, and opportunities which of old were democratised in India, shut off and reserved for the privileged (and usually uneducable) classes. It is felt that this is what Sir Henry Craik's criticisms are intended to support. It is the secret also of the East Indian Association's deliberations in London on this same subject. Now from the point of view of shrewdness, and intensification of race-divisions, this may seem to a privileged few as statesmanship. But those who think it so have seriously mistaken the nature of Modern India. A like process might as well have been attempted in the Scotland of sixty years ago, or the Germany of the late fifteenth century. For India, like those countries, is the land of the poor scholar.

In the perfectly organised offence of Lord Curzon against us, no part essential to the creation of bitterness and distrust was lacking. Yet he takes but a superficial view, who does not understand that the blade of that dagger was the Education Act, the edge put upon it the Convocation Speech, and the handle by which it was grasped, the Partition of Bengal. These three things fitted together, with a delicacy and precision that otherwhere might have been admirable, to make a weapon whose impression, whose memory could never be undone. But the Education Act, silent as we seemed, was the overwhelming, incontrovertible fact that convinced all parties, and made all India conscious of the supreme divergence of her own interests and those of the rulers. Further efforts in the same direction, then, will have effects that no Government can overcome. Education is the one thing on which we Indians shall never consent to relinquish our hold. Important as is Industrial Reconstruction, important as is the National Awakening in

all directions, we Indians, whatever our caste or creed, never forget that man exists for knowledge, and that the limitation of knowledge is *a-dharma* or unrighteousness The problem before us, then, is one of Self-Education, and we welcome nothing, as we welcome contributions towards the Philosophy of Education.

The New Education Movement in England.

The New Education Movement in England originated some twenty years ago, with a few parents and teachers who were eager to revise the theory and practice of education in the light of the truth that the nature of the child himself, and the law of his own development must be the final criterion in determining the method by which he shall be taught. This teaching founded itself on the Return to Nature of Rouseau, as worked out in the experiments of Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, and others. In England, one of the earliest, as he is still the most authoritative and distinguished of the New Education thinkers and workers, has been Ebenezer Cooke, who began the accumulation of the knowledge now classified as Child-Study. Some of the work of Ebenezer Cooke is to be given in the "Modern Review" in coming numbers.

Methods of Education.

Few subjects are at present regarded amongst us as of greater importance than methods of Education. The National Education movement has given scope which was much needed, to our love of country and sense of responsibility in this matter. And the result is not to make us desire to go back to the past, and become petrified there, but rather to make us thirst for the utmost that is known to-day, that we may assimilate and attempt to re-apply it. We have a use for the best that the world has attained in our schools and colleges of the present and the future. For this reason we welcome the papers on the Kindergarten, of which the first is printed in this number, and others are to follow. We hope that they will stimulate effort and enquiry in this direction. Every teacher of young children would do well to take up the problem of the child-garden-school of India, as Froebel himself saw it for Europe, and see what he can make of it. It is certain that we have to find a new application of the principles discovered by Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Cooke. And it is also certain that everyone should be able to contribute towards that re-application.

'English-educated Indians sterile.'

When Englishmen blame Macaulay and men of his way of thinking for laying the foundations of English education in India, they do so mainly because they think that the study of English history and literature has roused political aspirations in our hearts. Still there is some truth in the following observations of Meredith Townsend in his "Asia and Europe":—

> The picture of a population * * in which the class most eager to be instructed, is, when instructed, sterile, is a painful one, and will be held by many minds to justify those, * * who a generation ago, bestirred themselves to resist the idea of Macaulay, that culture should be diffused in India through English studies. They maintained that true instruction would never be gained by an Oriental people through a Westen language, that Education in English would be productive of nothing but a caste, who, like the 'scholars' of the middle ages, would be content with their own superiority, and would be more separated from the people than if they had been left uneducated, that in short, English Education, however far it might be pushed, would remain sterile. They pressed for the encouragement and development of the indigenous culture, and would have had High Schools and Universities, in which men should have studied, first of all, to perfect the languages, and literature, and knowledge of their own land. They fought hard, but they failed utterly, and we have the Baboo, instead of the thoroughly instructed Pundit," (p. 327).

The Necessity and Importance of Technical Education in India.

It goes without saying that the necessity and importance of Technical Education and the desirability of having Technical Institutions working side by side with those intended for general education (Primary and Secondary) are receiving a great deal of attention in these days. My own experience is that an efficient and properly equipped Technical school is the necessary complement of a general school. Boys failing to secure success in the general arts course are not infrequently found to come out successful in some one of the technical or industrial studies for which their nature, aptitude and inclinations fit them. The terrible increase in the number of failures in the Matriculation examinations of late leaves a large number of unemployed and imperfectly educated youths who are sure to turn their attention to some of the useful branches of

study open to them on the industrial or technical side. Many of the High School students who out of sheer necessity turn their attention to professional studies and become reporters, typists, book-keepers, printers, maistries, etc., are found quite competent to receive sometimes much higher salaries than even University graduates. From this it can safely be asserted that there is a growing appreciation on the part of the public to avail themselves of the facilities that technical schools generally afford, and that with increased funds, the work of these institutions can be made more efficient and useful to them. The plea sometimes urged that industrial activity on the part of the public should precede or be a *condition precedent* to the opening of technical schools on the part of the Government is in my opinion quite untenable at present and unsuited to the condition of a people who look up to Government for every initiative. Every technical school which in addition to a course of scientific study imparts mechanical training of some kind or other serves from the educational stand-point more than the purpose of a museum or an exhibition, and when such technical institutions are placed side by side with general schools and under the same management so as to admit of an interaction, the influence they exert on each other is very wholesome, especially now when the modifications in the University curriculum require a practical knowledge of the subjects, taught in general schools, such as practical geometry, drawing, mensuration, etc.

This would thoroughly justify an expenditure of public funds on technical schools, especially on those that are conducted along side of schools intended for general education, more than is at present allotted to them by Government or by public bodies.

R. SUBRAMANIA IYER,
Superintendent, Native Technical Institute, Trivandrum.

Service and Self-Sacrifice.

We extract the following remarks from a review in the *Daily News* of 'Home life in Germany' by Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick, Methuen, 10s. 6*d*.

It is true that the whole standpoint and place in civilization of a people are indicated by the manner in which it regards its women. That this also will fix the character of its home-life is not less true. And Mrs. Sidgwick is emphatic when she says that generally in Germany the woman is regarded as the inferior of the man: "It is impossible for an English woman to be in Germany without feeling, if she understands what is going on around her, that she has suddenly lost caste." She must stay there some time before she can realise the difference in its full extent, but there are small things that will strike her at once. In the tramcar a man will not think of offering his seat to a lady. He will not carry a parcel for her in the street, or open a door for her, or offer any of the small services which an Englishwoman expects to receive. He may be lavishly complimentary if he is not on terms of close acquaintance, and kindly and concerned for her well-being if he is; but in either case he will not forget that she is a woman.

"The German ideal for women is one of service and self-sacrifice." In the German home the housewife occupies a place which often, in the eyes of her English sister at least, makes her a drudge. She rises early. In households where in England two or three maids would be kept, she has but one help, cooking herself, and superintending the work of the day to the smallest detail. She prides herself on the fact, and her feeling of contempt, though it is often indulgent contempt, for what she regards as the typical English housewife is in the sum of it a not unimportant contribution to the national view of England and the English people.

"My son is in England," you hear a German mother say, "I fear he may marry an Englishwoman."

"They sometimes do."

"It would break my heart. The women of that nation know nothing of housekeeping. They sit in their drawing-rooms all day, while their husband's hard-earned money is wasted in the kitchen. Mein armer Karl."

Had such a description been written of Indian women, it would be everywhere quoted by Christian missionaries as evidence of the degradation of women under Hinduism or Islam. As it is written of Germany, can it be due to Christianity? The situation would have pleased St. Paul. The position of women in northern Europe in pre-Christian times was certainly superior to their position as indicated in Mrs. Sidgwick's book.

Do Indian women ever regard the typical Englishwoman with feelings of 'indulgent contempt?' We have suspicions that it may be so. We have heard so much of the opinions of Englishwomen about Indian women that it would be refreshing to reverse the situation. And what after all is wrong in an ideal of service and self-sacrifice for any one?

The Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission.

In the Madras Presidency and elsewhere the 'untouchable' classes inferior to the Sudras in social status are known as Panchamas, or the fifth class. Their condition

is truly deplorable. Efforts are being made in a few places to better their condition. Mr. K. Ranga Rau, the self-sacrificing Superintendent of "The Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission," writes to us :—

"Our school has now 54 pupils who besides getting free education, books, clothing, are given one free meal a day at noon. There are five boarders who live permanently in the school premises for education and training in industries. An industrial institute attached to the school is also maintained which at present works six fly-shuttle looms. It is now proposed to start a small colony of some 60 or 70 Panchama families. I have purchased seven acres of land for the purpose and am moving the Government for grants of some 10 or 15 acres of additional ground. The Panchamas here are a peculiarly miserable people living in scattered huts on other people's land as mere tenants-at-will. Any attempt on the part of these people to improve—even the wearing of a clean cloth or the carrying of a cloth-umbrella, provokes the resentment of other classes and often invites bodily injury. It is believed that this colony scheme, which will enable some families to live in one compact neighbourhood, will afford facilities for bringing about the amelioration of these helpless people."

We make a few extracts from the speech which Mr. Ranga Rau made on Nov. 20, 1907, on the occasion of the opening of the Industrial Institute for the Depressed Classes at Mangalore :—

On account of its situation in the village, the school suffered much trouble from neighbouring people for a time. They heaped poudrette at the gate and some of them used the boundary wall that was close to the school windows as their latrine. One of the two schoolmasters, who was himself a Panchama, was often ill-treated, his clothes were torn and his umbrellas broken, and he was once so severely belaboured in the presence of his pupils, that a complaint was lodged before the Magistrate. At my request Mr. Justin Boys paid frequent visits to the school with his European friends, which made an impression on the people that my school was a Government institution and this sort of persecution consequently stopped.

Another difficulty in the path of Panchama progress is this. They are as a class day labourers who live on other people's land as mere tenants-at-will. The landlords who are in most cases low caste men resent their Panchama tenants sending their children to school and press them to vacate their buildings. The Bolur school suffered much in attendance on accout of this trouble. These poor people enjoy no sympathy of the village officials and are themselves incapable of communicating their grievances to the higher Revenue authorities and have consequently no hope of becoming owners of even small patches of waste ground directly under the Government on assessments of 4 or 8 annas.

It is an extremely difficult task to secure the regular attendance of Panchama pupils. For two years I gave cash presents to pupils at the rate of 2 to 6 pies per pupil daily according to their age. For one year and a half, I gave them a daily meal at noon, merely to keep the institution afloat. The Panchamas live in scattered places and not in a compact neighbourhood. Little children have thus to come from a distance of 2 to 3 miles and starve the whole day. I am of opinion that no Panchama school in our District can thrive unless food is provided to the children and a small industrial department is attached to the school.

Work like that which Mr. Rau is carrying on under immense difficulties deserves the hearty support of all men and women.

Mr. Stead on terrorism.

Mr. Stead writes as follows on the use of bombs as a political weapon :—

The analogy between the Tsar and Viscount Morley of Blackburn, always close enough, is becoming closer still now that the mild Hindoo has taken to emulating the bomb-throwing Russians. It is unfortunate, this outbreak of assassinating fury, but it will be as impotent in India as it has been in Russia. Bombs are like measles, they annoy; they are not fatal like smallpox, they kill individuals here and there, but the body politic experiences nothing more than a series of pin pricks from the most successful assassinations. They are justifiable only as a desperate and sensational method of advertising discontent. In India there are so many less objectionable and not less effective methods that it is earnestly to be hoped that the attempt to acclimatise in Asia the most ruthless and useless crime of the West will speedily be abandoned. If the Indians really desire to convince their rulers that they are in earnest, let them stick to the boycott. One effective boycott carried out peacefully but resolutely is far more embarassing than a dozen assassinations. Witness the effects of the Chinese boycott of American goods a year ago, and the excitement that has been caused by the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods at Canton. Dynamite is the refuge of despair. To employ a bomb is to admit that you are at the end of your resources. Whereas, if the truth be told, the discontented in India have still a whole pack of good cards up their sleeves."

We agree. We suspect, however, that Englishmen who have no Indian experience do not know that the boycott and other passive resistance methods are not quite so easy to employ in India as in China or other independent countries. In China the Government is with the people in their attempt to boycott American or Japanese goods; in India the ruling classes are bitterly opposed to the boycott of British goods.

Female Education in the United Provinces.

We are very glad to learn that Miss Vidyawati Seth, a Hindustani girl belonging to a respectable orthodox Hindu family of Oudh, has this year passed the Matriculation examination of the Allahabad University. We do hope where she has led, others will follow. We are also pleased to note that Miss Nirmalini Bose, a Bengali Hindu girl of Oudh, has passed the B. A. examination of the Allahabad University. We trust she will use her knowledge and training for the good of her sex.

We are very glad to read in the *Advocate* that Miss Vidyawati is

> the first Hindustani girl from an orthodox respectable Hindu family of Oudh, we may say from the United Provinces, who has passed the Entrance examination. We congratulate her and her father Babu Brij Behari Seth of Biswan, District Sitapur, Accountant of the Examiner's Office, Bareilly, on her success. Seth Brij Behari is an ardent advocate of female education; in spite of the jeers of the backward people, he broke the *parda* and gave his daughter the benefits of school education. We hope he will succeed in the noble ideal set by him, that of allowing Miss Vidyawati to become a graduate, so that she may devote herself to the furtherance of female education in these Provinces.

The efforts made by the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces to spread female education are commendable.

Are Indians fit for self-government?

Mr. Ratanshaw Koyasji, B.A., LL. B., solicitor, of Blantyre, Nyasaland, contributes a telling letter to *India* on the above subject and quotes the following words of the late Mr. Anstey:—

> "We are apt to forget when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal government and Parliamentary government, that the East is the parent of municipalities. Local self-government, in the widest acceptation of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what portion of that country, there is not a portion of Asia, from West to East, from North to South, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are well bound together as in a species of net-work, so that you have ready made to your hand the framework of a great system of representation, and all you have to do is to adopt what you have there. ...Take the case of China. I happened to be called upon to prepare a scheme of police administration for that portion of China which has fallen into our dominions. What did I do? Did I go to Germany, or the United States, or England in quest of models? No, I looked across to Canton: they had the tithing, the hundred, the shire, the province and the kingdom. I adopted that system, and that is the system by which I believe that part of our dominions is goverened at this day. Take Bengal; open that most admirable of all collections of State papers, the celebrated Fifth Report of the Committee of 1811, and read there if you wish to know of what mighty things the municipal system of India is capable....Now let me go to what we call political representative government on a large scale. Can any man who has in his memory the marvellous history of the Sikh Commonwealth tell me that the natives of India are incapable not only of sending delegates to a Council sitting in Calcutta or Bombay or Madras or Agra, but if the emergency required it, of governing themselves? What was the case of the Sikh Commonwealth? Who were the Sikhs when their prophet first found them out? Poor miserable stravelings from Bengal, of whom their great founder, knowing well the stuff from which Asiatics were made, looking with a prophetic eye into the future, said, 'I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle.' In comparison with the great dynasty of Aurangzebe, it was the sparrow as compared to the eagle, and in less than a century the sparrow did strike the eagle....We ought to profit by the moral, and we ought to believe that those poor Bengalees who in three generations (for it only required three generations to effect that marvellous change) were able to found a Commonwealth, may be reasonably considered to be fit to exercise the much less exalted function of meeting village by village, taluq by taluq, and there, electing in their own quiet way, some spokesman on their behalf to go and confer with the Sircar. For that is the meaning of representative Government."
>
> "Let us not be frightened by that bugbear incapacity; there is no nation unfit for free institutions. If you wait for absolute perfection, the world will come to an end before you have established your free institutions; but you must take the world as it is, and there is no nation so ignorant but knows its wants; or some of its pressing wants; there is no nation so poor, but it has some proprietary or possessory interests for the perfection of which it is solicitous; and there is no nation which is not entitled, therefore, with a view to its own wants, or what it conceives to be its wants and interests, to be heard in its own defence."

It is opposed to the interests of some people to admit that we are fit for self-government. It is they who pervert history and invent falsehoods. Of course, we are not absolutely fit;—no nation is.

"The Cities of Buddhism."

In an article on The Cities of Buddhism, which appeared recently in this magazine, the writer, Sister Nivedita, followed out an induction which led to the conclusion that from 250 B. C., onwards, the Buddhist monks in India lived in abbeys or monasteries outside the walls of cities, and represented socially the democratic idea. In support of this inference, it gives us great pleasure to call attention to a striking quotation from a classical writer in Europe,

found on page 133 of General Sir A. Cunningham's work on "The Bhilsa Topes."

About a century later (A. D. 270-303) the learned Porphyrius divided the Gymnosophists (or half-naked philosophers of India) into two classess, the *Brachmanes* and *Sramanoei*: the former being a family or tribe, the latter a mixture of all classes. The *Sramanoei* or Sramanas shaved their heads, wore nothing but a stole or tunic, abandoned their families and property, and lived together in colleges outside the city walls. Their time was spent in holy conversation, and at the sound of a bell they assembled for prayers; for the monks no longer begged their daily bread, but each received his dish of rice from the king.

"The Orient in London."

A correspondent in London writes to us, under date of the beginning of July:

The Evangelical world in London has been all agog during the past month, attending the *spectacle* in the Agricultural Hall that is somewhat libellously known as "The Orient in London." Evangelical Christianity is famous for its antagonism to the theatre. But here the theatre may be said to have come to the Evangelical. For the main feature in this exhibition is a kind of Geographico-Christian pageant, and the principal performers in this, are obviously recruited from the dramatic profession.

The pageant is melodrama, of a very blatant and embarassing type, throughout. The scenic background and chorus involves an enormous number of performers. But the "Orient in London" (why *Orient*, particularly?) "draws" immensely. Clergy and pious persons of both sexes throng to the scene. Undoubtedly, the undertaking proves a great financial success.

Morally, one feels that the secret of its popularity lies in the food it supplies to the national vanity. These English remind one, in their religion, of the Pharisee, famed in their own scriptures, who stood up and prayed, "Oh Lord, I thank thee that—**I am not as other men are!**...I fast twice in the week. I give alms of all that I possess." Throughout the Pageant of 'From Darkness to Light,' John Bull is laying like flattering unction to his soul. "Lo, I am not as other men are, nor even as these heathen!" We doubt very much about his inner mussings flying up, or his thoughts being birds that seek very earnestly, as he watches, to soar above himself.

Persons who are emancipated, by reason of their birth, from this intoxication of egoism that afflicts the simple Briton, wonder at many things. The leather masks worn by some of the Africans, in the second episode, where the meeting of Livingstone and Stanley is depicted, strike them as a blasphemy against humanity. It is strange that the *missionary*, letting one into the secret of his real thoughts about other races, should find it necessary to commit the sacrilege of caricaturing man, in the name of a higher faith! The enthusiasm with which the African people are made to sing, at the entry of Stanley, "*The white man, with his guns, and flags*," is a revelation as to the portrait of himself that the European most sincerely admires.

The third, and only strictly Oriental, episode, deals with India. Here the missionaries, apparently in perfect unconsciousness, portray a marriage of Madrasis in the first scene, as of a local family of Benares in the second! The implication is, further, that they are Kali-worshippers! An impossible child, in this curious *melange*, comes running to the missionaries with the statement that she hates, hates, hates, her husband of three years' standing, and refuses to go to the father-in-law's house. Here is the opportunity for much animadversion on child-marriage. But the official element is uppermost in the white man. He does not intervene. Four or five years pass by, and the couple, now evidently well-known in Benares, are portrayed on the Manikarnika Ghat. The man is dead, and the wife about to commit sutte. The usual ceremonies are gone through, and the fire is about to be lighted, when an official appears on the scene, and stops the sacrifice of the woman, in the name of the newly-made law, which latter, we are expected to infer, owes its origin to the missionaries. It is always easy to expose the religion of others to ridicule, while we hold ourselves up to envy and admiration. But the Procession chorus of Kali-worshippers, and the Chorus of mourners, are two items that deserve quotation, to show how the thing is done in the present case.

PROCESSION CHORUS.

"Kali! Kali!
Uma! Parvati!
Hamavati!
We come to you
With blood,—
With the blood of goats and rams,—
With the blood of sheep and lambs.

Durgama is cruel!
Durgama loves blood!
Did she not slay the mighty Durga?
Did she not shake the whole earth
With her dancing?
Till Shiva, her husband,
Flung himself under her feet
And saved the world?
Kali is cruel,—
Her eyes are red,—
Her breasts are covered with blood,—
Her girdle is of dead men's hands,—
Her necklace is of dead men's skulls,—
Her earrings are dead men's bodies.
Hamavati!
Uma! Parvati!
Kali! Kali!"

CHORUS OF WOMEN.

"Aiyo! Aiyo!
Why did you leave us?
Why did you leave us?
Was your wife not good to you?
Did she not cook well for you?
Aiyo! Aiyo!

"Durgama is cruel!
Did she not slay the mighty Durga?"

is somewhat obscure here. Doubtless some missionary could elucidate the point. And who is "Hamavati," pray?

The women of the crowd gather round the young widow, who is about to sacrifice herself on her husband's pyre, and salute her **by touching her head** with their hands, and then touching their own heads. Is this not an extraordinary revelation of missionary ignorance, regarding common Hindu customs and associations. Another point that calls for note in this amazing scene, is the impropriety of the manners of European women, when dressed in Hindu costumes. No Indian can have seen this particular episode without becoming painfully aware of this. It adds to the irritation and anger that he suffers as he watches. It insults and outrages him. Yet this particular impertinence is entirely unintentioned. The women on the stage are utterly unaware of seeming bold or brazen in glances and conduct. The beautiful bearing and manners of the Indian woman have passed unnoticed, unimitated, that is all!

Above and beyond all these trifles, however, it will be news to most of us that the missionaries were the prime movers in the abolition of Suttee in India, as they intend us to understand, from their inclusion of the event within their pageant. No Indian must ever be allowed to forget that it was we ourselves, the Indian people, in the person of Ram Mohun Roy, who initiated the movement, and demanded the law, that put an end to Suttee. The whole history of this matter ought unquestionably to be worked out and recorded, by an Indian hand.

We envy the missionary his geographic knowledge: we pity him for all the use he is able to make of it. The Pageant itself does not exhaust the "Orient in London." This includes also an exhibition drawn from many countries. On this, I trust to write in a future letter.

Indians in South Africa.

Indians in the Transvaal are again being subjected to various indignities and persecution. Many of them have already gone to jail rather than submit to unjust and insulting laws. It seems the Colonists are not content with ill-treating male Indians, but have begun to subject Indian women to barbarous and cowardly treatment. *Indian Opinion* in its issue of the 13th June publishes news of a gross and inhuman insult to Indian women in one of the Natal jails, where an Indian woman who was imprisoned for not having paid the £3 poll tax, had her head shaved. It is said that this is a rule of the jail in the case of Indian women prisoners. It is said to be the rule in the Durban jail as well. We do not wish to excite the contempt of the civilised world by giving way to impotent rage. Let Indians try by every legitimate means to grow strong, united and prosperous, so that a day may come when the cowardly bullying of our countrymen abroad will cease. Appeals to the sympathetic feelings of British statesmen are worse than useless. In this world people get and deserve to get only what they can take. Whining is unmanly.

A meeting was recently held in Bombay to consider the grievances of the Indians in the Transvaal and place them before the British public. The tone adopted was manlier than usual, and that is the only hopeful feature of the situation.

The Aga Khan, who presided, said they should all, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, Sikhs or Parsis, unite in carrying on throughout this country an agitation such as had never before been known in this peninsula, for securing the repeal of those laws which were most insulting to the Indian people and their

religions. For years past he had been conscious that in fairness the Imperial Government should allow the Government of India to pass Acts penalising citizens of the colonies in question when they came to India. The excuse given by the Imperial Government that they could not interfere in the affairs of a self-governing colony was in his opinion absolutely insufficient. There was a way out of it and it was to allow the Government of India to retaliate through its Legislature and he thought they would succeed in time in awakening an interest in the English public in this matter if they carried on their agitation in a persistent and determined manner. His Highness moved the following resolution: "That this meeting protests against the recent anti-Asiatic legislation in the Transvaal Colony in the shape of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act and Immigration Restriction Bill and requests the immediate repeal of the said Acts so far as they affect British Indians in the Transvaal."

In Rhodesia and other colonies also Indians are being treated as though they were not men.

The health of three provinces.

In East Bengal and Assam in 1907

"On a population of 29,812,735 in areas where registration is seriously attempted the recorded birth-rate per mille was 37·01 compared with 37·38 in the preceding year and with 39·31, the average of the previous five years. The recorded death-rate was 29·30, compared with 31·67 in the preceding year and with 32·19, the average of the previous five years.

So that though the birth-rate has fallen, the fall in the death-rate has been more marked. The situation is, therefore, not entirely unsatisfactory.

Turning to Bengal, we find that in the same year 1907, the birth-rate was 37·70 per mille of population, against 37·32 per mille returned in 1906. The ratio of deaths per mille was 37·72, against 36·08 in the previous year and 34·63, the average of the previous quinquennium. Thus in Bengal the birth-rate has risen very slightly, but the death-rate has risen to a much greater extent and has been slightly higher than the birth-rate. It is also to be observed that the death-rate has been steadily rising in Bengal.

Let us now look at the figures for the United Provinces, which are still considered a healthy region by Bengalis and other outsiders.

The number of births registered was 1,963,963 as against 1,918,425 in 1906, and the rate per 1,000 of the population was 41·18 as against 40.22 in 1906 and a quinquennial average of 44·2. But the number of deaths increased from 1,863,336 in 1906 to 2,072,536 in 1907, and the death rate from 39·07 to 43.46, the quinquennial average being 38·12.

The following table gives a comparative view of the health of the three provinces in 1907.

Province.	Birth-rate,	Death-rate.	Difference
E. B. & Assam.	37.01	29.30	+7.71
Bengal	37.70	37.72	−.02
U. P.	41.18	43.46	−2.28

This shows that in the United Provinces both the birth-rate and death-rate has been higher than in the other two provinces, and that healthy Hindustan shows a greater excess of the death-rate over the birth-rate than elsewhere. The quinquennial average death-rate was also much higher the in U. P. than in the two Bengals. As the U. P. Government says :—

The statistics given in the report afford food for very serious reflection and indicate a state of affairs calling for the anxious consideration of the Government and the local authorities. The birth-rate is below and the death-rate above the normal. The provincial death-rate was surpassed only by that of the Punjab.

No proof is required for the assertion that under British rule the United Provinces have until recently been healthier than United Bengal. It is matter of common knowledge. But it may not be so generally known that though during the Mussalman period Bengal was known as "the paradise of the regions," and "the paradise of India," it was not so healthy as Upper India. A friend who has studied the original Persian historical works on India carefully has kindly furnished us with the following proofs for the statement made above.

(1) Aurangzib wrote to one of his *mansabdars:* "you complain of the small amount of revenue that can be collected from the *jagir* you have obtained. If you want, I can give you a *jagir* in Bengal in lieu of it; Bengal is hell full of bread *(dozakh-i-pur-nan)*."

(2) Shihabuddin Talish, the historian of the conquest of Assam, writes in his preface: "My object in writing this book is that some courtier, reading it, may take pity on me and place me under lasting obligation by rescuing me from the whirlpool *(ghirkab)* of service in Bengal."

(3) Shuja wrote to Shah Jehan from Bengal: "We are suffering great misery here. If you add only one *pargana* of Bihar to my *Subah* of Bengal, then keeping my children there I can live in peace of mind." Shuja resided in Rajmehal. We wonder how much more unhealthy Dacca must have seemed to him.

May we enquire why Hindustan is growing unhealthier year by year? The U. P. Government of course says that "the grievous mortality from plague is responsible for this rise" in the death-rate. But what is plague due to? We have always contended that it is due to the poverty of the people, joined to their ignorance of and pecuniary inability to observe sanitary rules. Sir John Hewett will convene a sanitary conference in September next. This may do some good. But we do not think there can be any lasting and steady improvement in the health of the people under his charge unless he goes to the root of the matter, and, by permanent or long term settlements of the land revenue on substantially reduced rates, by an Industrial revival, and by a wider spread of education, succeeds in improving the material and moral condition of the people. In his Province infant mortality has been simply appalling,—"higher than in any province except the Central Provinces."

Infant mortality was slightly higher than in the preceding year though less than in 1905. The Lieutenant-Governor however deeply regrets the marked tendency to increase shown by the infantile death-rate. The average for the period 1891—1900 was 229·4, whilst that for the first six years of the present century was 248·5 and the death-rate for 1907 was 352·2.

We have already stated that in Muhammadan times Bengal was probably not so healthy as Hindustan proper;—no damp and hot region can be particularly healthy. At the same time it must be observed that before the sixties of the last century Bengal was not so unhealthy and malarious as now. In the early British period Bengal proper furnished brave and hardy soldiers to the Indian Army, and Bengalis had a good physique. The following extract from a letter writen by Lord Minto, ancestor of the present Lord Minto, from Calcutta on September 20th, 1807, to the Honourable A. M. Elliott, after visiting Barrackpore, will show what the Bengali was in those days:—

"The men themselves are still more ornamental. I never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madras people, whose forms I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest possible cast of countenance and features. Their features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time; but the females seem still as hideous as at Madras, and one cannot conceive that they should be the mothers of such handsome sons." *Lord Minto in India* by the Countess Minto.

Coming to the Muhammadan period we find Bengal referred to in complimentary terms, as the subjoined extracts will show.

Aurangzebe referred to Bengal as "Zehanet-ul-bulad," *i.e.*, "the paradise of the regions." (Sir Wm. Jones's Persian Grammar, p. 171).

"The abundance of advantages peculiar to this country have induced the Eastern World to call it the paradise of India; and the Western, without hyperbole, the rich kingdom of Bengal." (Orme's Hindostan, 2nd Vol. p. 4. Madras reprint of 1861).

The Chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazar, named M. Jean Law wrote in his Memoir of the Revolution in Bengal in 1761:—

"In all the official papers, *firmans*, *parwanas* of the Mogol Empire, when there is question of Bengal, it is never named without adding these words, 'Paradise of India,' an epithet given to it *par excellence*. The country supplies all its own wants by its fruitfulness and the variety of its productions, of the other parts of the Empire all stand in need."

S. C. Hill's Bengal in 1756-1757, Vol. III. p. 160).

It may be that when Bengal was spoken of as the paradise of India the reference was mainly to the fertility of her soil and the stream of wealth that flowed into the province in exchange for her numerous & excellent manufactures. But a fertile soil and raw materials for manufacture alone cannot make a country wealthy. Man must co-operate with nature with his industry and skill. It does not require much intelligence to understand that a sickly people, such as present-day Bengalis are for the most part, could not have made Bengal the paradise of India that it was in the days of the Mughal Emperors. It follows then that Bengal was very much healthier under the Mughals than now. Will the British nation ponder, and tell us the reason why?

Shuja wrote to his father asking that at least a *pargana* of Bihar might be added to his *Subah* of Bengal, so that he might use that *pargana* as a sanitarium for his family. Evidently Bihar was then much healthier than Bengal proper. But what are the facts now? The Resolution on the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Bengal, for the year 1907, says: "More than 90 per cent. of the total number of deaths [from plague] occurred in the Patna Division,..." As regards deaths from fevers, the Resolution states: "Looking to the different Divisions, Bhagalpur now heads the list with a ratio of deaths per thousand of 30·40,...". This shows that Bihar is now more unhealthy than Bengal proper. We again ask, will

the British nation ponder, and tell us the reason why?

We shall give them a clue. The Resolution says:—

"In remarkable contrast with these figures (*viz.*, the death-rates for the general population) are those returned for the jails of the Province, in which the death-rate per mille decreased from 24 in 1905 to 17·5 in 1907. The jail statistics testify, as the Inspector-General of Prisons has stated, to what can be done by persistent and common sense attention to sanitation."

Granted that the Inspector-General's remark embodies the whole truth. The question then arises, why do not the people outside the jails in their own homes attend to sanitation? The plain answer is, they do not know the rules of health, (and Government is responsible to the full extent for their illiteracy and ignorance), and even if they knew those rules, they could not, for want of means, observe them, as regards their habitations, surroundings, clothing and food (and for this state of things, too, Government is mainly responsible).

The fact is millions of Indian men and women live on insufficient and bad food throughout their lives, and live in dark, low, damp, and ill-ventilated hovels, wearing only a strip of rag round their loins. The jail diet is not very generous, nor jail accommodation comfortable. But they are far better than the usual food and shelter which millions of India's sons and daughters get from year's end to year's end. No wonder then that jails should show better health than the homes of *free* Indians.

As regards the causes of the diseases, deficient and polluted water-supply, obstructed drainage, and the very high prices of food-grains, are mentioned as some of them. Private efforts to remove these causes are laudable and necessary and are signs of national life. But when these causes affect entire provinces, the responsibility to apply the correct remedies certainly rests with the State. We are familiar with the stereotyped methods of official conferences, enquiries, and deputations of special officers; but are rather curious and impatient to see the results. The enlightened British Government may take a lesson from the half-civilised Hindu and Mussalman Kings of India in the matter of a free and copious water-supply at any rate.

The Central Law College.

As the proposed University Law College is not intended to monopolize law teaching in Bengal, many of the objections at first raised to it fall to the ground. Nor is it inconsistent with the character of a teaching Uuniversity, as the Calcutta University now is, to have a law college of its own. But we do not know why the Central Law College should not be a Government institution, like the Medical College and the Engineering College. University Lecturers and Readers in particular subjects are one thing, and a college under the management of the University is a different thing. The Vice-chancellor's argument for dissociating the teaching of law from the Arts Colleges is theoretically correct. He says, just as medical teaching and engineering classes should not be under the control of the Principal of an Arts college, who knows nothing of medicine and engineering, so should not the teaching of law be under the control of an Arts College Principal who knows nothing of law. But this sort of reasoning is capable of much wider application. Is a Principal who is an M. A. in History qualified, on this principle, to control the teaching of Chemistry, or Biology, or Geology? Or is one who is a specialist in Chemistry fit to control the teaching of Metaphysics? The Principal of even a purely Arts College cannot be an expert in every arts subject taught in his college. In fact, a Principal need not be a master of all knowledge or a "jack of all trades;" he is expected to bring a cultured mind to bear on his work. For these reasons we are not disposed to attach much importance to the aforesaid argument of the Vice-chancellor.

These, however, are minor matters. The real question that is agitating the public mind is whether the proposed Law College and the new Law Regulations of the University will not co-operate to make legal education so costly as to shut the door of an honorable and useful career to a considerable number of young men belonging to poor families. For whether the university Law College be a monopolist, or an unduly high standard of equipment in other colleges be insisted upon, the result will be the same in either case,—the closing of all other law classes. In our country the number of careers open to aspiring youth is very limited. A

further narrowing of the field is highly undesirable.

Was it after all a mere accident that the so-called "Bomb College" at Maniktola was not joined by a single graduate? *Verbum sap.*

If there is any thing in which there should not be the occasion in any country to say, "every door is barr'd with gold and opens but to golden keys," it is education. The Government grant proposed to be made for 5 years to give scholarships of Rs. 2 per mensem will still leave the tuition fee higher than in the law classes in private colleges. And the grant is not permanent. It may be meant temporarily to allay apprehensions and be only an exemplification of the art of "letting down gently." If one career is going to be partially closed to our youth, it is the bounden duty of those who are responsible for such a result to open others.

Of course discipline must be maintained at any cost, and we think it is maintained in some law classes and can be easily maintained in all. But efficiency is another matter. It is a relative term. We are not lawyers, and do not know much about the merits of the lawyers of the different Provinces of India. But this we know, and it is held in legal circles, too, that Bengal with her inefficient law classes has produced on the whole as able and as many lawyers as Provinces which possess Central Law Colleges. It might perhaps be very desirable to have eminent German Professors of Chemistry to teach that subject in our schools and colleges. But we cannot afford to have them. There is such a thing as being too ambitious even in education. We trust our University will avoid this mistake. The teachers of the proposed Law College will undoubtedly be able to devote more time and attention to their work than the Law Professors can do now. But it is obvious that considering the salaries proposed to be given and the conditions laid down, lawyers of somewhat lower attainments and ability than those of the present Professors can alone be secured. We think nobody will dispute the proposition that good work is the product of not time and attention alone, but of attainments and ability also. Your plodding ass is no doubt a worthy animal, but he cannot take the place of the thoroughbred Arab.

Some people think there are too many lawyers, and this increases litigation. The point has not been proved. Besides, is it not probable that with a smaller number of lawyers many an aggrieved poor man must go without legal help and redress, on account of the rise in the lawyer's fees? The quality of the bar and the judicial service must also suffer, if the area of recruitment be narrowed. For even supposing that charitable gentlemen provided a large number of students with their expenses, certainly one or two colleges cannot accommodate an indefinite number of students. And there are at present no such charitable men that we know of.

There is a tendency in all despotically-governed countries on the part of the police and the executive to encroach on the lawful rights of the people. All men do not know the law. Those who know and are not servants of Government can tell people their rights and defend their liberties. Lawyers, therefore, render useful service to society; and have in all countries taken a prominent and honorable part in the struggle for popular rights and liberties. Thinning their ranks is, therefore, somewhat of a blow to the popular cause. Of course, if the legal profession be practically closed to a number of men, they will seek other and possibly more independent careers. But it takes time for a nation to create new careers for its youth; and they may not have the same sort of value for the national life as the legal profession. Of course they may directly add to the wealth and resources of the nation, which Law does not. The period of transition is likely to be one of unrest and discontent. But if the present move teaches our people not to be at the mercy of a bureaucracy, whose interests are opposed to ours, as regards careers for our educated youth, the blow shall not have been struck in vain.

We are, however, not in the least despondent. Manhood consists in encountering every fresh dfficulty with rising faith and hope and courage and added determination. Our people are not entirely lacking in such manhood. Courage then, and advance!

Exciting race hatred, and Sedition.

Trials for exciting race hatred and for sedition seem to be a game governed by very

unsportsmanlike rules. Race hatred has not been defined in the Indian Penal Code. So far there have been convictions only for exciting hatred against the English;—though in papers edited by Indians and in some Anglo-Indians papers, too, instances have been given of writings in the Anglo-Indian and Muhammadan Press which are calculated to foment race hatred. Obviously Government ought either to lay down authoritatively that such writings do not excite race hatred, or that for the purposes of the Indian Penal Code, "race" means the British race only; or Government ought to prosecute the papers in which such writings have appeared. If we Indian journalists are to play a losing game, let us at least know definitely the rules of the game.

In trials for exciting hatred against the British nation, the accusers—the Government—are British, the Judge is British, or, what is perhaps worse, in a few cases, a paid servant of the British nation, and the majority of the Jury is composed of Britishers; and, as far as we can recollect, such trials have always ended in the conviction of the accused. The British people are lovers of sport, and whatever their predilections in other matters may be, we think they like a fair game. We ask them, are such trials conducted in a sportsmanlike manner, are not the accused unduly handicapped, should not the majority of the jurors at least be composed of men who speak the same language as the accused?

As to sedition, nobody knows what exactly it is,—at any rate we do not. Of course, we know no Anglo-Indian can be guilty of sedition; for he cannot possibly desire or try to bring about the overthrow of Anglo-Indian rule. Hence when recently an Anglo-Indian paper wrote that loyalty does not pay, or threatened that unless Government adopted very stringent repressive measures, Anglo-Indians would take the law into their own hands (as if it were in the hands of any body else!), naturally such writings were not considered seditious. So far as sedition is concerned, we are not therefore disposed to challenge the correctness of the maxim, "The Anglo-Indian can do no wrong." We ask the question, what is sedition for a native of India? Two answers would be very honest and clear. (1) Any suggestion or incitement to overthrow the British Government is sedition. (2) Any criticism or condemnation of, or unfavourable comment on anything that any Government employee or employees (from the Village Chowkidar upwards) say or do jointly or severally in any capacity, is sedition. We should not complain if either of these definitions were adopted. A third has been adumbrated by His Honour the Judge of Tinnevelly, which seems to include Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education in its wide sweep. We admire the frankness of this judge, though lawyers may call him a blockhead. We could have given him ungrudging praise if he had followed out his line of reasoning to its logical conclusion and laid down the legal dictum that whatever is calculated to make the Indians united, self-reliant, enlightened, strong and prosperous, is seditious.

We hope nobody will think we are joking;—for, as Fluellen would say, though journalism and joking both begin with the letter 'j,' the word *jail* also has the same initial letter. We are really perplexed. We cannot discover why some papers are punished and others are not even prosecuted; nor do we understand the nice difference, if there be any, between disapprobation and disaffection. Possibly, it is because we are Orientals and do not understand or appreciate the liberty of the press that we *enjoy*. We find it, however, as a fact that some British, Irish and American newspapers indulge in more violent language, more bitter criticism, more shameless lying, and grosser misrepresentation than are to be found in our worst vernacular and English newspapers.

We are in favour of truthful, dignified, self-restrained and courageous journalism. But we think that the liberty of the press can be a reality only if newspapers are allowed to publish criticisms of Government measures, &c., (short of suggestions of or incitements to the overthrow of the British Government) however strong, or, in the opinion of Government, full of misrepresentation they may be. If Government can spend immense sums for getting our newspapers read, translated, and sometimes prosecuted and punished, surely it is not beyond its power to take steps to keep the press well-informed



BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

KUNTALINE PRESS, CALCUTTA.

and to contradict and refute what it considers false or wrong. If you knock down your critic it shows your physical strength, but not that you are right and he is wrong. The impression produced on the public mind by the severe sentences recently passed on journalists and speakers, is that Government is panic-stricken, is unwilling to know the truth of what people think of it, and afraid of the consequences of the truth regarding its doings being widely known. The impression may be right or may be wrong, but there it is.

What Government calls sedition is not killed by repression. Repression may beget hyprocrisy and guarded language. But sedition can be killed only by a righteous policy and the unselfish treatment of man as man. Government is strong, but not stronger than human aspirations, backed as these are by the God of Righteousness.

Condemnation of Severe Punishments.

We think it serves no useful purpose merely to condemn the severe sentences recently passed on many editors and speakers as barbarous or monstrous, or worse. It gives relief to one's feelings, no doubt; but the severest condemnation of these sentences will not in the least influence Government. What attention has Government paid to the resolutions and representations of the Indian National Congress, which is the most influential and representative public body that India has ever had? The unwise and misguided practical protest of the Bombay millhands and other labourers against Mr. Tilak's transportation, has cost some of them their lives. We do not pretend to be better than these labouring men. We have respect for their feelings and their courage, even while we deplore and condemn their unwisdom and breach of the law of the land. But their practical protest would no more avail than the wordy condemnation of speakers and journalists. Exposing the mistakes of the judges and jurymen and the evils and injustice of such trials and verdicts is better. But best of all courses is the reservation of all our energy and strength of emotion for making our nation stronger so that we may strive successfully to obtain the full rights of citizenship, the rights to control legislation, taxation and the administration of justice and state affairs in general. So long as the Penal Code remains what it is, and the Criminal Procedure Code treats us as an inferior class, we cannot secure such justice as we desire.

The Utility of Severe Punishments.

The punishment of transportation for life inflicted on Mr. Chidambaram Pillay alone has satisfied some Anglo-Indian papers. All other recent punishments have seemed to them lenient. Before the days of Romilly there were 150 offences, including some kinds of theft, which were punishable in England with death. English penal laws have since become very much milder. But offences have not increased in number, but have on the contrary decreased. It is a mistake to think that severe punishments can repress any form of crime. There is such a thing as keeping the terrors of the law in reserve for the most heinous offences. If a man is to be punished with transportation for life for making a single inflammatory speech, may we ask what punishment would be inflicted for more aggravated forms of sedition? If all kinds of sedition are to be treated as equally heinous, what is it that will prevent men from resting content with mild sedition instead of proceeding to break the law in a more aggavated fashion?

It is foolish to expect to subdue the human mind by terror. The mind of man is very elastic. Terror may damp its ardour for a short while. But it is sure to shake off its effects and grow bolder than ever.

We do not know if Mr. Chidambaram Pillay has appealed against the judgment of Mr. Judge Pinhey. We think he has been unjustly convicted. Even if he be technically guilty, the sentence must be considered extremely severe.

The Tilak trial.

We agree with the two jurors who were in the minority in the Tilak trial, in holding that Mr. Tilak was innocent. He has been unjustly convicted.

During the trial judge and jury and prosecuting counsel shrank into insignificance before the towering personality of Mr. Tilak. Even his political opponents must admit the ability, the fearlessness, the splendour of his defence. Mr. Tilak must have felt from the very beginning that his fate was sealed. But the

evident sincerity and strength of his convictions, his uncommon strength of mind, and sturdy patriotism, not only enabled him to make a masterly defence, but even led him to indulge in outspokenness which minds not cast in his heroic mould would consider as bordering on indiscretion. But he was not moved by considerations of saving his skin and the last words that he uttered in court before sentence was passed gave expression to his faith that God rules the destinies of nations and that his sufferings might perhaps be the means of doing greater good to his country and its cause than his acquittal. And in that faith with hearts full of grief we bid him farewell for six years. We may not all admire or imitate his political principles or methods, but the example of his fearless patriotism must for ever remain a cherished national possession. His faults and errors of judgment will be forgotten; but his blameless private life, his unflinching devotion to his country's cause according to his lights, his talents and scholarship, his strength of mind, and his fearlessness will be remembered as those of a man who was to his people as the very embodiment of their hopes and aspirations.

Education and the unrest.

In the recent Indian debate in the House of Lords, Lord Curzon said, speaking of the causes of the unrest :—

"It will be admitted by every one that first and foremost among these is the education we have given to the people of the country.....It has taught the people of India the catchwords of Western civilisation without inspiring them with its ideas or spirit or inculcating its sobriety. (cheers.) It has sharpened their intellect without forming their characters."

Lord Morley said: "I think his diagnosis about education,...is thoroughly sound." Lord Cromer said :—

I am in entire concurrence with the noble lord behind me (Lord Curzon) that by far the most important cause of all in producing this unrest is the system of education. The main defects of the educational system in India are twofold. In the first place, the education is far too literary; there is not enough attention paid to technical, professional, and industrial education. In the second place, insufficient attention has been paid to elementary education, with the result that nothing has been done to temper the ignorance of the masses. Let us endeavour to rectify our mistakes and encourage technical, professional, and industrial education, and do something also for elementary education.

Lord Lamington said :—

"Every attention should be paid to the development of primary education.....He would suggest that, without limiting the facilities for higher education, it should be given to the public at its proper cost."

(An eminently shopkeeperlike suggestion!) Similar views were expressed in the Commons during the Indian Budget Debate by Mr. Rees and others.

The only note of dissent in the Lords was sounded by Lord Courtney, who said :—

The noble lord who opened the debate and Lord Cromer had referred to the system of education, as, perhaps, the primary cause of the political agitation, and they suggested some change in the mode of education to meet the evil in the future. That appeared to him a very narrow view of the education we had given in India. That system was bringing the educated Indian into contact with the ideas of the West, and it was impossible that anything his noble friend could do would prevent the intercommunication of ideas between East and West.

Reading between the lines of the different speeches, we conclude that Government is sure to limit the facilities for higher education. Whether primary education is really going to be extended, or the promise of its extension will simply be made a pretext for dealing a blow at higher education cannot be definitely predicted. We only note that in the Commons Mr. Buchanan has declared that "financial reasons prevented any large increase in the grant for education," which is a deathless old story. We are also sure that by technical education the noble lords meant chiefly the making of bronco aud blanco and of tin boxes, and things of that sort. One thing is clear. We must henceforth depend for the education of our people very much more on our own resources than we have been accustomed to.

The noble lords forgot (as most Englishmen do) that England is not the arbiter of the destinies of India,—God is. If England had not given India Western education, there would still have come the present awakening. England has not given Western education to Japan, China, Persia, or Turkey. But there has been an awakening in all these countries. Even Turkey has now got a constitution, which has caused unwonted rejoicings among people of all creeds in that empire. It may be that by retiring entirely or partially from the field of high education, Government will really be

instrumental in effecting a greater awakening than now.

Lord Curzon is of opinion that Western education has not taught us Western sobriety. Does he mean that we do not drink as *little* as Western people do? No? It dawns upon our mind now that perhaps he spoke of *political* sobriety. Perhaps he meant to hold up to our admiring gaze the breaking of the windows of ministers, Irish cattle-driving, fighting in legislative assemblies, and other sober political methods of the West, and condemned the violent Indian methods of sending humble memorials, passing resolutions, making speeches, &c.

Lord Curzon also said that Western education had not formed our characters. We should have been highly obliged if his Lordship had named a few prominent Englishmen whose characters he would like us to imitate. We wonder if Hampden and Pym and Milton and Wilberforce and the Seven Bishops and Latimer would have been among them;—or perhaps Titus Oates? What is his idea of character?

Character and Tutorial Espionage.

We should like to know from such a high educational authority as Lord Curzon whether it is the fact that in England and other civilised countries it is the custom to place students under the political espionage of their teachers for the formation of their characters. A circular, it is said, has recently been sent by Government to all educational institutions in Bengal asking all teachers and professors to keep a diary in which should be recorded the views, the doings and sayings of the students relating to Swadeshi and the partition of Bengal, and to submit a fortnightly report; or in plain English the instructors of youth are asked to act as *honorary* spies. Is it true? If so, has this circular Lord Morley's sanction? If so, tutor-spies must be a noble institution. Will his Lordship exert his vast influence with the Cabinet to introduce this noble character-building method in all English educational institutions? We do not want to monopolize a good thing. Hitherto Western education has not formed our characters. Espionage will certainly do the work now. May we ask, if a student be guilty of strong anti-partition and pro-Swadeshi views, what his punishment will be?

Mr. Buchanan and the Partition of Bengal.

In the course of his Budget Speech in the Commons Mr. Buchanan is reported to have said:—

> He did not share the view that all would be well if the partition of Bengal were reversed. What was at present obligatory on them particularly in Bengal was to endeavour to improve the work of administration and to remove the soreness which had undoubtedly been caused by the manner in which the partition was carried out.

The fact is if the partition had been reversed when we demanded its reversal, all would have been well. But now it is too late to expect such a result. At the same time *unless the partition be reversed*, no step that Government may take will allay the unrest in Bengal. Regarding the partition Lord Curzon said the other day in the House of Lords:—

> If the noble lord in his speech to which we are presently to listen will state that the Government adhere absolutely to the policy which they have supported for the last two and a half years, it will, I believe, do more than anything else to crush the agitation which is still proceeding on the matter in India.

We can assure Lord Curzon that the agitation against the partition cannot be crushed, even if Russian methods were adopted to the full, which is unlikely.

In the mean time it is amusing to find that the Partition Baby is being treated as a Foundling—a child of shame almost. Lord Curzon does not want to claim the "credit" of its fatherhood. The British are a philanthropic race, not given to infanticide. So the Partition Foundling must not die. It must find a home in India, the dumping ground for all non-descripts.

Reform and repression.

Mr. Buchanan held out hopes of conferring "an active and real interest and responsibility in the concerns of their own people" on those "loyally accepting our rule." Lord Morley and the *Times* and many others have also promised many such things to the Moderates, if only they would be good boys, and would not associate with the naughty Extremists. But pray, how did you treat the Congress when there were no Extremists and British rule was loyally accepted by all leading Indian politicians as a divine dispensation? Why, Lord Curzon as Viceroy

would not even condescend to see Sir Henry Cotton as President of the Congress. We have learnt that in the English political lexicon Promise is not always a synonym for Performance:—though, of course, the meanings of words may change in course of time. Meanwhile—

"Repression comes, but Reform lingers, and we
linger on the shore,
And the Moderates wither, and Extremism is more
and more."

The Moderates, however, still hope that Lord Morley will yet so act that the future historian of his lordship's regime may not have to write of it in the language of irreverent parody—

"In its beginning was the Promise, and the Promise was with Morley, and the Promise was Morley.

"The same was in the end with Morley."

Raphael's "St. Catharine."

St. Catharine was a virgin of royal descent in Alexandria, who publicly confessed the gospel at a sacrificial feast appointed by the Emperor Maximinus, and was therefore put to death, after vain attempts had been made to torture her on toothed wheels, 307 A. D. Hence the name of 'Catharine wheel'. In Raphael's picture, which we reproduce in this number, she is represented as leaning on the wheel with her eyes raised to heaven.

"The Killing of Tadaka."

Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar, the artist, in his picture of the killing of the *rakahasi* Tadaka follows the description of that scene given in Kalidasa's *Raghuvansa*. She is there described as wearing a garland made of human skulls and making ravages at hermitage of the Viswamitra. At the request of the sage, the Princes Rama and Lakshmana kill her.

Profits in magazine publishing in America and India.

We take the following paragraphs from the advertising section of *System*, an American magazine:—

The amount of money spent every year by the American people in purchasing magazines and in buying advertising space in them amounts to more than the huge total of $75,000,000. The monthly publications of this country are piling up immense individual fortunes. Their development is a thrilling commercial story.

One great publishing enterprise netted $8,000,000 in thirteen years to its owner. Some of the magazines are earning more than $1,000,000 in profits every year. Our great magazines have grown so quickly that the general public has very little knowledge of the vast fortunes which these properties are earning.

The Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, both owned by a Philadelphia publishing company, produce a combined estimated annual income of nearly $6,000,000. Frank A. Munsey is making an annual profit of $1,200,000 from his magazine. McClure's, Cosmopolitan, Everybody's and others are all immensely profitable.

The business of publishing magazines is a vast, thriving industry, growing with extraordinary swiftness into a broad and expanded field where the possibilities are without limit. Magazines are advancing faster now than ever before. The business is in its beginning. A few years will see the great magazines with twice or three times their present circulation and earning twice or three times the millions which they earn today.

The magazines have made men rich in a few years—the publishers and those who were fortunate enough to become financially interested with them in the beginning of their progress. The profits are astonishing. The stock of McClure's magazine increased 1000 per cent in ten years. Over a period of three years Everybody's doubled in value every six month. You can appreciate the remarkable profits in the publication of a popular monthly magazine when you realize that *only* $100 *invested in Munsey's a few years ago is now worth* $12,000 *and paying dividends of* $1200 *every year.*

One American dollar is approximately equivalent to Rs. 3.

Another American magazine called "Success," whose name we had never heard before, advertises that its circulation for more than four years has exceeded 300,000 copies a month. There are other magazines which have a circulation of double and three times that number.

Now, we shall be surprised to learn that any English magazine in India has a monthly circulation of even 3,000 copies. What is the reason? For one thing, the English-reading public here is small. Then well-to-do English-knowing Indians do not care to read monthly reviews and magazines. A third reason is that *many persons of this class read such periodicals by borrowing from persons of smaller means who buy them.* They do not feel any loss of self-respect, nor that they are indirectly defrauding the publishers. A fourth is that however cheap a magazine may be, students and other men of small means, and public libraries want it at reduced rates. A fifth is the paucity of advertisements.

So far as the *Modern Review* is concerned competent judges have declared that its annual subscription should have been Rs. 15, Rs. 12, Rs. 10, or at least Rs. 8. Still we

frequently get requests for reduced rates. As for profits, we lost heavily during the first year; and the prospects are only a little better this year. And such is the financial condition of the most widely circulated illustrated English review in India, even though its proprietor-editor-manager is honorary, most of the contributors are honorary, all the Indian artists allow their paintings to be reproduced without any payment, and the editor has not engaged a single literary assistant to help him. Perhaps most magazine-editors in India will have a similar story to tell.

All this does not mean that we are beaten. We are determined to succeed, and, God willing, shall succeed.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Hindu Superiority—by Har Vilas Sarda, B. A., F. R. S. L. Rs. 5.

The purpose of this book is sufficiently clear from its title. But fallen and degraded as our country at present is, I could not imagine, before coming upon the expanded title of the work on its inner title page, that the author does not confine himself within the limits of ancient times, but makes an attempt to establish Hindu superiority in the scale of all nations of the earth, ancient or modern. It is a large proposition, a bold statement.

I beg to be excused by the author for a little bit of plain speaking. Never did I feel more keenly the need for a careful programme in our educational system for critical study of history than now, than when on the perusal of this book I found that a capable man possessing good information on his subject has failed so signally for want of that spirit which makes a man see things as they are. Strong bias of patriotism and acceptance of facts through the sieve of the visionary spiritual interpreters have vitiated the judgment of the author to a lamentable extent.

The unseen proposition of the book on which many perceptible propositions hinge, can easily be caught a glimpse of, when we look through the comparative estimate of the author, of western and eastern institutions. The triumph of mere brute force over civilisation is certainly not unknown in history, but to read the ascendancy of England over India in that light will not shew any insight. It may be quite flattering to think that all our social and religious institutions are perfect, and that in very ancient times the Hindus had full and comprehensive knowledge of all that is being discovered by modern scientific investigations. But will not these thoughts only smooth the way to further degradation through idleness and inaction born of vanity? The large statement of the author that all old centres of civilisation were influenced and benefited by Hindu thought in olden days requires very strict proof. We should not forget that we may notice even surprising coincidences not only in the folklore, the superstitions and customs of the most remote races, but also in their thoughts which are fruits of culture, under circumstances which make it almost impossible that there could be any borrowing by one race from another in historic or prehistoric times.

In regard to Indian chronology the author has gone so far back to the beginning of things, that according to his estimate the civilisation of India became full-fledged when according to scientific calculation our palaeolithic ancestors were only learning to make fire. He has gone at times with his "Kalpa" even farther than that!

It is not possible to criticise all the views of the author; it is only his spirit of criticism which I have noticed, as that is the most important factor for consideration.

B. C. Mazumdar.

BENGALI.

Usha.—by Mahendra Nath Taluqdar, Kuntaline Press, Price Re. 1. 1314 B. S.

The duty of the critic in dealing with current vernacular literature is seldom pleasant. But occasionally there is an exception, when the critic's function becomes really a pleasure. The subject of our present remarks is such an exception. *Usha* is a historical drama in five acts, covering 207 pages. The scene is laid at Rangpur, the time being the sixteenth century of the Christian era. Rangpur was then a Hindu kingdom, with its capital at Kamatapur, on the Dharala. Nilambar, the son of Niladhwaja, whose well-known works of public utility are still extant, was the third and last king of Rangpur, being subjugated by Hossein Shah, the Pathan monarch of the neighbouring kingdom of Gour. The tradition is that Raja Nilambar had the son of his Brahmin Prime Minister killed for committing some heinous offence and caused the meat to be served with his meal. Upon this slender historical basis the present drama, which follows the well-established dramatic rule of varying facts to suit the exigencies of art, has been constructed.

The plot of the drama is shortly this: The old Prime Minister, burning with revenge, became a proselyte and joined the ranks of Hossein Shah. Some leading citizens, horrified at the cruel execution of the Brahmin Minister's son, and consumed by a patriotic desire to rid the country of a ruler whom they conceived to be an oppressive tyrant, raised the standard of revolt. A Sannyasi, who thought this a fit opportunity for the restoration of Brahminic supremacy in the body politic, found in the Prime Minister's grief-devoured daughter-in-law a highstrung and sensitive medium for the realisation of his civic ideal. He cast his hypnotic spell over her, and set her up as the Goddess of deliverance before the superstitious masses. Missionaries and preachers were sent abroad to arouse the people to a sense of their wrongs, and their efforts were considerably assisted by the injudicious and cruel acts of oppression perpetrated in the king's name by the Minister

in charge and the Commander of the royal forces. The king had lost his consort, and his daughter, Usha, was the apple of his eyes. He was somewhat of a philosopher, and left his principal officers to conduct the affairs of state very much as they liked. The cruel execution of the Prime Minister's son was the work of the intriguing and ambitious second Minister who had an eye to the throne. Birchandra, a foundling brought up by the king, was a brave and loyal young captain in charge of the frontier fort at Ghoraghat. The Pathans guided by the ex-Prime Minister of Rangpur, attacked the fort, but were repulsed with heavy losses. But finding the kingdom in the throes of a rebellion, they came again in large numbers. A loyal citizen, named Ramdas, succeeded in drawing the king's attention to the state of things in his country, and the king, perceiving that it was high time for him to abjure his philosophic detachment, joined the rebel forces in disguise to learn their grievances. He was convinced that their grievances were genuine and loudly called for remedy, while on the other hand, the treachery of one of the prominent leaders of the revolt, and the defection of the mercenary revolutionary forces taught the patriot rebels the need of a recognised central authority, and so once more peace and order were established within the realm, and the people and their ruler joined in offering an united front to the enemy at the gates.

The subject, it will be seen, is not such as to lend itself easily to dramatic treatment. In fact, in the very choice of such a theme, we see the working of the Time-Spirit. The only picture of domestic interest is furnished by the deep paternal affection of the king for his daughter, and the only element of romance by the love episode of the latter for the young captain. Yet, difficult as the subject is, it has been treated in a manner worthy of the occasion. The prevailing unrest of the times, the patriotic ardour of the leaders of the popular party, the acts of oppression of the executive officials leading by a natural reaction to the swelling of the ranks of the malcontents, the failure of loyal and far-sighted citizens, as typified in Ramdas, to stem the surging tide—all this has been portrayed in vivid and glowing colours. The author possesses insight into political conditions, and has learnt the lesson of history, in which he is evidently well-versed, well, and has succeeded in a marked degree in conveying that lesson to his readers. He has shown how the minds of the masses may be worked up by the mingled motives of patriotism and self-interest, how the influences of religion, mythology, superstition, hypnotism, self-deception, and a thousand other agencies, spiritual and material, can act and react on the theatre of the human mind, in ways peculiar to the genius of a particular race and people, and how they lead on to results not foreseen or anticipated by those who set them in motion. Once the forces of rebellion and internecine dissension break loose they gather volume and intensity and often consume those by whom they have been brought into play and defeat the high ends of their originators. Popular leaders should therefore be very circumspect in dealing with the great King Demos. The author in his introduction says that he has tried to prove two propositions in this drama: *viz.*, (1) national life cannot be formed out of the narrow and selfish patriotism of an individual or a sect and (2) no country can prosper without the union of the ruling power with that of the people. The first proposition may be accepted as a self-evident truth, but the second requires some qualification. The two powers must be constitutionally such as to be able to work in unison, and this can only be where they are moved by identical aims, namely, the good of the country, above and beyond every other consideration.

The love of the young captain for the lovely princess is suggested rather than expressed, and this delicate reserve makes the episode all the more romantic. The tender affection of the fond father for his motherless daughter is a beautiful idyll, and comes upon us as a refreshing breeze in a rather troubled scene of wars and rebellions. The willing conversion of the aged Prime Minister with all the pride of Brahminic blood in him, for the gratification of his insatiable thirst for vengeance, is depicted in truly dramatic colours (pages 137—138); but the finest passages in the book are those eloquent apostrophies to the motherland in which the misguided patriots, who had risked their very lives in the cause, gave vent to the large faith that was in them. The whole book is steeped in an atmosphere of devotion to the country, an all embracing yearning for her glory and prosperity. The very best chapter in the book, in this view, is Scene iv of Act I, where the scholar-king describes the glorious traditions of heroism with which the ancient land of Bengal is replete and incidentally lays bare some of the popular fallacies, *e. g.*, the conquest of Bengal by Bakhtiar Khiliji with only seventeen horsemen at his back, which we have imbibed with our mother's milk from foreign historians. The whole passage may well find a place in the boys' primers of our national schools. An ordinary writer would have painted the king in dark colours as a cruel and barbarous monarch, but our author has risen superior to the temptation and enriched his work by the portrayal of a royal character who combines in him the sweetness and tenderness of domestic virtues with an ardent devotion to the country over which he is set to rule, and who considers his high station justified only in proportion as it affords him the opportunity of securing the best means of serving that country.

The diction is refined and graceful, the ideas and suggestions chaste and elegant; the author has a true sense of proportion in the use of language, and observes a wise economy of expression in dealing with the pure-souled princess's 'affairs of the heart.' Tender and delicate touches, full of dignified pathos, are not wanting, and throughout the book there are ample proofs that the writer possesses a cultured imagination, and can command a fluent and graceful verse, though he may not be one of nature's born poets.

The printing and get up are all that could be desired, and the few mistakes which have been pointed out in the *Errata* will no doubt be corrected in a second edition, the need for which, we are confident, will be soon felt.

B

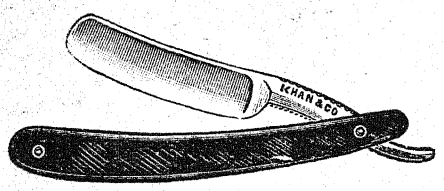
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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Mr. D. E. Wacha at the Ranade Anniversary.

Is there the least doubt that Bombay could compete most successfully with Japan in the Chinese yarn markets were Bombay freights considerably reduced? At present, the shippers are at the mercy of the combine. Destroy that combine and the salutary change might at once be realised. But how is that destruction to be accomplished? Is a ghost required to tell the mill-owners that Swadeshi Shipping alone is the permanent panacea for the desired object? I was glad to read the other day in a recent number of the *Modern Review* of Allahabad, an excellent and well-informed monthly conducted with considerable literary ability, an elaborate article advocating ship-building from the practised and able pen of Mr. G. V. Joshi. He drew public attention to the tonnage annually carried to and fro by British and foreign mercantile marine, supported by figures which are striking.

The Arya Patrika.—

With the July number the fourth volume of the *Modern Review* commences. The *Review* is so often noticed in papers and so highly praised that we consider it superfluous to write elaborate notes for recommending it to the attention of the reading public. We receive it punctually and read it with delight. We are sure the subscribers of the *Review* are amply compensated for the expenditure of money and time after perusing its interesting and highly readable contents.

The Empire.—

The "Modern Review" continues to set a splendid example to its contemporaries in the punctuality with which it makes its appearance. Promptly on the first of July the July number is laid on our table. As usual its contents are of a varied and interesting character, leading off with an article on "The Cities of Buddhism" by Sister Nivedita, the gifted Englishwoman who has identified herself so whole-heartedly with Indian life in Calcutta and elsewhere. Another interesting article deals with Booker Washington, the famous negro leader, and his work. But there are many more and all of them will well repay perusal. The illustrations are as usual unique.

The Indian Messengger.—

The *Modern Review*, which maintains, from month to month, by its wealth of interesting articles and the excellence of its art specimens, the high position it has attained as a monthly review, publishes in its current number a very important letter from Professor Alfred Russel Wallace, the great English scientist, to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. In the space of a few lines, it says in a striking manner what Lord Morley might have done for India without in the least loosening England's hold on this country, but what he has not done. The letter is so interesting and shows, in a small compass, such a close knowledge of our wants, that we make no apology for extracting it in full.

The Indian People.—

In the current number of the "Modern Review" a remarkable paper has been contributed by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, M. A. of Delhi on "The Future of Indian Education." The learned writer's usual thoughtfulness and his sympathy with the new spirit in India combined with his knowledge of historical parallels have made this paper more than usually interesting. His suggestion as to where Macaulay failed to grasp the problem of Indian education is original, and therefore deserves the attention of all thoughtful Indians and Anglo-Indians.

The Mussalman.—

The July number of Mr. Chatterjee's monthly appears as usual with a very attractive card of contents. Among others, the contributors to the July issue are Sister Nivedita, Mr. Saint-Nihal Sing, Mr. H. Rider Haggard, Dr. Coomaraswamy, the Rev. Prof. C. F. Andrews, Mr. Nepal Chandra Ray and Mr. Bijoy Chandra Mozumdar. In his discourse on "The Future of Indian Education" the Rev. Professor Andrews points out how and where Macaulay blundered and suggests "if the budding hopes of a great Indian future are not ruthlessly to be crushed, then reform must be undertaken on what may be called "national lines."

Mr. Seshadri's "Anarchists in the West" is very opportune. "The Arms Act is day after day making the Indian effiminate and weak" contends Mr. Nepal Chandra Ray in the course of his arguments for the repeal of "The Arms Act." "In the interest of the good government of the country" says he, "the repeal of the Arms Act is also an urgent necessity." A Sportsman's "Facts about Tigers" will no doubt attract the interest of sportsmen. The "Notes" form an interesting miscellany and contain comments on the Press and the Explosives Acts as well as on the Bomb outrages. The first of the arts supplements to the present number is a firstclass reproduction of Mr. Dhurandhar's "The sage Viswamitra asking Dasaratha to send Rama to kill the Rakshasas." The last one is a vivid and attractive representation of "Khudiram Bose in the Dock." Poor, pensive Khudiram! There is nothing of a terrorist in the countenance. We commend this illustration to our countrymen before Khudiram goes to the gallows.

The Indian Social Reformer.—

The Rev. C. F. Andrews in an exceedingly suggestive article in the current number of the *Modern Review* takes almost the same view of the effects of English education, though he seems to be somewhat sceptical on abstract grounds about the wisdom of the original decision to make English the medium of education in the country.

The Panjabee.—

The *Modern Review* for July lies before us. We do not know of any other Indian Review that is published with such unerring punctuality as the one under notice. But that is not its chief recommendation. The intellectual fare that it serves is invariably first class and the get-up lovely. The talented editor and the saintly proprietor (both combined in the same person) spares neither trouble nor expense to give the best mental and moral food to its readers at the cheapest possible terms. It is always a pleasure to look at the *Modern Review* and even a greater one to read its contents and be profited by the same. The latest number opens with an excellent article from the pen of that enthusiastic friend of India, Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda mission, but it is her contribution to the notes that has touched us the most. "Let us say, India is all," exhorts she, "I am nothing! I am nothing! India is all, till one idea alone remains with us of throwing away self and life and ease as so much dross, in the great stream of effort that is making for the national righteousness." Nothing can be grander and more sublime than the idea of an all-absorbing faith in the destiny of our country. We gave expression to the same idea in other words only the other day in our note on "Real Patriotism." Of the other articles a good many are well-written and readable. The frontispiece gives scenes from the Ramayana showing the Sage Vishwamitra asking Dasharatha to send Rama to kill the Rakhshasas. One of the other illustrations is that of Khudiram Bose in the dock. It is an impressive face beaming with intelligence which excites sympathy at its very sight. The *Modern Review* well maintains its reputation as a high class magazine given at very moderate rates. It deserves widespread patronage and a very large circle of readers.

The Phœnix.—

The July number of the *Modern Review* is out with its wonted punctuality. It bristles with many a brilliant and learned article. We may say that the views of Prof. Ramananda Chatterjee the Editor as crystallised in his Notes in the Review on the current topics are always instructive and excellent....

In another place, Sister Nivedita writing on "The Education of Woman" says,...Excellent words these! The Rev. C. F. Andrews of Delhi writes a thoughtful article on "The Future of Indian Education." Now-a-days we hear a great deal about Macaulay's crime in introducing English language in India which has inebriated the Indian mind with the English ideas and ideals, and also the nonsensical talk by our well-wishing bureaucrats to revert to the vernaculars. The remarks of the Rev. Andrews in this connection are well worth pondering over. We are in accord with the writer when he says that India has gained more than she has lost by the forceful impact of the foreign tongue and that to-day she would be nationally and politically less active and advanced, if English education had been excluded. The writer bitingly observes that it is one of the most distressing features of the time that in the face of the new forces which have arisen, the educational authorities in India have nothing more to offer than generalities about students not taking part in politics. We are at one with Mr. Andrews when he says that Indian teaching should be as frankly patriotic in its tone and character as English teaching is in England. The writer reveals the nobility of his heart when he remarks....

We have given enough and to spare from the mine of wisdom and learning scattered over the pages of this Review. The illustrations, which are its special

feature, are excellent—eighteen all told, including a portrait of Khudiram Bose in the dock which will be a good study for physiognomists.

The Tribune.—

Another thoughtful and instructive suggestion has been made by the Rev. Mr. C. F. Andrews, whose career as an educationist and well-known sympathy for the cause of Indian progress alike entitle him to a respectful hearing. In an article in the current number of the *Modern Review*, headed "The future of Indian Education," Rev. Mr. Andrews recognises that an overhauling to a certain extent must take place and that new methods should be introduced.

The United India & Native States.—

The *Modern Review* for July is not below the average of the previous numbers.

The West Coast Spectator.—

The "Modern Review" continues to set an example to its contemporaries in the matter of punctual appearance. As usual the number before us is full of interesting matter and contains as many as sixteen articles. The place of honour is given to "The Cities of Buddhism" by Sister Nivedita. It concludes with the hopeful generalisations that "Spirituality brings glory in its train" and that "it is established in the innermost nature of things Indian, that a moment of greatness either of *Vairagya* or of *Dharma* shall always be a prophecy to the nearing of an hour of approaching triumph for its fellow."Mr. Saint Nihal Singh has a highly entertaining account of the work of the well-known Negro patriot and educationist Booker. T. Washington. The article is copiously illustrated. "A Japanese woman's enterprise and programme of uplift" forms the subject of this month's department "What the world is doing and what we may do." The article reveals one of the causes of Japan's rise as a world-power. The writer of the article "Settlement of Europeans in India" explodes, with quotations from Parliamentary blue-books, the theory current in the days of the East India Company that the efflux of Europeans with capital into India tended to improve her agriculture and the moral condition of her people. The Rev. Professor C. F. Andrews, M. A., writes on "The Future of Indian Education" with his usual thoughtfulness and extreme sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the people. Mr. Nepal Chandra Ray puts in an effective and wellreasoned plea for the repeal of the unjust "Arms Act." Mr. Bijay Chandra Majumdar, B. A., M. R. A. S., trenchantly criticises the Ethnology of the "Imperial Gazetter of India," and shows from the works of eminent authorities how obsolete Sir H. Risley's knowledge of ethnology is. The statement that the white races of Europe appear as a derivative from the Negro and the yellow races, and that strictly speaking the term Aryan is applicable only to the Hindus and Persians, will not, we fear, be appreciated by our Anglo-Indian brethren. The "Notes and Reviews" which are a special feature of the Review, are as usual, well written and scholarly. There are eighteen illustrations including a portrait of Khudiram Bose in the dock. Altogether the July number, which is the first in Vol. IV, more than maintains the excellence characteristic of the "Review" and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the Editor, is to be congratulated on his bringing his magazine, in the short space of two years, to the front rank of Indian journals.

The World and the New Dispensation.—

We believe to both editors and subscribers who get the *Modern Review* the magazine has become a monthly necessary the arrival of which is anxiously looked for on the expected day. And now that it is published here it arrives a day earlier than before, which adds to its value. This fact that we receive it punctually on the first of the month ought not to be lost sight of in any consideration of its claims, for, in fact, it is a fact which does not lose its charm by repetition. With the last number of the Review the fourth volume commences and a look at the contents only renews one's interest in it.

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SEPTEMBER, 1908

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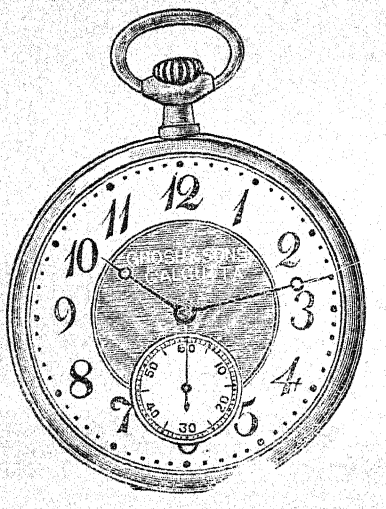
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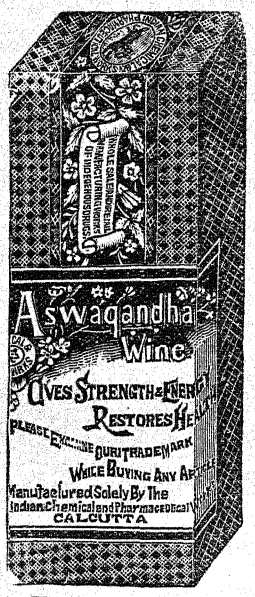
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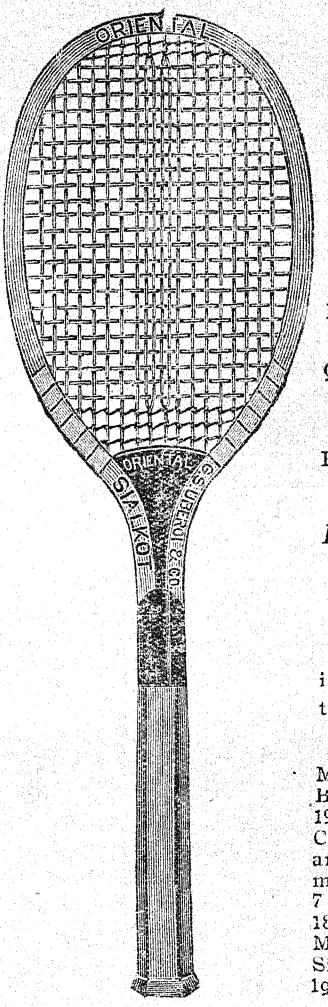
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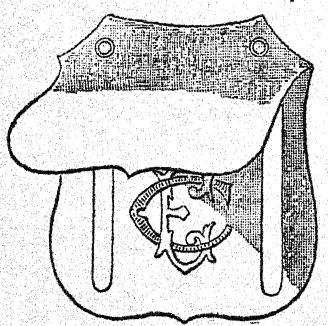


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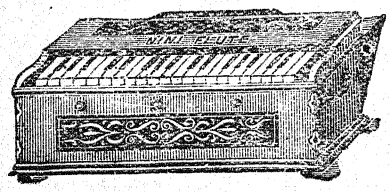
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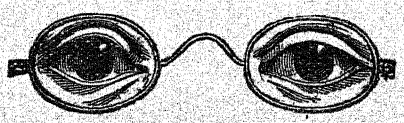
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SEPTEMBER, 1908

WHOLE
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INDIAN HISTORY: ITS LESSONS FOR TO-DAY

A LECTURE BY THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS, DELHI.

THERE is an instinctive apprehension that lies like a heavy weight upon the minds of many Indian thinkers to-day, that the fair hopes which have risen upon the country's horizon are destined sooner or later to pass away like a bright summer cloud, and that in spite of all the struggle and the sacrifice and the lives laid down, the fates are against fulfilment. Such men feel in their darker moments that the 'cloud-capped towers' of modern Indian aspiration,—ideals of a united nation, a self-governing community, an enlightened common people, a free and progressive country,—will vanish and 'melt into air, into thin air' and leave 'not a rack behind.'

When this feeling of depression comes to the surface and is analysed it is found to be due not so much to any disbelief in the ideals themselves, but to the overwhelming weight of present disappointment and an imperfect reading of the history of the past. There is a touch of fatalism also, which suggests in so many words, "we have always been in subjection, it seems to be our destiny. After all, why should we struggle? Our ideals are unpractical and visionary.

> 'We are such stuff
> As dreams are made of, and our little life
> Is rounded by a sleep.'"

Now this impression of hopelessness, if allowed to take root in the will, must inevitably undermine the strength of the present National Movement. For here in India to-day hope and confidence are virtues of the first importance. It is the purpose, therefore, of this present lecture to show that the grounds on which this despondency is based are in a great measure irrational, and that the view of Indian History involved is not strictly in accordance with the facts.

Let us examine the phrase 'we have always been in subjection.' We shall perhaps be surprised to find how far from accurate it is historically.

First of all we must notice a difference between English and Indian History which often misleads. English History does not go back more than a few years beyond the Christian era. It is far shorter and more crowded with rapid changes than that of India. We must not then exaggerate the *length* of Indian subjection by comparing it with English measurements of time. Contrasted with other periods in India's own history the time since the first Muhammadan invasions is short. India has in reality been far longer free than subject.

Again we must not exaggerate the *extent* of that subjection. For considerable inter-

vals only a tiny corner of the North was in the firm possession of the foreigner. Great independent kingdoms flourished in the South and West and Centre and the conquest of Bengal was often little more than nominal. Even in the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb the Moghul Empire at its height of military power fell far short of compassing the whole peninsula. At its decline the Great Mahratta confederacy stretched from West to East and at one time the Sikh Dynasty made a gallant and successful struggle for the mastery of the North. The Muhammadan Period is by no means a time of unbroken conquest on the one hand or complete subjection on the other.

The fact is that there has been great difficulty hitherto in focussing the lense of Indian historical vision. The Muhammadan era, with its famous historians and its fascinating chronicles, has been known and and read in such fullness of detail, and on the other hand the early history of India has been regarded as so uncertain and mythical, that a clear perspective has been almost impossible. Historians generally have dismissed the early history in a few chapters and hurried on to describe the adventures of Babar, the genius of Akbar or the magnificence of Shah Jahan.* Up to the present also most histories have been written by Englishmen, who were naturally more attracted towards the events of modern times. This is no matter of blame to such writers; it is simply a question of temperament. But it has increased the sense of disproportion and shows how necessary it is for Indians themselves seriously to undertake historical study and write their own history.

No country has suffered more than India in the past through neglect of her own historical traditions. No country is likely to be more richly rewarded in the future for patient and diligent research. Owing to the critical and scientific studies of the last half century, page after page of forgotten Indian History has been recovered, each page more wonderful than the last, and the process is by no means yet exhausted. When all the mass of new materials has been sifted and archæological remains have been unearthed, the true perspective of Indian History may be gained. We may then hope for a detailed picture of the great Buddhist era, and perhaps of other periods also, such as will rival in interest and wonder the records of the Great Moghuls.

Let me try and sketch out to you in very rough outline some of the main features of this Buddhist period, as it is now made clear to us; for it is chiefly from thence that I propose to draw conclusions and state problems. Many gaps still remain to be filled and many hypotheses to be verified, but it may now be asserted with some certainty that during the time of the Roman Republic and Empire in the West—roughly speaking from 350 B. C. to 400 A. D.—there existed in the East in India a great civilisation, self-contained and self-complete, with religion, law, government, education, military power, provincial and municipal administration on the whole as highly organised as the Roman Government itself; in certain respects compared with Rome it was deficient, but again in other respects it was superior.

Let me take another Western comparison, for it is these cross references which make the Indian period more real and fix it in our memory. When the Buddhist era was little more than in its infancy, Alexander the Great invaded India. As every school-boy knows, King Porus was defeated, though the Indian army under him proved no very unequal match for the world-conqueror. When, after Alexander's death, his greatest general and successor attempted a similar invasion, India not only was victorious, but was able to impose terms upon the vanquished. Now at that time Alexander's army was probably the best equipped and most 'modern' fighting machine that the world had ever known, and it was led by consummate generals. We see then at this epoch the land of India so virile, so organized, so united, so powerful in military resources, that with only a portion of her forces she was able to hold in check Alexander, and with united forces she was able to defeat his successor.

The facts here mentioned have, of course, long been known and recognized, but the details of the great Indian civilisation which lay behind have remained in obscurity and only recently been disclosed. We can place now the Buddhist era, not in the dim, vague twilight of the dawn of history, but in the open sunshine of ascertained knowledge. We can trace

* R. C. Dutt in his *Early Hindu Civilisation* writes as follows:—"The Hindu Student's knowledge of Indian History practically begins from the Muhammadan Conquest. The Hindu period is almost a blank to him." (Preface, p. 10).

the foundations of the cities and monasteries of the time and standing among them can summon back to life the people who inhabited them. We can study in contemporary records the innermost thoughts of kings, with their methods of administration and their principles of government told in their own words. We have knowledge of the ways and wanderings of the Buddhist monks and their own descriptions of their own travels. We have minute reports of foreign settlers in India and can piece together their crude but vivid accounts of the people. Above all we have learnt how to strip from the *Jatakas* or 'Birth Stories' their outer covering of miracle and find the historical names and places and incidents mentioned verified in a convincing manner by coins and *stupas*. When the Jain records also are explored we shall gain a still fuller and clearer knowledge. But even now the detail is sufficient to enable us to form with considerable accuracy a picture of the times, and it perhaps would not be too much to say that the courts of Chandragupta, Asoka or Kanishka can be made almost as real to us to-day as the courts of Akbar or Aurangzeb.*

What then are the leading features of this great period? Time will only permit me to touch lightly on some of the most interesting. Let me place them under separate headings.

We see an India that is comparatively free from caste restrictions. Caste does not divide by rigid barriers the people, though the names of the different castes are often mentioned. We have records of inter-caste marriages, and such marriages would appear to be by no means infrequent.

We can conjecture with some certainty that the life of high caste ladies of the land was not cramped or fettered by custom. Full religious, and possibly educational, privileges were open to them. Their wedded life did not begin till early womanhood. There appear to have been no fixed rules as yet against widows marrying again.

* Of Chandragupta and Asoka Vincent Smith writes as follows: —(1) Chandragupta. 'The expulsion of Macedonian garrisons, the decisive repulse of Seleukos the conqueror, the subjugation of all Northern India from sea to sea, the formation of a gigantic army and the thorough organisation of the civil Government of a vast Empire were no mean achievements. . . The ascertained outline of the career of Chandragupta is so wonderful and implies his possession of such exceptional ability, that it is possible that the conquest of the South must be added to the list of his achievements. (ii) Asoka. 'He rightfully claims a place in the front rank of the great monarchs, not only of India, but of the world'. p. 128 and 131.

In this epoch, those of Kshattriya parentage are remarkable, not only for their share in Government and military matters, but also for their leadership in religious reform. There springs from them what almost might be called an Order of Prophets, whose teaching and work is carried on side by side with that of the Brahman priesthood. They represent the ethical rather than the ceremonial standpoint in religion.

There is a considerable power of combination and military obedience under strong leadership, which makes a settled administration over a large area,—a *Pax Indica*,—possible. It is true that this combination breaks up from time to time, as the centre weakens, but it forms again as soon as a strong leader appears. There is as yet no inherent weakness that vitiates all combinations whatsoever. In certain districts small aristocratic republics exist under the shadow of the great Empire.

In religion itself Buddhism is rather an Order than a separate Church. The Brahmans and their worship continue throughout the period for the most part unhindered and undisturbed. The edicts of King Asoka speak kindly of them and insist on perfect religious tolerance. The Buddhist monks however are, for the time being, the most popular leaders of the common people. An intense love of the marvellous and supernatural characterizes the age and finds expression in saint and hero worship, and in legendary stories.

To mention some out of the many details of our information, we can gauge the various wages of the labourers, we have lists of the different trades and arts and industries that flourished, we know the names of the branches of military service, we read of the methods of city and village inspection and control, the forms of taxation, the civic officers, the public hospitality to foreigners, the rest houses for the sick and also for decrepit animals. We have full accounts of the life of the nobles, their favourite amusements and pursuits, their parks and their hunting. We have the most detailed picture of the life of the monks and nuns, the training, the regulations, the monasteries, the retreats, the relics, the learning, the devotions.

Taking then the picture as a whole we see, at the height of the Buddhist move-

ment, a *devout* religious spirit among the people, with a passionate longing for miracle which leads to the acceptance of childish legend and fable, but also to the recognition and worship of truly saintly lives; a *moral* movement among the people making them intent on practising the humaner virtues and averse to the sacrifice of the lives of man or beast; a *united* effort among the people, under the inspiration of a common enthusiasm, which enables large bodies of men and women to act out in common a high though somewhat one-sided philosophy of life. We see over against the common folk of the land a succession of princes, nobles and gentry, mostly Kshattriya by birth, who so enter into the lofty spirit of the times, that they are ready on occasion either to adopt the monastic dress and rule at home by moral rather than material power, or else to take the pilgrim staff and go to distant lands to spread the 'Noble Eightfold Path' which they have themselves embraced.

History has been called by a great writer 'the best cordial for drooping spirits.' This is pre-eminently true of India for the period I have just been describing. I do not mean for a single moment that the still earlier traditions of the Motherland should be neglected or valued less highly. With all their poetry, idealism and sacred story they are indeed an unspeakable treasure and give that poetical vision of the past and of the national and epic heroes of the past, which serves us as a continual inspiration. But we need also some standard of comparison with ourselves more nearly allied to our own common life and practice. We need the lessons that can be gathered from a time not too remote and a history not too filled with legend; and this we find in the fuller light that has been thrown upon the Buddhist era. Still further, and most important of all, we find in this period at its best a description of what Indian genius can accomplish without extraneous aid or interference. It is, to use an Indian word of modern coinage, *Swadeshi* through and through. Even the Greek Invasion, as Mr. Vincent Smith has recently shown, left no permanent mark on indigenous Indian life.* Here, as it were, we are mining in the very bed-rock of Indian mother-earth, to see what treasure we can find, 'and the gold of that land is good.'

While such a period as I have hastily outlined gives every ground for hope and is indeed 'the best cordial for drooping spirits,' it also gives ground for serious reflection. Why did it all come to an end? Why did the dross so soon mingle with the gold? Why were the centuries that followed in many ways so decadent? Why on the one hand, did the Greeks, the greatest soldiers of their age, find the conquest of India so impossible, and on the other hand a small body of adventurers from Central Asia find the conquest so easy? Why was Northern India so united under Chandragupta, Asoka, Samudragupta, Vikramaditya and Kanishka, and yet so divided a few centuries later that even in the face of common danger no unity could be accomplished? Why has the same disintegration remained up to the present day?

These are questions which every serious Indian thinker must ask. Unfortunately it is just in the intervening centuries between the decline of Buddhism and the Muhammadan Conquest that our information is most scanty and we have to go back again into the dim twilight. Various suggestions have been made to account for the disintegration that took place. Two are worthy of special mention. (i) We are beginning to recognize the migration of the Scythian hordes into India as an event of the first magnitude. They professed Buddhism as they came down from the North, but in doing so lowered unspeakably its moral standard and hastened its decay. (ii) The period before the Muhammadan conquest appears to be marked by a luxuriant growth of the different Dravidian cults and their assimilation with Aryan Hinduism. Hinduism seems at this time to have opened wide its arms in order to take into its embrace every form of Nature worship. Along with this we may note a spread of superstition, sacerdotalism and idolatry. That there was good mingled with the bad and that the new cults touched the hearts of the common people, may be gathered from the extraordinary beauty and magnificence of the Temple Architecture of the period. The history and ethos of this architectural efflorescence is still uncertain; nevertheless it

* "India was not Hellenized. She continued to live her life of 'splendid isolation' and soon forgot the passing of the Macedonian storm." Vincent Smith. *Early India*, p. 105.

may be stated with some accuracy that during this time, the lower disintegrating forces prevailed over the rational and unifying.*

Many further questions as to the exact nature of the religious changes which took place remain almost entirely unanswered. I will give you some of them to think over, for they are full of the deepest interest.

It is difficult to understand, for instance, why Buddhism ceased so entirely to exist as a separate Order in India and what special features in the new Brahman teaching and philosophy gained such attractive power as to oust it thus wholly from the field. Was it the new philosophy of life that had such attraction (pure Vedantism seems to have appealed, in later times at any rate, rather to the few than to the many), or was it an accomodation to the beliefs of the masses of the common people which made the real difference? Was the struggle between the two philosophies academic rather than popular,—a 'Battle of the schools'?

Again the important question has been raised as to whether the post-Buddhist period was the *beginning* or only the *recovery* of the Brahman supremacy. We are familiar in priestly writings of all ages with the phenomenon of the religious colouring of history to represent a certain point of view. There is nothing deceptive about this; it is due to the fact that the religious mind is so wholly absorbed with certain ideas, that it cannot imagine a past in which these ideas were not prevalent. In the Old Testament, for instance, we have in the Books of the Chronicles a priestly account of Jewish History, while in the Books of the Kings we have an account of the same history written from a non-priestly stand-point. The two accounts supplement and correct one another. In the same way, we are beginning to ask the question 'Have we been accepting a purely priestly account of early Indian history, written from the priestly point of view? Will the story of the Buddhist and Jain writers, when it becomes more fully known, supplement and modify the priestly picture? Will the final and corrected view of Indian History place the beginnings of Brahman supremacy and dominance in this obscure post-Buddhist period'?†

The same question will be raised with regard to caste. May not the absolute stringency of caste—what we now call 'the caste *system*'—be comparatively modern and date from the same post-Buddhist period? If it can be proved that the earlier history of India has been rewritten in the priestly schools from the priestly standpoint, then we may be fairly certain that the place of caste in that history has been rewritten also. Here again a corrective may come from Jain and Buddhist Literature. It is quite possible that both the 'caste-system' and the 'Brahman system' did not begin to hold their supreme sway in India till as late as the Sixth to Tenth Century A.D. or even later. If this were proved,—it is now uncertain,—you can see for yourselves that most important results and inferences would follow.

You may ask me in conclusion what single special lesson I should wish to draw from this rough survey of Indian History that we have been making together. I would answer in the words of an old Hebrew seer, 'Look unto the rock whence ye were hewn.'—Go back *to your own history* for your picture of a free and spontaneous Indian life; do not be content to take your ideas of freedom and liberty at second-hand from the West. See clearly and historically what you yourselves were in times gone by and trace the difference between your social and religious system now and then. You cannot indeed repeat the Buddhist period,

> 'The old order changeth yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils Himself in many ways
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.'

Beautiful as the Buddhist ideal was, it was one-sided and imperfect and could not satisfy the Indian soul. In India 'it had its day and ceased to be.'

You can never repeat the past, but you can learn noble lessons from it, lessons with regard to those great words that ring to-day in modern ears, 'humanity, liberty, freedom.' You can learn these lessons, I repeat, not merely from the literature of the West, but here in India, here from the lips of your

* Vincent Smith sums up the period as follows:—"The history of this long period is, on the whole, a melancholy record of degradation and decadence in government, literature, religion and art, with the exception of Temple Architecture" p. 301.—This summary is probably too sweeping, yet the fact of decadence remains and is still to be accounted for by a future Indian Gibbon.

† Prof. Rhys Davids writes as follows—'It is well not to forget the gravity of the error we should commit, if we should happen, in reliance on priestly books, to ante-date by about a thousand years the victory of the priests; to suppose, in other words, that the condition of things was the same at the beginning of the struggle with Buddhism as it was at the end.' *Buddhist India*, p. 158.

own Indian people, here from the history of your own Indian race, here from the lives of your own Indian fellow countrymen. You can trace those lives as they were lived in the past by Indian men and Indian women, —lived with many faults and imperfections, it is true, as all human lives are, but lived with a remarkable amount of freedom, humanity, unity, spontaneity.

When you have learnt these lessons from the past, then go back to your own experience of India to-day and compare those earlier times, thoughtfully, carefully, scientifically, with your own, and ask the question for your own practical life, 'what present bonds of custom can I unloose, what chains of impeding habit can I unbind, in order to take my share in building up a New India not unworthy of the old?'

DAILY LIFE OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

Popular View Wrong.

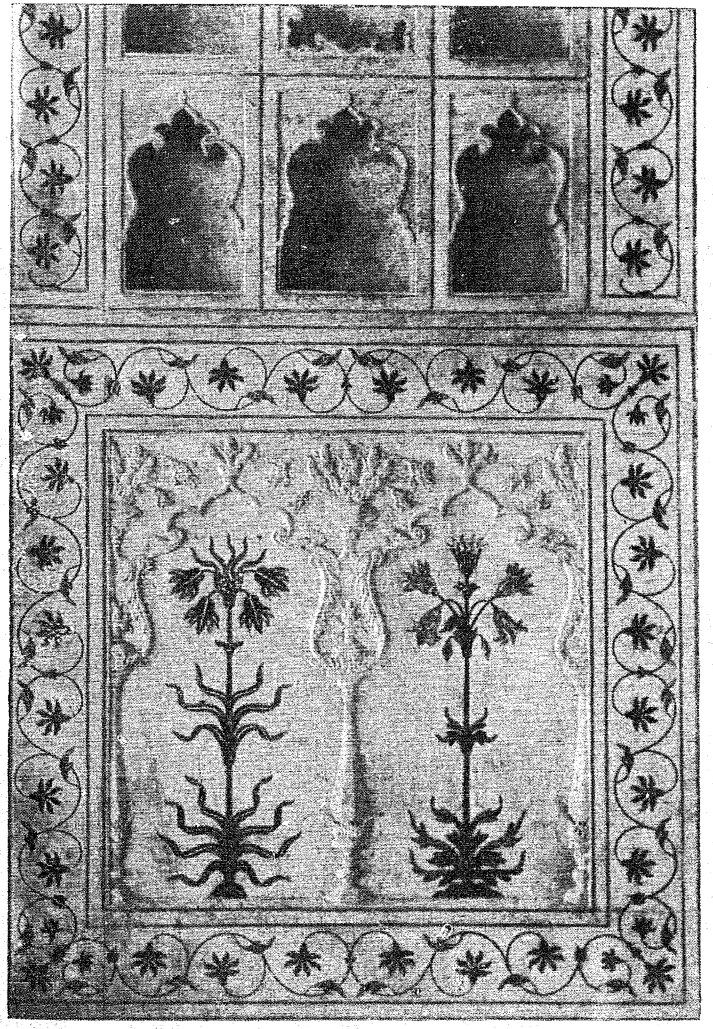
THE Mughal palaces at Delhi and Agra every year draw thousands of visitors from far and near. Their beauty and splendour have moved the wonder of the world and the rapture of admiring artists and eloquent writers. The globe-trotter in India gives them the foremost place in his tour programme. Photographs and lantern-slides have made them familiar to far off lands and home-staying people.

But what is it that the common tourist sees in them? He may feast his eyes on their delicate mosaics and reliefs; he may soothe his spirit in the cool recesses of these pure white domes. But what he looks at is after all stone, bare stone. Does he ever think that these halls were once full of life, crowded with all the moving pageants of a Court? Does he try to realise that life of a bygone world, so distant, so unlike his? If so, what is his mental picture of it?

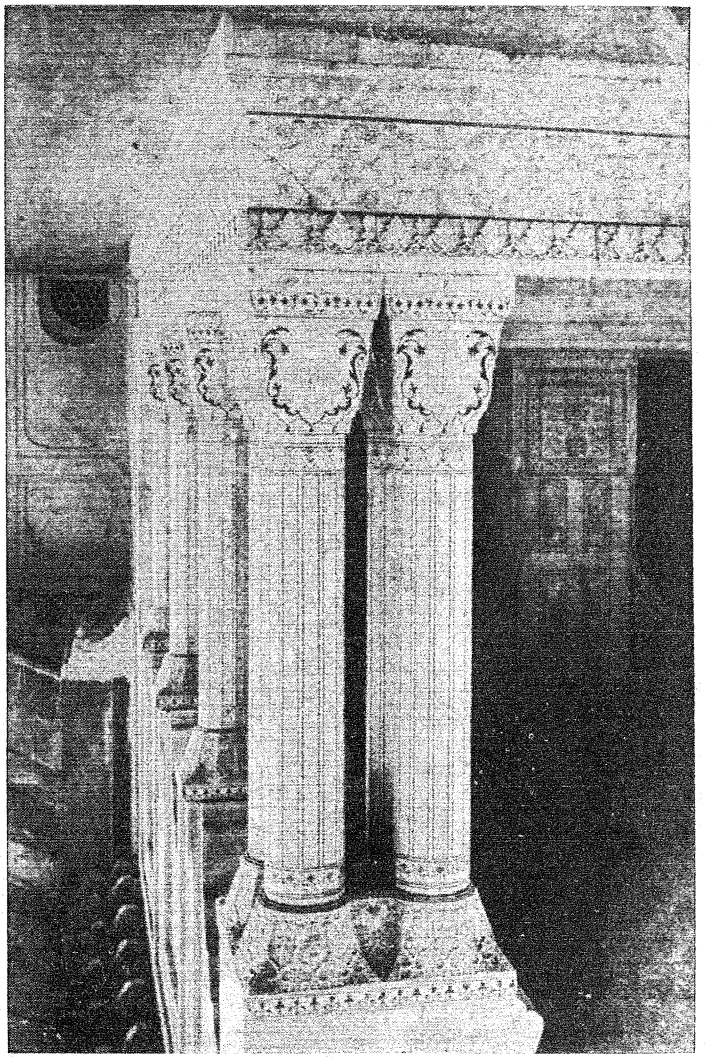
We are afraid that most Europeans still lie under the spell of Macaulay and his school of brilliant romancists. With them, all Oriental kings were heartless brainless despots, full of pride and ignorance, surrounded by pimps and sycophants, squeezing the last farthing from a down-trodden peasantry, and spending their hoards on sensual pleasure or childish show,—who passed their lives in toying with women in the harem, in listening to the fulsome praise of faithless courtiers, or in stupefying themselves with intoxicants,—men whose animal existence was never ennobled by intellectual exercise or spiritual musing, æsthetic culture or the discipline of work. Such is the Sultan (or Rajah) of the popular English novel, with his jewelled turban, curled up moustaches, bloodshot eyes, nose high up in the air, and a small arsenal located in his waist-band. This idea has been impressed on the general public of Europe by popular writers, who sacrifice truth to literary effect and whose ignorance of Eastern history is only equalled by their pride in everything Western.

But a little reflection will show that this view cannot possibly be true. From Akbar to Aurangzib we have four great rulers, who reigned in unbroken succession for a century and a half (1556—1707), extended their dominion, maintained peace at home and respect abroad, developed an administrative system in all its branches, and carried many arts towards perfection. Could this work have been done by sleepy voluptuaries? The world is not so easily governed. Inefficiency has a very short lease even in the East. An empire like that of the "Great Mughals" could not have been a dead machine; administration, arts and wealth could not have developed, as they did develop in that period, if we had had *faineants* on the throne, in the Council-chamber, and at the head of armies.

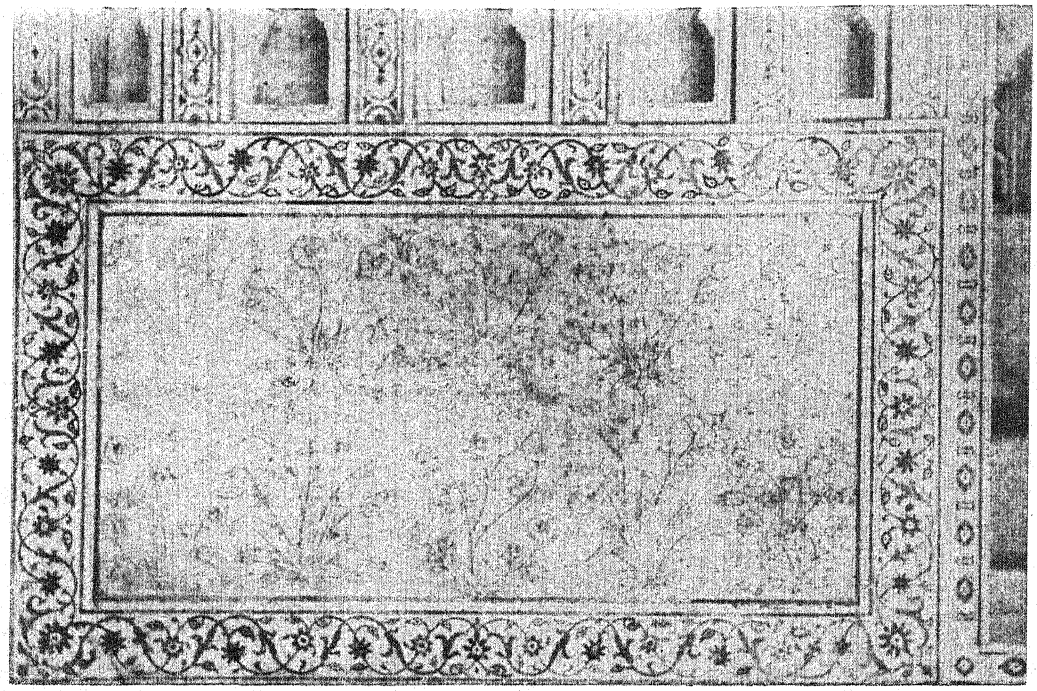
Happily the contemporary Persian histories fully describe the Emperor's daily routine of work and enable us to picture the life of his Court. Let us see how Shah Jahan lived and worked in his beloved



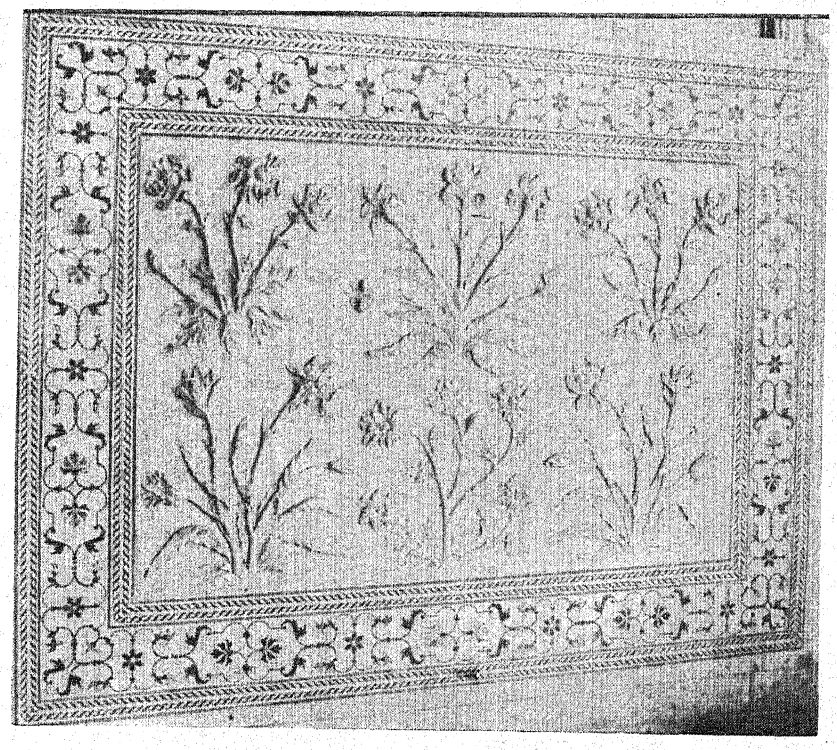
Details of the interior, *Diwan-i-am*, Agra.



Details of the interior, *Diwan-i-khas*, Agra.



Panel, *Diwan-i-khas*, Agra.



Panel, *Diwan-i-khas*, Agra.

palace of Agra. (True, he founded new Delhi and named it after himself, but Agra was the city of his heart.)

Emperor's Daily Routine.

A.M.
4 ... Wake—Prayer—Reading.
6-45 ... Appears at *Darsan* window—elephant combats—review of cavalry.
7-40 ... Public Durbar (*Diwan-i-am*)
9-40 ... Private Audience (*Diwan-i-khas*)
11-30 ... Secret Consultation in the *Shahburj*
12 ... In harem—meal—siesta—charity to women.
P.M.
4 ... Public Audience—Evening prayer.
6-30 ... Evening assembly in the *Diwan-i-khas*
8 ... Secret Council in the *Shahburj*.
8-30 ... In the harem—music.
10 ... Hears books read
10-30—4 A.M. Sleep.

Morning Prayer.

The Emperor woke from his sleep about two hours before sunrise, and after his morning toilet spent this interval in religious devotions. After saying the customary prayer based on the Prophet's *Traditions*, which is not obligatory on Muslims, he sat with his face towards Mecca, reciting the verses of the *Quran* and meditating on God. Shortly before sunrise, he performed the first obligatory prayer of the day in the palace mosque, and then engaged in his worldly duties.

Darsan.

His first work was to show himself to his subjects. In the eastern wall of Agra fort, overlooking the foreshore of the Jumna which stretches like a plain below, there was a window called the *jharokha-i-darsan*, from the Sanskrit word *darsan* meaning the sight of some one high or holy. Vast crowds of expectant people assembled on the bank every morning. The Emperor appeared at the window about 48 minutes after sunrise, and showed his face to his subjects, who at once bowed, while he returned their salute. From two to three quarters of an hour were spent here, not in show only but also in business and pleasure. The plain being outside the fort walls, the public had free access to it, and the oppressed could submit their petitions or make their complaints to the Emperor, without having to grease the palms of door-keepers and court-underlings, or going through the tedious and costly process of a law suit. Thus the Emperor daily came in touch with the common people and could freely learn their thoughts and feelings. Often a string was let down from the window, and the petitions tied to it and pulled up by the attendants above for immediate submission to the Emperor. This wise practice was instituted by the great Akbar. Curiously enough, there was a class of Brahmans, called the *Darsanis*, who did not begin their day's work nor eat their breakfast unless they had first gazed at the auspicious face of the Emperor!

After the public salute and complaint were over, the plain was cleared, and elephant-fights took place. This was the special prerogative of the Emperor, and not even the princes of the blood could order such a fight for themselves. Shah Jahan was specially fond of this sport, and sometimes as many as five pairs of elephants were made to fight single combats in succession for his delight. This spacious plain was a safe place for their wild charges, encounter and pursuit. Elsewhere thousands of spectators would have been trampled to death by these moving mountains.

Fierce war-elephants and newly captured ones, which had not been fully tamed, were here shown to the Emperor. It would have been impossible to take them, like the other elephants, to the court-yard inside the fort. On the river-side, too, war-elephants were trained to charge cavalry, and thus made to lose their natural fear of horses. Here were also paraded the horses of the Imperial army and of the retainers of the nobles.

Diwan-i-am.

Next took place the Public Durbar in the *Diwan-i-am* or Hall of Public Audience. Akbar and Jahangir used to hold court at the very same spot but under canvas awnings stretched on poles set up for the occasion. In 1628 Shah Jahan built a gilt and decorated wooden pavillion, for the shelter of the courtiers. This was replaced in 1638 by the present *Diwan-i-am*, a stately edifice of red sandstone painted white with lime, supported on 40 noble pillars, and open on three sides. In the centre of the fourth side or back is a raised alcove of the purest white marble, richly decorated with *pietra dura* work and low reliefs of flowers and foliage. Here sat the Emperor overlooking the hall below.

Grand Durbar.

In the Persian histories we have a detailed account of how a grand durbar was held in those days. The Emperor sat on his cushioned seat in the alcove. On his right and left were the princes, his sons; these took their seats only when commanded to do so. In the Hall stood the courtiers, officers, nobles, and gentry in due order, with their backs to the three open sides. Those who attended on the Emperor's person were stationed on his right and left near the two pillars close to the alcove, their backs being turned to the wall. Facing the Emperor, stood the chief officers of the State, rank behind rank, according to their gradation. The royal standard bearers, holding the golden banners and *tugh* and *qur* *, were drawn up on the Emperor's left with their backs to the wall.

Thus the entire hall, 201 feet long and 67 feet broad, was filled with men. But it was too small to hold all who sought or deserved audience. Silver railings fenced it round on the three sides with only three openings in them. In the Court yard in front a space was enclosed by a railing of painted wood on which velvet canopies richly embroidered with gold were spread. Here stood all men below commanders of two hundred, archers of the guard, musketeers, and some of the retainers of the nobles, when they attended the durbar. At the doors of the Hall and the two railings (of silver and wood) trustworthy mace-bearers and sergeants-at-arms in their splendid uniforms kept guard, excluding strangers and persons who had no *entree* at Court.

The audience stood ready and expectant, when, at about 7-40 a. m. the Emperor entered the alcove by the back door, took his seat, and the business of the Court began.

The High Bakhshi or Paymaster General reported to the Emperor the petitions of the military officers or *mansabdars*, and immediately received his Majesty's orders giving promotions to some, new posts to others. Officers who had come to the capital from the provinces had audience. Those who had been newly appointed to some province or post were next presented by the heads of their departments, *viz.*, the Commandant of the Artillery (*mir atish*), the Paymaster of the mounted musketeers, or the Paymaster of the guards (*ahadis.*) These chiefs recommended every deserving man among them for some royal favour. The presentees bowed and got their *congee*, usually accompanied by a robe of honour and gift in the form of jewellery, horse or arms.

Next came the clerks of the Department of Crownlands or the Emperor's privy purse. Through their chiefs,—the *Mir saman* and the *Diwan-i-bayutat*, they submitted their various proposals and got prompt orders from His Majesty.

Then the courtiers who enjoyed the Emperor's confidence placed before him the despatches of the princes, and of the governors, *faujdars*, *diwans* (revenue heads,) *bakhshis* and other officers of the provinces, and also any presents (*peshkash*) sent by them.

The letters of the princes and chief officers were read or heard by the Emperor himself. The purport only of the rest was reported to him. When this work was over, the Chief *Sadr* reported the important points of the despatches of the provincial *Sadrs* sent to him. He also brought to the Emperor's notice cases of needy scholars, Syeds, Shaikhs, and pious men, and got grants of money for each according his need or deserts.

The work of public charity being over, orders previously passed about *mansabs*, *jagirs*, cash grants, and other financial affairs, were submitted to the Emperor a second time for confirmation. There was a special officer to remind the Emperor of these things, and he bore the title of the *darogha* of *arz-i-mukarrar*.

Next, the officers of the Imperial stables displayed before his Majesty the horses and elephants with their fixed rations. This practice had been started by Akbar in order to punish those officers who stole the Imperial grant and starved the animals. If any horse or elephant looked lean or weak, the money allowed for its feeding was resumed and the officer reprimanded. Similarly the retainers of the nobles, whose horses had been recently mustered and branded, were paraded in full equipment in the court yard within view of the Emperor. The durbar lasted

* The Turkish standard of balls and the Yak cow's tail fixed on a rod and borne aloft. The Mughal Emperors were Turks of the Chaghtai tribe

two hours, sometimes more or less according to the amount of the business to be done.

Diwan-i-khas.

Then, a little before 10 A.M., His Majesty went to the Hall of Private Audience* and sat on the throne. Here he wrote with his own hand the answers to the most important letters. Of the other letters a few were read to him by the Court agents of the high grandees, or by the *wazir*, or by the officers appointed to submit the despatches of the provincial viceroys. In reply to them *farmans* or Imperial letters were drafted by the ministers in the terms of their master's verbal orders. The drafts were afterwards revised and corrected by the Emperor, written out in fair and sent to the harem to be sealed with the Great Seal,† of which the Empress Mumtaz Mahal had charge.

The highest revenue officers now reported on very important matters connected with the Crownlands, and the assignments on revenue made in favour of military officers, and learnt the Emperor's pleasure on each point. The Head of the Royal Charity Department brought to the Emperor's notice special cases of needy men; most of them received cash grants, some lands, others daily stipends. A fund was created for this purpose out of the gold, silver and jewels against which the Emperor was weighed every birthday, and the money which had been offered by the nobles and princes as sacrifice *(tasadduq)* in order to avert calamities and bad omens from him.

Then a short time was passed in inspecting the works of skilful artisans, such as jewel-setting, enamelling, &c. Plans of royal buildings were placed in his hands, and he added many elements of beauty to them or made alterations where necessary. On the plans finally approved, the prime minister Asaf Khan wrote an explanation of the Emperor's wishes, for the guidance of the architects. This was an important work, as Shah Jahan was very fond of building noble edifices,—which will remain as his memorials to all time. The Superintendent of the Public Works Department with expert architects attended this private durbar to consult their master.

These works being over, the Emperor occasionally looked at the hunting animals, hawks and leopards, which had been trained for him. Mettled horses, ridden by expert horse-tamers, were made to go through their exercises in the yard of the private palace, under His Majesty's eyes.

Shah Burj.

Nearly two hours were thus occupied, and at about half past eleven the Emperor left this Hall and entered the lofty *Shah Burj* or Royal Tower. The most confidential business was done here. None but the princes and a few trusted officers could enter this tower without special permission. Even the servants had to stand outside, till they were sent for.

Secret affairs of State, which it would have been harmful to make public, were discussed with the Grand Wazir. A *precis* was made of the important and confidential letters to be sent to noblemen serving in the distant provinces. Such urgent matters about the Crownlands, the payment of the military, &c. as had not been submitted in the two previous durbars of the day, were now reported by the *wazir* and the Emperor's orders taken on them. Some three quarters of an hour were usually spent here, but the time varied according to the amount of the business to be despatched.

In the Harem at noon.

It was now nearly midday and the Emperor entered the harem, where he performed the *zuhar* prayer, ate his meal, and took a nap for an hour. With most kings the harem is a place of pleasure and rest. But work pursued Shah Jahan even there. A crowd of female beggars—poor widows and orphans, maidens of decayed families, daughters of poor scholars, theologians and pious men,—besought the royal charity. Their petitions were put before the Empress by her chief servant Satiunnisa, called the Female Nazir; and Her Majesty reported the cases to the Emperor, who gave lands to some, pensions or donations to others, and garments, jewels, and money as the dowries of maidens too poor to marry. Large sums were every day spent in the harem in this work of relief.

Afternoon Audience.

Shortly after 3 P.M. the Emperor performed his *'asar* prayer, and sometimes visited

* Called in Hindustani the *Ghusal khana* because Akbar's bathroom was adjacent to it.

† *Unuk*, a small round seal, bearing only the Emperor's name, affixed to *Sabti farmans* (*Blockmann's Ain*, I, 52 & 260).

the Hall of Public Audience. The men present bowed. A little State business was gone through in that short time. The palace-guards, called *chawkidars*, were drawn up before him and presented their arms. Then His Majesty joined the congregation of his Court to perform the sunset prayer in the Private Audience Hall.

Soiree in the Diwan-i-khas.

The day was now spent, but the day's work was not yet over. The *Diwan-i-khas* was lit up with fragrant candles set in jewelled candelabra, the Emperor and his choice associates gathered here and spent some two hours, at first in attending to the administration and afterwards in pleasure. But it was pleasure of an elevated and refined character. He heard music, vocal and instrumental, and often deigned to join in it. If we may trust the Court chronicler, Shah Jahan was a past master of Urdu song, and his performances were so sweet and charming that "many pure-souled *Sufis* and holymen with hearts withdrawn from the world, who attended these evening assemblies, gave up their ghosts in the ecstasy produced by his singing."*

Secret Council again.

After the *isha* prayer (8 P.M.) he went to the Shah Burj, and if there was any secret business of State still to be done, he summoned the Grand *Wazir* and the *Bakhshis* and despatched it there,—leaving nothing over for the morrow.

Music and Reading in the harem.

At about 8-30 p. m. he retired to the harem again. Two and sometimes three hours were here spent in listening to songs by women. Then His Majesty retired to bed and was read to sleep. Good readers sat behind a *purdah* which separated them from the royal bed chamber, and read aloud books on travel, lives of saints and prophets, and histories of former kings,—all rich in instruction. Among them the Life of Timur and the Autobiography of Babar were his special favourites.

Finally, after 10 P.M., the Emperor fell asleep and enjoyed a night's repose of six hours.

Court of Justice on Wednesdays.

Such was the life of the Mughal Court on ordinary days. But we must remember that Friday is the Muhammadan Sabbath, when no Court was held. Wednesday, too, was specially set apart for doing justice,—which is one of the most important duties of Oriental kings. On that day no durbar was held in the *Diwan-i-am*, but the Emperor came direct from the *darsan* window to the Private Audience Hall, at about 8 a. m. to sit on the throne of justice. True, he had appointed wise, experienced and God-fearing men to act as judges of canon law (*qazis*), judges of common law (*adils*), and superintendent of the law-court, but the king himself was the fountain of justice and the highest court of appeal. On Wednesday none had *entree* except the law officers, jurists versed in *fatwa*, pious and upright scholars, and the few nobles who constantly attended on the Emperor's person. The officers of justice presented the plaintiffs one by one, and reported their grievances. His Majesty very gently ascertained the facts by inquiry, look the law from the *ulema* (canon-lawyers), and pronouncd judgment accordingly. Many had come from far-off provinces to get justice from the highest power in the land. Their plaints could not be investigated except locally; and so the Emperor wrote orders to the governors of those places, urging them to find out the truth, and either do justice there or send the parties back to the capital, with their reports.

Such was the settled life of Agra or Delhi, but it was often varied by rides through the city, generally in the afternoon, river trips on the Jumna in the State barges, hunting expeditions, and tours, for the great Mughals were active rulers and often visited the provinces with their whole Court, performing grand progresses through the country. Thus we see that the royal throne was not exactly a bed of roses even in those days. The king had his duties, and his division of his time showed that he knew the fact. It was a strenuous life that Shah Jahan led, and he gave peace, prosperity

* At the house of an old Shia gentleman of Lucknow I saw last year a picture of exquisite finish and a master-piece of Indian colouring, which represents Shah Jahan standing on the left with two of his sons, while two hermits on the right are in the ecstatic state, one dancing on regardless of everything else, and the other sunk in a fit into the arms of the attendants. The carpet has been so finely painted that one's fingers almost feel its soft touch when looking at it! The owner, who had seen better days, had (he said) once rejected Col. Hendley's offer of Rs. 500 for it, but would now take that price or even less. The picture is worth purchasing by the Calcutta Art School.

and contentment to his people. An old Persian manuscript of the India Office Library, London, after giving Shah Jahan's routine of work, addresses him in the following couplet:—

Khalq sabuk dil ze giran bariyash,
Fitna giran khab ze bidariyash.

"O! king, thy subjects are light-hearted because thou hast taken a heavy load on thy shoulders; Oppression has fallen into a deep sleep (in thy kingdom) because thou hast banished sleep from thy eyes."

And the praise was right well deserved.*

JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.

* The materials for this article have been collected from Abdul Hamid's *Padishah namah*, I.A. 144-154,221, I.B. 235 and India Off. Pers. M.S. No. 1344, *f.* 7 *a* & *b*.

THE INDIAN CRAFTSMAN

STANDARD AND REGULATION

A special feature of the guild activity has been alluded to already, in the statement that no unqualified person could remain in or enter it. It was, indeed, one of the most important functions of the guild in India as in Europe, to maintain the standard of quality, both of material and design. A forlorn trace of this survives in Europe in the hall-marking of gold and silver; and even that is not concerned with quality of design. In other cases the king or the State became responsible for the regulation of the craft sometimes in connection with the necessity for effective means of collecting the tolls and dues. The principle of regulation is recognized in that fascinating and, for the study of Indian society, all-important, law-book, the Ordinances of Manu.

"He who avoids a custom-house, he who buys or sells at an improper time, or he who makes a false statement in enumerating his goods, shall be fined eight times the amount of duty which he tried to evade. Let the king fix the rates for the purchase and sale of all marketable goods, having duly considered whence they come, whither they go, how long they have been kept, the probable profit and the probable outlay. Once in five nights, or at the close of each fortnight, let the king publicly settle the prices for the merchants."

Here we see recognized the important doctrine of the 'fair price,' so striking a feature of the commercial ideas of Mediæval Europe. The commercial morality of the individual is also safeguarded:

"A weaver who has received ten *palas* of thread, shall return cloth weighing one *pala* more; he who acts differently shall be compelled to pay a fine of twelve *panas*...All weights and measures must be duly marked, and once in six months let the king re-examine them."

Closely bound up with these arrangements is the system of taxation, which amounts to what we should now call an income tax, or more exactly, a royalty, the due contribution from the trader to the State which protects him and the king his patron, and here also we see provision for the estimation of the fair price:

"Let the king take one-twentieth of that amount which men well acquainted with the settlement of tolls and duties and skilful in estimating the value of all kinds of merchandise, may fix as the value for each saleable commodity."

Let us examine a few instances of these commercial principles at work in India.

In the time of Chandragupta (3rd cent. B. C.) there were six Municipal Boards in Pataliputra, of which the first was entrusted with the superintendence of everything relating to the industrial arts; fixing the rate of wages, and enforcing the use of pure and sound materials, as well as the performance of a fair day's work for fair wages. These boards consisted of five members each, and may be regarded as a development on official lines, of the ordinary *panchayat* or committee of five members by which every caste and trade in India has been accustomed to regulate its internal affairs from time immemorial.* The state regulation of craft appears to have been connected with the collection of tolls and revenues, and the two things hung together.

So, to this day, the citizens of Srinagar

* Vincent Smith, pp. 119, 120.

lament the prosperous days of old when the trade was not free, as it now is.

"They have a common saying to the effect that when the taxation went the prosperity of the city went also, and they explain this by the fact that the removal of taxation led to the breaking up of what were practically guilds sanctioned and protected by the State. When the taxation was removed outsiders rushed in and competition at once reduced prices of art wares. Copper-work which sold at seven rupees per seer in the days of taxation now sells at three rupees, and this is the case with many other art wares."

In the days of taxation also

"The State exercised a vigorous supervision over the quality of the raw material and the manufactured article. In the good days of the shawl-trade no spurious wool was brought in from Amritsar to be mixed with the real shawl-wool of Central Asia, and woe betide the weaver who did bad work or the silver-smith who was too liberal with his alloy. There is no such supervision nowadays. Competition has lowered prices and the real masters of weaving, silver, papier-mache and copper-work have to bend to the times and supply their customers with cheap, inferior work. Ask an old artist in papier-mache to show the work which formerly went to Kabul, and he will show something very different from the miserable trash which is now sold. But the Pathans of Kabul paid the price of good work; the visitors to the valley want cheap work, and they get it."*

And so the story goes on. Let us take another case. Says Sir George Birdwood:

'Formerly,' 'a great industry in gold embroidered shoes flourished at Lucknow. They were in demand all over India, for the native kings of Oudh would not allow the shoemakers to use any but pure gold wire on them. But when we annexed the kingdom, all such restrictions were removed, and the bazars of Oudh were at once flooded with the pinchbeck embroidered shoes of Delhi, and the Lucknow shoemakers was swept away for ever by the besom of free trade.'†

And thus we see at work the degradation of standard, which is undermining alike the crafts of the East and of the West. 'Under British rule' says Sir George Birdwood, 'the authority of the trade guilds in India has necessarily been relaxed, to the marked detriment of those handicrafts the perfection of which depends on hereditary processes and skill.' Modern individualism in fact, whether we call it 'Laissez Faire' in Manchester, or the introduction of 'Free Western Institutions' into India, hesitates to interfere with a man's sacred individual liberty to make things as badly as he likes, and to undermine the trade of his fellows on that basis—a basis of competition in cheapness, not in excellence; and the result we know. Surely a strange product of civilization this!

But there is another kind of provision in Eastern society, tending to secure the maintenance of standard in the crafts. I allude of course to the caste system, some aspects of which we must consider. Without here speaking of the origin and general significance of caste, it will suffice to say from our point of view, that it represents a legal recognition of the natural division of society into functional groups. Fundamentally there are four castes only, the *Brahman*, or learned caste, the *Kshattriya*, or warriors and statesmen; the *Vaisya* or traders, cultivators and craftsmen and the *Sudra*, mainly servants. A great deal of subdivision and multiplication of castes has taken place, so that there are large numbers of widely distributed, but self-contained communities in India, whose members do not intermarry or eat together. Caste is of course hereditary, that is to say every man is and must remain of the caste into which he is born, and this is true even if he should leave the special occupation which is the traditional work of his caste. There is a certain connection between the caste and the guild, that is to say, the trade guild consists usually of persons of the same ethnic and sectarian caste; but when the same trade is pursued by men of different castes, as sometimes, but not often, happens, the guild may include all without reference to caste. The craftsman has always his caste, but is not always associated with others into a guild; the guilds are mainly confined to the great polytechnic cities, while the village craftsman stands alone. Yet even he is not alone; for he is a member of a great fraternity, the caste, and how much this means to him, it would be difficult to exaggerate. It means at once his pride and his duty (*dharma*). Caste is a system of *noblesse oblige:* each man is born to his ordained work, through which alone he can spiritually progress. This religious conception of a man's trade or profession as the heaven-ordained work of his caste, may best perhaps be likened to the honour of mediæval knighthood. For the priest, learning; for the king, excellence in kingcraft; for the craftsman, skill and faithfulness; for the servant, service—the way and the life are various, but progress is possible alone each in his own way:

* Sir W. Lawrence, 'The Valley of Kashmir,' p. 373.

† 'Industrial Arts of India,' II., 64.

'Better is one's own duty even without distinction, than the duty of another, even with excellence; in another's duty danger lies.' And so it is that for each, culture comes in life itself, not as a thing separate from life. Take the *Vaisya* for example; he is to be a grazier or a trader: he must, says Manu,

"Know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metals, of woven stuffs, of perfume, and of condiments. He must be acquainted with the manner of sowing seeds, and of the good and bad qualities of fields, and he must perfectly know all measures and weights. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of different countries, the probable profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the proper wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods, and the rules of purchase and sale. Let him exert himself to the utmost in order to increase his property in a righteous manner and let him zealously give food to all created beings."

You see that each man had not only an economic, but a spiritual status in society; and national righteousness is described in books by saying that 'each man lived according to the *dharma* of his caste, down even to the dancing girl who excelled in the duties of her calling also.'

The doctrine of *Karma*, the strongest perhaps of all sanctions for morality, has something to do also with craftsmanship. A man's deeds follow him as a cart follows the ox; whatsoever a man does will react upon himself sooner or later, in this life or another; as a man sows, so also shall he reap. These ideas are somewhat quaintly expressed in some of the technical books of the craftsmen. Here, for instance, are some verses from the *Mayamataya*, speaking of good and evil craftsmen, and their fate in this life and in lives to come:

"Builders that build houses thus, after their death, will be reborn in a royal family; painters, if they make images accordingly, in noble families: cunning and skilful builders, though they should die, are friends of mine, for as they do, they become rulers and nobles, such is the old saying of the sages. One who knows amiss his craft, taking hire wrongfully, the which wife and children eat and enjoy, bringing misfortune on the owner of the house, that builder will fall into hell and suffer—these sayings are in *Mayamataya*, what remedy can there be then, O builders? There are men who make images of Buddha, though knowing naught of their craft; put no faith in what they say. Builders and painters both, who know naught of their craft, when hire is given according to the work accomplished, take that money and (leaving their work) rush home therewith; though they get thousands, there is nothing even for a meal, they have not so much as a piece of cloth to wear, that is the reward of past births, you know: dying, they fall into hell and suffer pain a hundred lacs of years; if they escape they will possess a deformed, body and live in great distress; when born as a man, it will be as a needy builder; the painter's eyes will squint—look ye, what livelihood can there be for him? Builders who know their business well, will become *rajas* lacking nought, so also cunning painters are meet to become nobles. Builders and painters taking money falsely from other men, thereby grow poor, so ancient sages have declared and shewn; doubt not this saying was in the *Mayamataya* book of sages lore, therefore let builders and painters study *Mayamataya*; misfortunes ensueing in this world and the next are told of in its stanzas, behold how excellently."

A few more words may be said as to the craftsman's religious conception of his craft. I do not refer to the application of the craft to religious ends, but to the conception of its intrinsic religiousness. In 'pagan' lands, there is no hard line drawn between the secular and the religious things in life; religion is not so much a formula, as a way of looking at things: and so all the work of life may be a sacrament, may be done as it were unto the Lord. There is a God of the arts and crafts, whose name is Visvakarma, who is described as the Lord of the arts, the carpenter of the gods, the fashioner of all ornaments, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship. The Indian craftsmen or at least, the most important guild or caste of craftsmen, claim to be descended from the five sons of this deity, of whom one was a blacksmith, the second a carpenter, the third a founder, the fourth a mason, and the fifth a goldsmith; and the followers of these crafts in Southern India form still one compact community.

The Indian craftsman conceives of his art, not as the accumulated skill of ages, but as originating in the divine skill of Visvakarma, and revealed by him. Beauty, rhythm, proportion, idea have an absolute existence on an ideal plane, where all who seek may find. The reality of things exists in the mind, not in the detail of their appearance to the eye. The inward inspiration upon which the Indian artist is taught to rely, appearing like the still small voice of a god, that god was conceived of as Visvakarma. He may be thought of as that part of Divinity which is conditioned

by a special relation to artistic expression; or in another way, as the sum total of consciousness, the group soul of the individual craftsmen of all times and places. For our purpose it is of less consequence to wonder if there is literal truth in such speculations, than to observe that all this is an expression of a religious conception of life and to see the working of such ideas in actual practice. A few years ago a reproduction was made of a room in a palace belonging to the Maharaja of Bhavnagar. The head carpenter was ordered to follow the ancient rules of his craft. "As the work progressed, he observed that the finger of God was pointing the way and that accordingly mistakes were impossible. In support of this, he quoted the ancient rules of his craft,...

"The breadth of the room should be divided into twenty-four parts, of which fourteen in the middle and two at each end should be left blank, while the remaining two portions should each form windows or *jalis*. The space between the plinth and upper floor should be divided into nine parts, of which one should be taken up by the base of the pillar, six parts by the column, one by the capital, and one by the beam over it. He then added that should any departure be made from these rules, the ruin of the architect and death of the owner were sure to follow."*

The science of house building, says the *Brihat Samhita*, "has come down to us from the *Rishis*, who obtained it from *Brahma*."

Can we wonder that a beautiful and dignified architecture is wrought in such a wise, and can such conceptions fail to produce serenity and dignity in life itself? Under such conditions, the craftsman is not an individual expressing individual whims, but a part of the universe, giving expression to ideals of eternal beauty and unchanging laws, even as do the trees and flowers whose natural and less ordered beauty is no less God-given. The old-fashioned eastern craftsman speaks with more than a touch of scorn of those who draw after their own vain imagining and there is much to justify his attitude; for to judge by results alone, there is nowadays as pernicious work produced in the East, as the result of a striving for change and originality, as was in the West itself.

I have spoken more than once of the 'hereditary craftsman,' a phrase justified by the hereditary fixity of social function under the caste system. But it is worthwhile to consider the point in greater detail. It is often assumed that the skill of the 'hereditary craftsman' depends upon the direct inheritance of his father's individual skill. But this skill is an acquired character, and it is almost universally agreed by scientists that there is no such thing as the inheritance of an acquired character; a man who loses one leg does not have one-legged children; a man who learns to play well on the piano does not transmit that skill; nor can the craftsman transmit his acquired capacity for carving wood or chasing metal. On the other hand, of course, if it be supposed that large groups of craftsmen are descended from a common ancestor who originally possessed innate artistic genius (a very different thing from actual skill in handicraft), it may be argued that this capacity is inherited, and this would be the case; personally I should be inclined to attach little value to the likelihood of the actual existence of such an ethnically superior race of craftsmen; one would think, indeed, that the absence of selection and elimination in an hereditary caste might lead rather to degeneration than to a preservation of standard. As a matter of fact all these considerations are of small weight beside the question of education and environment, conditions of supreme importance, and implicit in the expression 'hereditary craftsman' as ordinarily used. The important facts are these: *the young craftsman is brought up and educated in the actual workshop, and is the disciple of his father.* No technical education in the world can ever hope to compensate the craftsman for the loss of these conditions. In the workshop technique is learnt from the beginning, and in relation to real things and real problems, and primarily by service, personal attendance on the master. And it is not only technique that is learnt; in the workshop there is life itself, that gives to the pupil both culture and metaphysics, more essential to art than technique itself; for what use is it to speak well if you have nothing worth saying? I have been struck, in contrast, by the inefficiency of the great Technical Schools in London, the pride of the County Council. Their watchword, like that of the British in the East, is indeed efficiency; but this means that the Professor

* Sir George Watt, 'Indian art at Delhi.'

is hauled up before a committee if he is late in attendance, not that his personality is a first consideration. It means too that he is expected to be intensely practical, and to go through some curriculum leading to certificates and prizes; woe betide him if he should waste time in giving to his pupils metaphysics or teaching them mediaeval romance. Small wonder that the pupils of these schools have so little to say; they cannot indeed put more into their work than there is in themselves. But in speaking of the Eastern system of craft education, I used the term *disciple* advisedly; for in the East there is traditionally a peculiar relation of devotion between master and pupil, and it is thought that the master's secret, his real inward method so to say, is best learnt by the pupil in devoted personal service; and so we get a beautiful and affectionate relation between the apprentice and the master, which is impossible in the case of the busy professor who attends a class at a Technical School for a few hours a week, and at other times, when engaged on real work, and dealing with real problems, has no connection with the pupils at all.

The master need not be the boy's father; he may be an elder brother, or even unrelated; but in any case, once chosen, he is the ideal of the pupil, from which he never wavers. There are often trade secrets, simple enough it may be, but valuable as much in the idea as in the fact; these the master reveals to the faithful pupil only after many days, and when he has proved himself worthy. Devotion and respect for the teacher remain throughout life; I have seen a man of thirty receive wages in the presence of an elder brother, his teacher, and hand them to him as the master with the gentlest possible respect and grace; and as gently and delicately they were received, and handed back, waiving the right to retain: and this same elder brother had an aged father, a great craftsman in his day, and he never returned home with wages without offering them to him in the same way. I have seen few things in East or West more expressive of perfect gentleness than these expressions of reverence for the teacher. I need not point out what a perfect instrument for the transmission of a living tradition such an education forms. And if, to return to the Technical School of to-day, one may make a suggestion, it would be this; that supposing the aim be to train up a generation of skilled and capable craftsmen, it were better to appoint living master craftsmen as the permanent servants of the community, endowed with an inalienable salary, or better, a house, and demand of them that they shall carry out the public works undertaken by the community, aud that they themselves shall keep apprentices, choosing out of them one to be their successor in the position of public craftsman. Such a system would do more to produce skilled craftsmen, and to produce good work, than would twice the money spent on Technical Schools and on competitive design for great undertakings.

To return to the craftsman himself—perhaps there is nothing more striking about his position in society, whether as a villager, a guildsman, or a feudal servant than this; the assurance of his position, and the assurance of his purpose and value. It is only in the absence of anxiety as to the immediate future, that that quality of leisure so characteristic of true works of art and craft can appear in them. The serenity and dignity of his life are things which we cannot overlook, if we are rightly to understand the Indian craftsman.

"He knows nothing of the desperate struggle for existence which oppresses the life and crushes the very soul out of the English working man. He has his assured place, inherited from father to son for a hundred generations, in the national church and state organization; while nature provides him with everything to his hand, but the little food and less clothing he needs, and the simple tools of trade.....This at once relieves him from an incalculable dead weight of cares, and enables him to give to his work, which is also a religious function, that contentment of mind, and leisure, and pride and pleasure in it for its own sake, which are essential to all artistic excellence."

The craftsman had leisure for thought, and even for dreaming, and his ecomomic position made him secure against oppression or want. He had no need to accumulate wealth, and we do not find that the wage asked by the traditional craftsmen in unspoilt districts to-day, represents more than a bare living for self and family.

The current rates of wages for all depended much more on the general cost of living than on the degree of skill required for this special craft or the other. And as we have seen, in the most typical cases, the craftsman

received no money wage at all, but was repaid in other ways. Many a British workman would be glad to exchange his money wage for such security and appreciation as belonged to the Sinhalese craftsman of a hundred years ago. Presents indeed were expected, even grants of land, but these were for faithfulness and excellence; not a payment at so much a yard or so much an hour for such and such kinds of work. For the work was art, not commerce, and it would have been as idle to demand that a carpet like the Ardebil carpet should be designed and made at so much per square foot, as to expect Academy pictures to be done in the same way; indeed, as I do not much admire Academy pictures, I may say I think it would be *more* reasonable to sell them by the square yard, than to suppose that the works of the Mediæval Eastern craftsman could be valued in such a way.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE THEISTIC EVIDENCE

A somewhat close study of Indian and European Philosophy has convinced me that the present state of metaphysical science admits of the Theistic evidence being set forth as clearly and convincingly as the evidence of any other scientific truth. Those who are capable of deep introspection,—of following the close analysis of thoughts given in works on Metaphysics,—have no need to be either Sceptics or Agnostics. But what is needed in these busy times is that the evidences of Theism should be set forth as briefly and clearly as possible, so that even those who are not specially devoted to philosophical study may have in a small compass the ultimate results of such study. In the present article something like this will be attempted, and it is hoped that this attempt will meet with success not only in the case of those who have a general knowledge of metaphysical science, but even those who have no such knowledge. The power of following an argument step by step and of attending to the analysis of a few conceptions, is all the equipment I require in my readers.

I shall present the Theistic proof in three distinct forms. I shall first of all show that Theism exists in all minds as an unconscious or half-conscious Intuition. I shall next show that the truth of the existence of an infinite and eternal Spirit is the ultimate discovery of the analysis of knowledge,—the knowledge even of the simplest objects. Thirdly, I shall show that the presuppositions of all special sciences—physical, biological and moral—are metaphysical and imply the existence of the Divine Being.

I.

To begin with Intuitive Theism, I shall present it somewhat in the form in which I find it in Sankaracharya. Ultimately it is the same form in which it exists in the philosophy of Kant, and I shall avail myself as much as possible of the exposition given of it by the English followers of that philosopher. In his commentary on the seventh aphorism of the third *pada*, second chapter, of the *Vedanta Sutras*, Sankara says that the intuition of Self (*atmapratyaya*, *ahampratyaya* or *asmatpratyaya*) is fundamental, self-evident and universal, and that it is identical with *brahmapratyaya*, the intuition of God. By saying that self-intuition is fundamental, it is meant that it is the basis of all other kinds of belief and knowledge and therefore not dependent on any of them. "*Na hi akasadayah padarthah*," says Sankara, "*pramana-nirapekshah svayam siddhah kenachid abhyupagamyate*,"—no one assumes such things as ether and the like as self-evident and needing no proof. "*Atma tu*," he adds, "*pramanadi-vyavaharasrayatvat prag eva pramanadi-vyavaharat sidhyati*,"—but the Self, being itself the condition of employing proofs and such other things, is accepted as self-evident even before the employment of proofs and such other things. As it is the Self that perceives and reasons,—makes perception and reasoning possible—its existence is logically

prior to perception and reasoning, and it does not wait for or need to be established by these proofs. The necessary or self-evident character of self-consciousness is also clear, and it cannot be expressed more clearly than in Sankara's words, "*Na cha idrisasya nirakaranam sambhavati, ya eva hi nirakarta tad eva tasya svarupam*,"—it is not possible to deny such a Reality, for it is the very essence of him who would deny it. Des Cartes, the father of modern European Philosophy, found himself capable, at the beginning of the course of philosophical reconstruction started by him, of doubting everything, God and the whole world, but incapable of doubting his own self, for even the act of doubting it implied its existence. Doubt itself implies the doubter, and so Des Cartes expressed the fundamental and self-evident character of self-consciousness in the well-known proposition '*Cogito, ergo sum*'—I think, therefore I exist, which, though put in the form of an argument, is not really so, but the expression of a self-evident, fundamental truth. Its self-evidence and primariness, it will be seen, are not really different characteristics, but the same characteristic expressed in two ways. Nor is its universality really a different characteristic, for it simply means that the intuition of Self lies at the basis of all forms of thought and knowledge and is therefore common to all rational beings. I would particularly draw the attention of the reader to this characteristic of self-consciousness. The fact asserted is that whether we see, hear, smell, taste or touch, whether we remember, imagine or reason, we know our self as the subject of these acts. In other words, all objects of knowledge and thought appear related to us as known or thought of. It will be seen that the proposition I am stating is really an identical proposition, repeating in the predicate what is already implied in the subject, and therefore cannot but be a true proposition. But the fact is that to unreflective people it does not seem to be so plain, and its truth seems far from being apparent. It seems that in much of our knowing and thinking we forget ourselves and that it is only in reflective moods that we are aware of ourselves as knowers and thinkers. But this is really based on a misconception. It is indeed true that in unreflective moods the proposition 'I know' or 'I think' is not distinctly before our minds, but that the *fact* of our being subjects is, in a more or less indistinct form, present to our minds in every act of knowing and thinking, is evident; for unless it were so, unless we knew ourselves related as subjects to every object known by us, we could not, after the act of knowing, bring ourselves into relation with it in our reflective moods. We can remember only that which we know, we can recognise only what we cognise, and so, if, for instance, the reader had forgotten himself when he read the last number of the *Modern Review*, he could not now remember, as he actually does, that he did read it. The very fact that he now remembers himself as the reader of that number, shows that he knew himself then as its reader. All knowledge therefore contains, explicitly or implicitly, self-knowledge, the knowledge of the Self as the subject or knower. This self-knowledge may be associated with various wrong notions about the nature of the Self, but that does not make the fundamental knowledge of Self as the knowing principle any the less real. In ignorant minds the real nature of the Self may lie concealed, as it were, under various objects wrongly identified with it, as the real nature of a sword is hidden by the sheath that encloses it. But that does not invalidate the original *atmapratyaya* that accompanies all these mistaken identifications. Vedantic philosophers, including the composers of the *Upanishads*, have taken the trouble of enumerating the various gross or subtle objects with which we, at successive stages of our spiritual progress, identify the Self, and have also taught us the way to finding out the error of such ignorant identifications. At the lowest stage of spiritual progress, they say, we naturally identify the Self with the gross body, the organism which is built up with the materials eaten by us. This they call *annamaya kosha*, the nutrimental or material sheath. At the next higher stage, we identify the Self with the vital principle,—the principle that lies at the root of our respiration, digestion, locomotion and such other phenomena. This they call *pranamaya kosha*, the vital sheath. At the third higher stage we consider our passing sensations and ideas, or a conceived substratum of these, as our Self.

This sensory or substratum of sensations they call *manomaya kosha*, the sensuous or mental sheath. At the next or fourth stage, we consciously bring all sensations under general conceptions and conceive of an organ which we call *buddhi* or the understanding, as the seat of these conceptions. This *buddhi* or *vijnana* is called by our philosophers *vijnanamaya kosha*, the intellectual sheath. Our pleasurable emotions, specially the emotions arising from communion with God, are conceived to be the fifth involucrum of the Self and is called *anandamaya kosha*, the beatific sheath. In each higher stage of spiritual life represented by these sheaths, we identify the Self with a subtler object and ascribe to it a higher and higher function. Each higher sheath therefore is a truer representation of the Self than the lower. But as each of them is *an object*, characterised by *being known*, and is not self-knowing, none represents the true Self, which is a self-knowing subject and not the object of knowledge to any one else than itself. All non-theistic systems, which identify the Self with one or other of these five 'sheaths,' err in missing this fundamental characteristic of the Self, namely that it is self-conscious and not the object of knowledge to any one else. However, we now see that though we may be far from true self-knowledge—knowledge of the real nature of the Self,—though we identify it with objects more or less misrepresenting it and so far hiding its true character, yet we never lose sight of it altogether, but refer every piece of knowledge, of whatever kind it may be, to a knowing principle constituting our very Self.

Now let us proceed and try to see what is involved in this primary fact of the Self knowing itself in knowing and thinking of every object, or in other words, of every object of knowledge and thought appearing as related to the Self as known or thought of by it. It seems to us, on a superficial view, that things come into relation with the Self in our acts of knowing and then pass out of this relation and continue as realities independent of knowledge when they are no more before our senses. But on a closer view it will be seen that even when absent from our body and our senses, we continue to think of them as still related to our Self,—as still the objects of its knowledge. Whether we are right in thinking so or not is not the question now; the question is whether we necessarily think so or not,—whether this mode of thinking is or is not a fundamental law of thought. The reader will see that it is really so. He may imagine as many changes in the objects known by him as he pleases when they are absent from his senses; but he will see that he must think of all these changes as *known* changes, and that the original object, however changed in character, must be thought of as unchanged in one essential character,—its being an object of knowledge to the Self, the same Self that he calls his own. It may seem at first thought that we are required to think of *some* Self or other as knowing the object; but we see if we dive deep into the matter, that whatever other characteristics we may be required to ascribe to the subject in relation to which the object in question must be thought of, we cannot dissociate it from ourselves. With the other characteristics we may ascribe to it, we must nevertheless think of it as our inmost Self,—as that which makes it possible for us to know the object when it is presented to our senses. We see, then, that however unreasonable it may seem, we are compelled by a fundamental law of thought to universalise our Self, the Self that each of us calls his own. We not only see that our Self is present as the witness of every object and every event that is presented to us, but we are forced, by an inexorable necessity of thought, to think of it as the witness of every object, however remote it may be from our senses, and of every event, even those which are far removed in time, both past and future, from our brief span of life. We see that we can, with more or less ease, discount the five sheaths enumerated above in thinking of the facts of the world. We can think of things as not near our bodies; we can think of our organisms as not formed at all when yet the world was full of an infinite variety of things. We can think of ourselves as not breathing, digesting or performing other vital functions. We can think of ourselves as not experiencing any sensations, *i.e.*, as not existing at all as sentient beings. We need not even think of ourselves as distinct intelligences taking up the facts of the universe piecemeal and trying to understand them. We may dis-

count the thought of such intelligences experiencing the joys arising out of knowledge and devotional exercises. But what we cannot discount is the Self implied in all these things and thoughts. We are forced to represent it as the one unchangeable Witness of the universe and of our commerce with it as individual and changeful intelligences. All that make us finite beings, beings limited in time, space and power, we do not universalise. We do not universalise our bodies, our senses, our thoughts and emotions, not even our ideas as passing events. But each of us thinks that our inmost Self is something universal, existing everywhere and at all times. As each of us thinks his own Self to be universal, it will be seen that we really think one undivided universal Self as existing at the root of all our separate individualities. In so far as we habitually indentify our individuality with our Self, in so far as the term 'self' is appropriated to the mind or understanding distinct in each of us, the proposition that there is a universal and permanent Witness of the world, and that he exists in each of us as our inmost Self, seems to be a most absurd one. Whether it is really as absurd as it seems, or there is really in each of us something transcending time and space and constituting the basis of our conscious life, we must see by and by. What I have already said is not, I am aware, sufficient to convince the intellect and make all doubts and misgivings impossible. But what I claim to have already shewn is that however absurd the above proposition may seem to us, it is really a necessity of thought. If one really understands it, one will see that it governs all our thoughts about the world. We cannot represent the world to our mind otherwise than as the permanent object, in all its changes, of the very Self that we call our own. It is only in so far as we live without reflection that we seem to think otherwise. Deep reflection, a close analysis of our ideas, cannot but detect this necessity of thought. This necessity can be logically proved, if it is not already clear, by showing that the current belief that the world exists without any necessary relation to the Self, actually involves a contradiction. Things appear to us as known,—as related to our knowing Self. We do not know them in any other character than as known. They are *known things* to us, and we can think of them only as we know them, *i.e.*, we can think of them only as *known things*. Even he who says that he believes things as existing unknown—unrelated to the knowing Self—really represents them to his mind as *known things*. It is impossible for him to represent them in any other character than that in which they have appeared to him. To say, therefore, that things can exist without relation to the Self, is to say that known things can exist unknown, which is as palpable a contradiction as any can be. That people thus habitually contradict themselves without knowing that they do so, shows how little they care to analyse their thoughts and learn their true nature and contents. It is really impossible, as I have already said, to think of things otherwise than as things known, and known to our own Self. By the same necessity which compels us to think of things as known even when they are absent from our senses, we are also forced to universalise the Self in us and think of it as present to all things. Whether we are right in thinking so or not, we can know only by a close analysis of knowledge—our knowledge of objects and of space and time, in which all objects appear.

II.

The common belief is, the belief not only of unreflective people, but of many who call themselves philosophers, that in knowing the world we know ourselves as so many finite subjects, as selves not only distinct from, but essentially unrelated to, the world we know. But the fact is that it is only from the standpoint of an infinite Self, only as sharing in the life of such a Self, that we can be, and do actually become, the subjects of knowledge. In every act of knowing we indeed distinguish ourselves from the objects known. In knowing the book before me, I know that it is distinct not only from my body, but from my very Self. The book is not I nor am I the book. The book seems to limit my existence and I seem to limit its. I seem to be wholly excluded from the book and it seems to be wholly excluded from me. But the fact is that while this distinction of subject and object really limits the object, the subject is not limited thereby. The distinction is

the subject's own making; it is the source of the distinction and it transcends or overlaps the limitation implied in it. While the object is known and can be thought of only as known, and is thus essentially limited by the subject, the subject knows both the object and itself. Though distinguishing itself from the object, it finds the object within its own sphere of existence—comprehended within its own higher, broader life. The same act,—and by 'act' I mean not a change, but a permanent fact or function—the same act by which it distinguishes itself from the object, also necessarily relates the object to itself, for the object apart from the subject is an abstraction and not a concrete reality. Analyse the object into its subtlest elements, into the most inpalpable atoms, if you like, and you will find that you cannot know or think of them except as known, except as comprehended within the sphere of the Self's knowledge. Consider every quality which either common sense or science discovers in it, and you will see that every one of them is included in the same manner in the Self's comprehensive sphere of consciousness. Colour is what is seen, and unseen colour is an abstraction. Sound is that which is heard, and unheard sound is an absurdity. Smell and taste are what are smelt and tasted, and are meaningless without relation to the smeller and taster. Heat and cold, as felt by us, are possible only to a conscious subject of sensations. In feeling hardness and resistance, the immediate objects of consciousness, as distinguished from any right or wrong inferences you may draw, are sensations as dependent on a conscious mind as other sensations. In knowing an object, therefore, we know, not anything independent of, anything excluded from, the Self that knows it, but something essentially and necessarily related to it. In knowing the object the subject does not accidentally come into contact with an alien reality, as the common notion is, but it really finds or discovers itself in it as its very life and support. In no act of perception, therefore, do we know a mere object,—something independent of and unrelated to the knowing subject,—or a mere individual subject unrelated to or apart from the object. In every perception, *the whole concrete reality known is a subject-object* or an indivisible Spirit which distinguishes itself from the object and at the same time comprehends it within its sphere of consciousness. This Spirit is not a mere subjective spirit, one confined to the body, but it is in every object that we know. In knowing objects we know a Spirit which is both in our bodies and in the objects, a Spirit which is both subjective and objective, which is both our own Self and the Self of the universe. It is not through any process of inference, but by direct perception, in the act of perceiving what we call material objects, that we know the Spirit of the world. We know him in every act of perception, but recognise him not, because our wrong notions of objects, not the objects themselves, hide him or seem to hide him from us. When these wrong notions are dispelled by true philosophical knowledge, God reveals himself as the direct object of—or rather the Subject-object, the concrete Reality known in—every act of knowledge. What these wrong notions are, will be somewhat clear to the reader now.

Now, if the Self that is in us not only knows objects, but also *is* in them, as we have seen, as their very life and support, as in fact constituting them by making possible every element or quality of which they are composed, we are evidently wrong in supposing them to exist, when absent from our senses, independently of the Spirit in which—in essential relation to which—they appear in our acts of knowing them. Since our acts of knowing them, though themselves transient and intermittent, reveal an *essential* relation between objects and the Spirit that knows them and is manifest in them, the necessary inference from this fact is that even when absent from our senses, they continue to exist in that very Spirit in relation to which they appear. This *Review*, for example, which now reveals a Spirit in all its parts and qualities, must, according to the inference just drawn, be believed as still continuing to exist in the same Spirit when it is removed from my senses and locked up in a desk. As we have already seen, our original intuition of Self anticipates this inference, and we now see the rational basis of our intuitive belief. But current notions contradict both the intuitive belief and the inference which substantiates it. When I take away my body and senses from conti-

guity with the book, I seem to take away from it also the Spirit which knows it and in relation to which it appears. The book as locked up in the desk seems quite unrelated to the Self that is in me, and the latter, the Self in my body, seems, in its abstraction from the world, to be a purely subjective Spirit having no essential relation to the objective world. There seems to be even a palpable contradiction in supposing that when absent from my senses, objects continue to exist in the Self that I call mine. It seems to assert that I perceive them when actually I do not perceive them.

This difficulty and seeming contradiction disappears when we observe the fact that the Self that we call our own, which makes us knowing beings and which is at the same time known as the life and support of the objects that we know, appears in two distinct though related forms. It appears as a single, indivisible and universal Spirit, unembodied and diffused in or containing the world, and as a subjective Spirit, distinct in each individual, using our bodies and senses and identified with our individual thoughts and feelings. The difficulty or apparent contradiction in question arises from our exclusive attention to the subjective or individual aspect of the Self and our ignoring its objective and universal aspect. As our perception of the world always takes place through our senses and intellect, we identify knowledge with sensuous or mere intellectual experience and we identify the Reality that appears in knowledge with the instruments of its self-revelation, that is, with the sensorium and the understanding. We are indeed correct enough in holding to the reality of our individual existence. Our limitations are real enough. The distinction of our individual lives from the life of the universe is evident from all points of view. How little we know and how little we share in the grand march of natural events. But the little knowledge of Nature and the little contact we have with her are sufficient revelations of the universal character of the Spirit which at once makes us knowing beings and presents Nature to us in essential relation to itself. This universal, objective and therefore non-sensuous and, if the expression may be allowed, non-intellectual character of Spirit will be more evident if we somewhat closely examine our knowledge of time and space, the two forms in which Nature is presented to us and which constitute our limitations as individual beings. It will be seen that while these forms are real as limitations of Nature and our individual existence, they at the same time unmistakably reveal the infinite and eternal nature of the Spirit which makes the existence of both Nature and ourselves possible. Taking up the book before us again as example; let us then see what our knowledge of time and space testifies to as regards the nature of the Spirit that is alike in it and in our bodies. Space is externality: the book before me is outside my body and every part of the book is outside every other part. Space is, in other words, the relation of *here* and *there*: the book is here, the wall before me is there. If we look closely into the matter, we shall see that the externality, the relation of *here* and *there* involved in space, implies as its correlative, as its very basis and possibility, the non-externality, the unspatiality, if the expression may be pardoned, of the Spirit which knows it. The Spirit could not know space, could not know the relations involved in it, if it were itself in space. The Spirit indeed appears to be here, in the body, and the book to be there, outside the body. But the Spirit's appearing to be only in the body is due to its mistaken identification with the body and its functions. In reality, as the knowing principle, it is neither here nor there, neither internal nor external, not identified with any particular object of its knowledge. In another sense, it is both here and there, internal to and identified with everything it knows; that is to say, it holds everything in relation to itself, it comprehends all in its sphere of consciousness. Spirit, therefore, transcends space; it is not external to anything and nothing is external to it. Space or the relation of externality, of *here* and *there*, does not enter into its true or inner life; it is a relation obtaining only among things when they are conceived in abstraction from their relation to Spirit, and is therefore considered as *mayik* or *vyavaharik* by our Mayavadi philosophers. I do not call it so; but I would wish it to be distinctly seen that it has no place in the concrete reality of Spirit as it comprehends everything in its all-inclusive

grasp. In every perception of space, therefore, in every perception of one object as external to another, we realise the knowing Self as non-external, as transcending space, as including both the related objects. In other words, we know the Self as the unifying, concretising principle holding together the diversity and discreteness implied in space. We cannot but think of the various parts of space as included in one all-comprehending space and the Self revealed in all things as holding together all things and all divisions of the spatial world, however far from one another, in the indivisible unity of its consciousness. The common notion of distinct spirits as existing in different bodies, is therefore correct only in the sense of distinct manifestations, reproductions or individualisations (in whatever way we may express the fact) of the same universal, infinite and all-comprehending Self in relation to different bodies, sensories and intellects,—in other words, as the animating principle, the *antar atma* or inner Self, of different individual thinking beings. It is not correct in the sense of different spirits excluding and quite independent of each other and having no essential relation with Nature. The current notion of Nature as essentially independent of Spirit, and as coming into contact with it only in our transient and intermittent acts of perception, must be characterised as the result of habitual thoughtlessness and blindness to the deeper essence and relations of things. Deep and close insight into the nature of things reveals, as we have seen, an infinite and indivisible Spirit as the real object of every act of knowing.

Coming now to out preception of time, we shall see, by an analysis similar to what has already been given, that it involves the knowledge of an eternal Self,—a self without beginning and without end, with ideas unchangeable and eternal like itself. Just as we could not know space if we were mere limited objects and had not the infinite as our *antar atma*, inmost Self, so it can be shewn that we could not know time if we were mere creatures of time and had not the Eternal, the Unborn, the Undying and the Omniscient as the very basis of our conscious life. Time is the relation of *before* and *after* between events. Events cannot take place without being related as before and after one another; and *before* and *after* are unmeaning without reference to events. In other words, "timeless events" and "eventless time" are both unmeaning phrases. But the Self that knows an event, *A* for example, as before another, say *B*, is not before or after any of them. When *A* as an event is past, the Self knowing it must retain it as an idea and relate it to *B* before *B* can be called successive to *A*. In the same manner *A* and *B* as first and second must be retained as ideas in the knowing Self and brought into relation with *C* before it can be called the third of the series. Thus while events pass, the Self that makes events and series of events possible does not pass, does not flow in the current of time, but shows itself to be above time. If it were in time, if it were identified with any particular event or series of events, it could not know events. What is, by its very nature, passing, cannot know itself as such. The knowledge or knower of events cannot be an event or series of events. Our perception of time or successive events, therefore, involves the realisation of our inmost Self as beyond time,—eternal, unborn and undying. The latter fact is not an inference from the former. The one is correlative to the other and both are known in the same act of knowing. Every perception of time is a consciousness of the knowing Self as timeless. The vagueness of the consciousness is due to the obscurity of vision induced by current notions about the transiency, the apparent birth and death, of the soul,—notions which are the result of that habitual Materialism which proceeds from superficial thinking. That we begin to know at a particular time, is not indeed an unmeaning proposition any more than that we are beings limited in space. Just as we are limited beings in so far as only a limited portion of the world in space is at a time manifested though our limited bodies, sensories and intellects, so has our knowledge a beginning in so far as the eternal Self lying at the basis of our consciousness began at a particular time to manifest his eternal ideas through that particular intellect, sensory and organism with which each one of us is specially identified. But this no more makes our inmost and ultimate Self a thing of time than the limitations of

space limit that which makes space itself possible. It will be seen, if the reader thinks closely upon the matter, that we must think of the time preceding our birth as necessarily connected with the moment of our birth or the beginning of conscious life in us, and with the time following, namely our life-time. It will also be seen that this necessary connection cannot be thought of without thinking of the same Self as the connecting link. *A*, the moment preceding our birth, cannot be thought of as before *B*, the moment of our birth, without thinking of the same Self as present to both the events. In the same manner, all events or series of events in the world must be thought of as bound together in a necessary link, the one following the other in an irreversible order, and an eternal, unchangeable Spirit must be thought of as the basis of this union, the Witness of all the events included in this unbroken chain of phenomena. This chain, again, must be thought of as without any absolute beginning and absolute end. Particular series of events, for example, the creation of particular systems or the commencement of particular cycles, may have both beginning and end. But the whole cosmos as a single series can have neither a beginning nor an end. To say that it can have a beginning, an event which is absolutely the first of all events, is to say that there was *time* before it, but *no event*, which is absurd; and to say that it can have an absolute end, is to say that there can be an event with time after it but no event occurring in that time, which also is absurd; for, as has already been said, "timeless events" and "eventless time" are both unmeaning phrases. Now, the necessary correlate to this beginningless and endless world-order is a timeless eternal Spirit which, not being any event or series of events, makes all events possible, and which, not being identified with our perishing thoughts and feelings, is at the same time the basis of our conscious life, "the eternal among non-eternal things, the consciousness of conscious beings" as the *Kathopanishad* says.

It will be seen by the close thinker, by a reader who has followed step by step the conclusion arrived at, that it brings us, not to an easy-going Pantheism to which everything thinking and unthinking is identified with God, but to a system of Theism which recognises God as both immanent in all things and yet transcending all things. Everything indeed is in God, but everything is not God, for an object considered as unrelated to a subject is an abstraction and has no reality. God is indeed "the consciousness of all conscious beings," but his knowledge is not of that partial and changeful character which belongs to the knowledge of finite beings like ourselves. When the necessary connection between subject and object is remembered, and when it is also remembered that in every act of knowledge the Objective or Universal Self manifests itself as our individual Self with the objects or ideas necessarily related to it, then it is at once seen that in the Original Self there can be no such thing as either the appearance or the disappearance of ideas, either *coming to know* something or *ceasing to know* it. Knowledge to it must be thought of not as an act or series of acts, but as an eternal possession. According to the distinction well-known in the Vedanta Philosophy, Brahman is not a *jnánin*, a knower,—one whose knowledge is an act, beginning and ending,—but *jnánam*, absolute knowledge itself, subject and object in one. We, as finite beings, come to know and cease to know. But this cannot be true of him who is all-in-all. Past and future must be to him as eternally present. As we find by our actual daily experience, facts and objects constantly disappearing from our individual consciousness and wholly submerged in the hours of dreamless sleep, appear again as identical facts and objects, suffused all over, so to say, with our self-consciousness, and thereby proving that in our hours of forgetfulness they exist in the infinite and eternal Self who is at once the Self of the universe and our own inmost Self, who, though always in us, yet transcends our limitations.

We thus see how the analysis of what Kant calls 'pure' or intellectual consciousness demonstrates the existence of an infinite and eternal Being. In the same manner, the analysis of what the same philosopher calls our practical or moral consciousness demonstrates the perfect love and holiness of the Supreme Being. If the reader has patience for it, we may undertake that analysis on another occasion and also present to him the third part of the present article,

in which we propose to show that all the special sciences imply or involve the metaphysical principles explained in this article, though the votaries of these sciences may not be aware of this fact.

SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN.

THE YELLOW GOD

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BY

H. RIDER HAGGARD,

Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HALL OF THE DEAD.

THEY went through doors, and by long half-lit passages till they came to great gates guarded by old priests armed with spears. As they drew near to these priests the Asika loosed a scarf that she wore over her breast-plate of golden fish-scales, and threw the star-spangled thing over Alan's head, that even the priests might not see his face. Then she spoke a word to them, and they opened the gates. Here Jeeki evinced a disposition to remain, remarking to his master that he thought that place into which he had never entered "much too holy for poor nigger like him."

The Asika asked him what he had said, and he explained his sense of unworthiness in her own tongue.

"Come fellow," she exclaimed, "to interpret my words and to bear witness that no trick is played upon your lord."

Still Jeeki lingered bashfully, whereon at a sign from her one of the priests pricked him behind with his great spear, and uttering a low howl he sprang forward.

The Asika led the way down a passage which they saw ended in a big hall lit with lamps. Now they were in it, and Alan became aware that they had entered the treasure house of the Asiki, since here were piled up great heaps of gold, gold in ingots, gold in nuggets, in stone jars filled with dust, in vessels plain or embossed, with monstrous shapes, in fetishes, and in little squares and disks that looked as though they had served as coins. Never had he seen so much gold before.

"You are rich here, lady," he said, gazing at the piles astonished.

She shrugged her shoulders. "Yes, as I have heard that some people count wealth. These are the offerings brought to our gods from the beginning; also all the gold found in the mountains belongs to the gods, and there is much of it there. The gift I sent to you was taken from this heap, but in truth it is a poor gift, seeing that, although this stuff is bright and serves for cups and other things, it has no use at all, and is only offered to the gods because it is harder to come by than other metals. Look, these are prettier than the gold," and from a stone table she picked up at hazard a long necklace of large, uncut stones, red and white in colour and set alternately, that Alan judged to be crystals and spinels.

"Take it," she said, "and examine it at your leisure. It is very old. For hundreds of years no more of these necklaces have been made," and with a careless movement she threw the chain over his head so that it hung upon his shoulders.

Alan thanked her, then remembered that the man called Mungana, who was the husband, real or official, of this priestess, had been somewhat similarly adorned, and shivered a little as though at a presage of advancing fate. Still, he did not return the thing, fearing lest he should give offence.

At this moment his attention was taken from the treasure by the sound of a groan behind him. Turning round he perceived Jeeki, his great eyes rolling as though in an extremity of fear.

"Oh, my golly! Major," he ejaculated, pointing to the wall, "look there!"

Alan looked, but at first in that dim light could only discover long rows of gleaming objects which reached from the floor to the roof.

"Come and see," said the Asika, and taking a lamp from that table on which lay

the gems, she led him past the piles of gold to one side of the vault or hall. Then he saw, and, although he did not show it, like Jeeki was afraid.

For there, each in his own niche and standing one above the other, were what looked like hundreds of golden men with gleaming eyes. At first, until their utter stillness undeceived him, he thought that they *must* be men. Then he understood that this was what they had been; now they were corpses wrapped in sheets of thin gold and wearing golden masks with eyes of crystal, each mask being beaten out to a hideous representation of the man in life.

"All these are the husbands of my spirit," said the priestess, waving the lamp in front of the lowest row of them, "who were married to the Asikas in the past. Look, here is he who said that he ought to be king of that rich land where year by year the river overflows its banks," and going to one of the first of the figures in the bottom row, she drew out a fastening and suffered the gold mask to fall forward on a hinge, exposing the face within.

Although it had evidently been treated with some preservative, this head now was little more than a skull still covered with dark hair, but set upon its brow appeared an object that Alan recognised at once, a simple band of plain gold, and rising from it the head of an asp. Without doubt it was the *uraeus*, that symbol which only the royalties of old Egypt dared to wear. Without doubt, also, either this man had brought it with him from the Nile, or in memory of his rank and home he had fashioned it of the gold that was so plentiful in the place of his captivity. So this woman's story was true, an ancient Egyptian had once been husband to the Asika of his day.

Meanwhile his guide had passed a long way down the line, and halting in front of another gold-wrapped figure, opened its mask. "This is that man," she said, "who told us that he came from a land called Roma. Look, the helmet still rests upon his head, though time has eaten into it, and that ring upon your hand was taken from his finger. I have a head-dress made upon the model of that helmet, which I wear sometimes in memory of this man, who, my soul remembers, was brave and pleasant and a gallant lover."

"Indeed," answered Alan, looking at the sunken face above which a rim of curls appeared beneath the rusting helmet. "Well, he doesn't look very gallant now, does he?" Then he peered down between the body and its gold casing and saw that in his bony hand the man still held a short Roman sword, lifted as though in salute. So she had not lied in this matter either.

Meanwhile, the Asika had glided on to the end of the hall behind the heaps of treasure.

"There is one more white man," she said, "though we know little of him, for he was fierce and barbarous and died without learning our tongue, after killing a great number of the priests of that day, because they would not let him go; yes, died cutting them down with a battle-axe and singing some wild song of his country. Come hither, slave, and bend yourself, so, resting your hands upon the ground."

Jeeki obeyed, and actively as a cat the priestess leaped on to his back, and reaching up opened the mask of a corpse in the second row, and held her lamp before its face.

It was better preserved than the others, so that its features remained comparatively perfect, and about them hung a tangle of golden hair. Moreover, a broad battle-axe appeared resting on the shoulder.

"A viking," thought Alan. "I wonder how he came here."

When he had looked, the Asika leaped from Jeeki's back to the ground, and waving her arm around her, began to talk so rapidly that Alan could understand nothing of her words, and asked Jeeki to translate them.

"She say," explained Jeeki, between his chattering teeth, "that all rest these johnnies very poor crowd, natives, and that lot, except one who worship false Prophet and cut throat of Asika of that time, because she infidel and he teach her better; also eat his dinner out of Little Bonsa, and chuck her into water. Very wild man, that Arab, but priests catch him at last and fill him with hot gold before Little Bonsa because he no care damn for ghosts. So he died saying 'Hip, hip, hip, hurrah!' for houri, and green field of Prophet, and to hell with Asika and Bonsa, Big and Little. Now he sit up there and at night time worst ghost of all the crowd, always come to finish off Mungana. That all she say, and quite enough too. Come on quick, she want you and no like wait."

By now the Asika had passed almost round the hall, and was standing opposite to an empty niche beyond and above which there were perhaps a score of bodies gold-plated in the usual fashion.

"That is your place, Vernoon," she said gently, contemplating him with her soft and heavy eyes, "for it was prepared for the white man with whom Little Bonsa fled away, and since then, as you see, there have been many Munganas, some of whom belong to me; indeed that one," and she touched a corpse on which the gold looked very fresh, "only left me last year. But we always knew that Little Bonsa would bring you back again, and so, you see, we have kept your place empty."

"Indeed," remarked Alan, "that is very kind of you," and feeling that he would faint if he stayed longer in this horrible and haunted vault, he pushed past her with little ceremony and walked out through the gates into the passage beyond.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GOLD HOUSE.

"How you like Asiki-land, Major?" asked Jeeki, who had followed him and was now leaning against a wall fanning himself feebly with his great hand. "Funny place, isn't it, Major? I tell you so before you come, but you no believe me."

"Very funny," answered Alan, "so funny that I want to get out."

"Ah! Major, that what eel say in trap where he go after lobworm, but he only get out into frying-pan after cook skin him alive-O. Ah! here come cook—I mean Asika. She only stop shut up those stiff 'uns, who all love lobworm one day. Very pretty woman, Asika, but thank God she no set her cap at me, who like to be buried in open like Christian man."

"If you don't stop it, Jeeki," replied Alan in a voice of concentrated rage, "I'll see that you are buried just where you are."

"No offence, Major, no offence, my heart full and bubble up. I wonder what Miss Barbara say if she see you mooing and cooing with dark-eyed girl in gold snake-skin?"

Just then the Asika arrived, and by way of excuse for his flight Alan remarked to her that the treasure-hall was hot.

"I did not notice it," she answered, "but he who is called my husband, Mungana, says the same. The Mungana is guardian of the treasure," she explained, "and when he is required so to do, he sleeps in the Place of the Treasure and gathers wisdom from the spirits of those Munganas who were before him."

"Indeed. And does he like that bed-chamber?"

"The Mungana likes what I like, not what he likes," she replied haughtily. "Where I send him to sleep, there he sleeps. But come Vernoon, and I will show you the Holy Water where Big Bonsa dwells; also the house in which I have my home, where you shall visit me when you please."

"Who built this place?" asked Alan, as she led him through more dark and tortuous passages. "It is very great."

"My spirit does not remember when it was built, Vernoon, so old is it; but I think that the Asiki were once a big and famous people who traded to the water upon the west, and even to the water upon the east, and that was how those white men became their slaves and the Munganas of their queens. Now they are small, and live only by the might and fame of Big and Little Bonsa, not half filling the rich land which is theirs. But," she added reflectively, and looking at him, "I think also that this is because in the past fools have been thrust upon my spirit as Munganas. What it needs is the wisdom of the white man, such wisdom as yours, Vernoon. If that were added to my magic, then the Asiki would grow great again, seeing that they have gold in such plenty, which you have shown me the white man loves. Yes, they would grow great, and from coast to coast the people should bow at the name of Bonsa, and send him their sons for sacrifice. Perhaps you will live to see that day, Vernoon. Slave," she added, addressing Jeeki, "set the mask upon your lord's head, for we come where women are."

Alan objected, but she stamped her foot and said it must be so; having once worn Little Bonsa, as her people told her he had done, his naked face might not be seen. So Alan submitted to the hideous head-dress, and they entered the Asika's house by some back entrance.

It was a place with many rooms in it, but they were all remarkable for extreme simplicity. With a single exception no

gilding or gold was to be seen, although the food vessels were made of this material here as everywhere. The chambers, including those in which the Asika lived and slept, were panelled, or rather boarded, with cedar wood that was almost black with age, and the little furniture which they had was mostly made of ebony. They were very insufficiently lighted, like his own room, by means of barred openings set high in the wall. Indeed, gloom and mystery were the keynotes of this place, amongst the shadows of which handsome, half-naked servants or priestesses flitted to and fro at their tasks, or peered at them out of dark corners. The atmosphere seemed heavy with secret sin; Alan felt that in these rooms unnameable crimes and cruelties had been committed for hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of years, and that the place was yet haunted by the ghosts of them. At any rate it struck a chill to his healthy blood, more even than had that Hall of the Dead and of heaped-up golden treasure.

"Does my house please you?" the Asika asked of him.

"Not altogether," he answered, "I think it is dark."

"From the beginning my spirit has ever loved the dark, Vernoon. I think that it was shaped in some black midnight."

They passed through the chief entrance of the house, which had pillars of woodwork grotesquely carved, down some steps into a walled and roofed-in yard, where the shadows were even more dense than in the house they had left. Only at one point was there light flowing down through a hole in the roof, as it did, apparently, in that hall where Alan had found the Asika sitting in state. The light fell on to a pedestal or column made of gold, which was placed behind an object like a large Saxon font, also made of gold. The shape of this column reminded Alan of something, namely, of a very similar column, although fashioned of a different material, which stood in the granite-built office of Messrs. Aylward and Haswell, in the City of London. Nor did this seem wonderful to him, since on the top of it, squatting on its dwarf legs, stood a horrid but familiar thing, namely, Little Bonsa herself, come home at last. There she sat, smiling cruelly, as she had smiled from the beginning, forgetful doubtless of her wanderings in strange lands, while round her stood a band of priests armed with spears.

Followed by the Asika and Jeeki, Alan walked up and looked her in the face, and to his excited imagination she appeared to grin at him in answer. Then, while the priests prostrated themselves, he examined the golden basin or laver, and saw that at the further side of it was a little platform approached by steps. On the top of these golden steps were two depressions, such as might have been worn out in the course of ages by persons kneeling there. Also the flat edge of the basin, which stood about thirty inches above the level of the topmost step, was scored as though by hundreds of sword cuts, which had made deep lines in the pure metal. The basin itself was empty.

Seeing that these things interested him, the Asika volunteered the information through Jeeki, that this was a divining-bowl, and that if those who went before her had wished to learn the future, they caused Little Bonsa to float in it and found out all they wanted to know by her movements.

"Where does the water come from?" asked Alan, thoughtlessly.

"Out of the hearts of men," she answered with a low and dreadful laugh. "These marks are those of swords, and every one of them means a life." Then, seeing that he looked incredulous, she added, "Stay, I will show you. Little Bonsa must be thirsty, who has fasted so long, also there are things that I desire to know. Come hither—you, and you," and she pointed at hazard to the two priests who knelt nearest to her, "and do you bid the executioner bring his axe," she went on to a third.

The dark faces of the men turned ashen, but they made no effort to escape their doom. One of them crept up the steps and laid his neck upon the edge of gold, while the other, uttering no word, threw himself on his face at the foot of them, waiting his turn. Then a door opened, and there appeared a great and brutal-looking fellow, naked except for a loin cloth, who bore in his hand a huge weapon, half knife and half axe.

First he looked at Asika, who nodded almost imperceptibly, then sprang on to a prolongation of the golden steps, bowed to

Little Bonsa on her column behind, and heaved up his knife.

Now, for the first time, Alan really understood what was about to happen, and that what he had imagined a stage rehearsal was to become a hideous murder.

"Stop!" he shouted in English, being unable to remember the native word.

The executioner paused with his axe poised in the air; the victim turned his head and looked as though surprised; the second victim and the priests, their companions, looked also. Jeeki fell on to his knees and burst into fervent prayer addressed apparently to Little Bonsa. The Asika smiled and did nothing.

Again the weapon was lifted, and as he felt that words were no longer of any use, even if he could find them, Alan took refuge in action. Springing on to the other side of the little platform, he hit out with all his strength across the kneeling man. Catching the executioner on the point of the chin, he knocked him straight backwards in such fashion that his head struck upon the floor before any other portion of his body, so that he lay there either dead or stunned, Alan never learned which, since the matter was not thought of sufficient importance to be mentioned.

At this sight the Asika burst into a low laugh, then asked Alan why he had felled the executioner. He answered, because he would not stand by and see two innocent men butchered.

"Why not?" she said in a surprised voice, "if Little Bonsa, whose priests they are, needs them, and I, who am the Mouth of the gods, declare that they should die? Still, she has been in your keeping for a long while and you may know her will, so if you wish it, let them live. Or perhaps you require other victims," and she fixed her eyes upon Jeeki, with a glance of suggestive hope.

"O! my golly!" gasped Jeeki in English, "tell her not for Joe, Major, tell her most improper. Say Yellow God my dearest friend, and go mad as hatter if my throat cut——"

Alan stopped his protestations with a secret kick.

"I choose no victims," he broke in, "nor will I see a man's blood shed—to me it is *orunda*—unholy; I may not look on human blood, and if you cause me to do so, Asika, I shall hate you because you make me break my oath."

The Asika reflected for a moment, while Jeeki behind muttered between his chattering teeth:

"Good missionary talk that, Major. Keep up word in season, Major. If she make Christian Martyr of Jeeki, who get you out of this confounded hole?"

Then the Asika spoke.

"Be it as you will, for I desire neither that you should hate me, nor that you should look on that which is unlawful for your eyes to see. The feasts and ceremonies you must attend, but if I can help it no victim shall be slain in your presence, not even that whimpering hound, your servant," she added with a contemptuous glance at Jeeki, "who, it seems, fears to give his life for the glory of the god, but who, because he is yours, is safe now and always."

"That *very* satisfactory," said Jeeki rising from his knees, his face wreathed in smiles, for he knew well that a decree of the Asika could not be broken. Then he began to explain to the priestess that it was not fear of losing his own life that had moved him, but the certainty that this occurrence would disagree mortally with Little Bonsa, whose entire confidence he possessed.

Taking no notice of his words, with a slight reverence to the fetish, she passed on, beckoning to Alan. As he went the two prostrate priests, whose lives he had saved, lifted their heads a little and looked at him with heartfelt gratitude in their eyes; indeed, one of them kissed the place where his foot had trodden. Jeeki, following, gave him a kick to intimate that he was taking a liberty, but at the same time stooped down and asked the man his name. It occurred to him that these rescued priests might some day be useful.

Alan followed her through a kind of swing door which opened into another of the endless halls, but when he looked for her there she was nowhere to be seen. A priest who was waiting beyond the door, bowed and informed him that the Asika had gone to her own place, and would see him that evening. Then bowing again, he led them back by various passages to the room where they had slept.

"Jeeki," said Alan, after their food had

been brought to them, for it was now past midday, this time, he observed, by men, "you were born in Asiki-land; tell me the truth of this business. What does that woman mean when she talks about her spirit having been here from the beginning?"

"She mean, Major, that every time she die her soul go into someone else, whom priests find out by marks. Also Asika always die young, they never let her become old woman, but how she die and where they bury her, no one know except priests. Sometimes she have girl child who become Asika after her, but if she have boy-child, they kill him. I think this Asika daughter of her who made love to your reverend uncle. All that story 'bout her mother not being married lies, and all her story lies too, she often marry."

"But how about the spirit coming back, Jeeki?"

"Expect that lie too, Major, though she think it solemn fact. Priests teach her all those old things. Still," he added doubtfully, "Asika great medicine woman and know lot we don't know, can't say how. Very awkward customer, Major."

"Quite so, Jeeki, I agree with you. But to come to the point, what is her game with me?"

"Oh! Major," he answered with a grin, "*that* simple enough. She tired of black man, want change, mean to marry you according to law, that is, when Mungana dies, and he die jolly quick now. She mustn't kill him, but polish him off all the same, stick him to sleep with those dead 'uns, till he go like drunk man and see things and drown himself. Then she marry you. But till he dead, you all right, she only talk and make eye, 'cause of Asiki law, not 'cause she want stop there."

"Indeed, Jeeki, and how long do you think that the Mungana will last?"

"Perhaps three months, Major, and perhaps two. Think not more than two. Strong man, but he look devilish dicky this morning. Think he begin see snakes."

"Very well, Jeeki. Now listen to me—you've got to get us out of Asiki-land by this day two months, If you don't, that lady will do anything to oblige me, and no doubt there are more executioners left."

"Oh! Major, don't talk like silly fool. You know very well this no place for ultra Christian man like Jeeki, who only come here to please you. Both in same bag, Major; if I die, you die, and leave Miss Barbara up gum tree. I get you out if I can. But this stuff the trouble," and he pointed to the bags of gold. "No want to leave all that behind after such arduous walk. No, no, I try get you out, meanwhile you play game."

"The game! What game, Jeeki?"

"What game?" Why, Asika game, of course. If she sigh, you sigh; if she look at you, you look at her; if she squeeze hand, you squeeze hand; if she kiss, you kiss."

"I am hanged if I do, Jeeki."

"Must, Major; must, or never get out of Asika-land. What all that matter?" he added confidentially, "Miss Barbara not know. Jeeki doesn't split, also quite necessary in situation, as you can't be married till that Mungana dead. All matter business, Major, make time pass pleasant as well. Asika jolly enough if you stroke her fur right way, but if you put her back up—oh Lor! No trouble, sit and smile and say, "Oh ducky, how beautiful you are!" That *not* hurt anybody."

In spite of himself Alan burst out laughing.

"But how about the Mungana?" he asked.

"Mungana, he got take that with rest. Also I try make friends with that poor devil. Tell him it all my eye. Perhaps he believe me—not sure. If he me, I no believe *him*. Mungana," he added oracularly, "Mungana take his chance. What matter? In two months' time he nothing but gold figure, No. 2,403. Just like one mummy in museum. Now I try catch my ma. I hear she alive somewhere. They tell me she used to keep lodging-house for Bonsa pilgrim, but steal grub, say it cat, all that sort of thing, and get run in as thief. Afraid my ma come down very much in world, not society lady now shut up long way off in suburb. Still, p'r'aps she useful, so best send her message by p'liceman, say how much I love her; say her dear little Jeeki turn up again just to see her sweet face. Only don't know if she swallow that, or if they let her out prison unless I pay for all she prig."

(To be continued.)

THE PLACE OF THE KINDERGARTEN IN INDIAN SCHOOLS

II.

THE whole of a child's time in a Froebel School is not spent, however, in playing with balls and cubes. There is always the problem of teaching him those things that it is essential to his future he should know, without breaking the spirit of joyousness, or the habit of dealing with the concrete. There is also the question of physical exercise to be provided for. And further there is the need of children and primitive men to *make*, to *create*. The first of these necessities demands that reading, writing, and the like, should be Froebelised, and included in the school routine. The second is met, in a special sense, by games and songs. And the third is the sphere of the *occupations*, in which some material,—like clay, thread, paper, beads or what not,—is given to the child, and he is taught to make something of it. Only those who have tried, know the marvellous creativeness shown by children, in modelling, in simple kinds of weaving, in making patterns with coloured chalks, and the like. And on the other hand, few of us have any idea of the intellectual epochs that are made for them by things they have done. The most distinguished man I know tells to this day of a great irrigation work, designed and carried out by him at the age of nine, in a tiny back-garden. The joy with which he succeeded in arranging culverts to carry his canals under the path, is still a stimulus to him, still gives him confidence in himself, in the prime of his life.

These occupations were intended by Froebel to connect themselves with the primitive occupations of the race. The disciple of Pestalozzi could not forget that each man is to come to maturity by running rapidly through the historic phases of humanity. And it must be this fact that makes the enthusiasm of the child over the occupations so great. When weaving is so simplified that little children can practise it, they fall upon it with cries of joy. It is given to them by Froebel with strips of coloured paper, woven into a paper frame, or mat, in patterns. It might also be done by weaving coloured string into simple frames of thin bamboo, after the fashion of the toy *charpois* sold in the bazars. Or strips of coloured rag might be used, instead of string or paper. Or bamboo-shavings might receive different bright colours, and be used for the same purpose.

The delight of the children, and their absorption in this pattern-making, will indicate sufficiently its educational value, for it cannot be stated too often, in the words of Herbert Spencer, that appetite is as good a test of mental powers of digestion as of physical.

Mud, clay, and sand are another form of material by whose means children educate themselves. With them, early man learnt to build. Children, and above all Indian children, have a perfect genius for modelling, and this ought to be fostered and encouraged. Let two children make bananas of clay, and by comparing their productions, we shall quickly see which knew more, which observed better, which had proceeded further in thought. From this, we shall quickly learn to see the educational value of modelling, and the intellectual power which expresses itself in all art.

The genius of Froebel is nowhere seen to greater advantage than when he gives coloured paper to children, and leads them to fold it,—not only, by this means, teaching them an infinitude of geometry, about lines and surfaces, but also encouraging them to make a number of paper toys. The delight of little children in working together towards a common standard of

excellence, makes them pursue eagerly the purposes set before them. And only by trying it, can one begin to understand how much education can be indicated and acquired, by this simple means. The whole mental grasp and development of an individual goes to determine his success in folding a square of paper precisely in half, laying it straight, in its proper place on the table.

It is the scope which they offer to the imagination, that makes the little ones love these raw materials of activity, with so ardent a love. None of the costly dolls and other toys that are made by machines and sold in shops, have this power to rouse their interest and absorb their attention. The very crudity of the material is an advantage to the child, because it leaves so much to the mind. It only suggests, it does not complete. Children at play, like the worshipper at prayer, want suggestions of the ideal, not its completed representation. The work of the imagination is something to which we have constantly to invite the child, if he does not spring to it spontaneously. It is this which makes him declare, when he receives his first ball, that it is like a bird, a fish, a kitten; and this first effort of the imagination is to be encouraged, never to be checked.

But an Indian village, far from railways, with its potter, its weaver, its brazier, and its jeweller; with women at the spinning-wheel, and *gowallas* tending the animals, is a perfect picture of primitive society. All the early occupations of man are there, and all the early tools. The potter's wheel, the weaver's loom, the plough, the spinning-wheel, and the anvil, are the eternal toys of the race. A child left to play in these streets, dramatising all the life about him, might easily make for himself an ideal Kindergarten. The village itself is the true child-garden. There is a great deal of truth in this statement. It will always tend to be true in India, that great men for this reason, are born in villages, rather than in cities. And rather in mediæval than in modern cities. At the same time, we must remember that the village is a haphazard congeries of occupations, from the child's point of view, not an organised and directed synthesis, like the school. It is by dramatising the crafts, and repeating them in his own way, that the child educates himself, not by taking an actual part in their labour. If the second of these were the true mode of experience, some slave-child of a servant or a craftsman would stand a better chance of education than the little freeman of a higher class who flits hither and thither at will, and uses labour as a means of self-development, not as a passport to the right of existence.

It is most of all for the stimulus they give to the games, that the child has reason to rejoice in the presence of the village-crafts. A Kindergarten game, ought, ideally, to be a drama constructed impromptu out of a story or a description. It is a drama of the primitive type, like that of the *Kathaks* in which one or two principal performers are supported by a chorus. The song is accompanied by such movements as dancing in a ring, hand in hand, clapping, or jumping. The subject may be drawn from nature, or the crafts, or family life. The farmer's labours of sowing, transplanting, and reaping; the drawing of water for the fields; the weaver at his loom, and the maiden at her wheel; the work of potter, brazier and jeweller; the flight of birds; the herding of cows; the life of the river-siders; the relations of parents and children; all these are good subjects. Mrs. Brander, in Madras, has collected the nursery-rhymes of the Tamils, and made them into simple child-garden games which are of great value in creating enjoyment, and giving co-ordinated action. The children stand in a ring and sing the couplet, with any gestures that may be appropriate. Then, perhaps, they take hands and dance round, repeating it. Such games, of pure physical movement, deserve inclusion in the Kindergarten list. The well-known rhyme in Bengali, beginning

"Tai, Tai, Tai, Mamar bari jai,"

suggests similar treatment.

The most serious and universally applicable aspects of the Kindergarten are discovered, however, so soon as we begin to consider the problem of initiating, through them, various kinds of knowledge. Without breaking the continuity of its concrete experience, the child has to learn the use of written language, Arithmetic, Geometry, History, Geography, various kinds of science and design. In leading its mind into the struggle with these different classes of facts,

we are free to use any object or material that pleases us, or promises to illustrate the task before us. But certain principles must guide us. We must present the child with appropriate elements, that is to say, with elements that he can deal with. And we must lead him to learn, through his own deeds. I have often thought that a box full of little card-board tiles, printed with the letters of the alphabet, would be a more child-like way of teaching a child to read, than a reading-book. The learning would be more rapid and more pleasant, if these letters were to be picked out and put together, like the pieces of a puzzle. Certainly writing comes before reading, just as speaking a foreign language precedes the easy understanding of it. Word-building,—the spelling of detached words—comes before the reading of sentences. And so on. Always the appeal to the senses. Always the learning by experience. And always joy, the hunger for more.

Many people fear that if work be always made delightful, children will be enervated, and become unable to do that which is distasteful and hard. But these minds have missed the whole meaning of the child-garden. The joy that the child feels there, is the joy of self-control, the joy of energy and absorption, the joy of work. It is an austere, not a libertine, delight. A well-trained Kindergarten child knows better than any other how to address himself to a new problem, how to shoulder a heavy load, how to infer a principle, from the facts to be correlated. And this power has been gained by teaching him in accordance with his own nature, by watching the laws of his development, and seeking to run with these, instead of against them, by enlisting the activity and effort of the whole child, instead of fettering some faculties and dictating to others.

In other words, if the aim of the Kindergarten has been realised at all, Nature has here been conquered by obeying her.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

A HINDU'S ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST: THE MAN, THE NEWSPAPER-MAN AND THE STATESMAN

IF an apology were necessary for the present paper, the chances are that I would not be preparing it nor the MODERN REVIEW publishing it; but if an excuse is needed for the article, it is to be found in the fact that the subject of this character-sketch looms large on the horizon of newspaperdom. No less than five million people daily read the chain of eight newspapers which William Randolph Hearst owns; which are published under his direct superintendence in five leading cities of the United States; and which represent his views and policies. Probably another two million people read the three magazines which are Mr. Hearst's property. So far as the clientele is concerned, there is not another newspaper-man in the world who influences more minds—whose operations are more gigantic. Mr. Hearst has invested Rs. 3,60,00,000 in his publications. He spends Rs. 3,50,00,000 annually on them, realizing magnificent profits. He is a v ritable giant amongst newspaper and magazine makers. What he is, what he represents, what his methods are, cannot therefore but be of vital moment.

People have been hitherto apt to consider this man in the light of a "yellow" journalist—a sensationalist; but remarks such as these have been inspired by jealousy and spite. He has been dubbed, by some, as merely a shadow. The world has been told that all Hearst does is to engage competent men to make and sell his newspapers and magazines. The people at large have been given to understand that a syndicate of talented men does the work, frames the

policies, for which Hearst gets the credit—that he has no personality, no genius save that of getting hold of the right man for the right place. This impression has been adroitly exploited by the adversaries of Mr. Hearst. But, more and more the man Hearst is living down these wild stories. He is daily growing upon the world. People are fast coming into the realization that Hearst is not a myth—that he is, indeed, a very "live" man—that he is "doing things", as the Yankee puts it. His personality, his policies and methods of journalism, his political ambitions and his *modus operandi* to gratify them, are exercising potent influence on our times; and the world is commencing to query: "What manner of man is Hearst, anyway?"

Imagine a tall, somewhat slim man, six feet one, in his stockings, with an alert, athletic body, a longish face, hair parted in the middle almost refusing to stay "put", a broad, high forehead well filled out immediately above the eyebrows, the latter carefully and finely pencilled by Nature, eyes of a greyish hue, nose straight and long, a small, discreet mouth and a rugged, fulsome, refined chin. Your first impression of the man is that he is of a shy, retiring nature—there is something about him suggestive of mysteries. This estimate is transitory—wrong. It is rapidly succeeded by the feeling that he is a man of severe penetration, relentless will, indomitable perseverence, tireless, fathomless energy—a person with a purpose—one who dares and plans and executes. This impression, in its turn, transmutes itself and the real Hearst appears in the light of one who calculates, but not in a diabolical spirit; one who aims high, but not with invariable sordidness; one who works, but not for himself alone; one who gloats in his successes, but does not debar his helpers and associates from the profits that are coming to them through his success. This is the impression that remains with those who come in somewhat intimate contact with Mr. Hearst and do not carry within themselves poisoned hearts. This is the characterization that is uppermost in the minds of the hosts of people who have heard him speak on labour and sociological subjects, who have had the privilege of listening to his indictments of the "idle rich", of the "money power", and of the vicious "society". To these men, Hearst is very much of a personality, swayed by passions, desires and ambitions which they believe are all working in unison toward filing the chains that hold the proletariat of America the bondsmen of a set of unprincipled monopolists and vile, disreputable, financial freebooters.

I have looked at this man long and steadfastly. I have studied the Hearst face analytically. He seems to me to be dissimilar to his compeers—other businessmen. In America, every successful businessman talks and moves as if he was the pivotal point of the world. Furthermore, he is always in a hurry. I have come in contact with a number of so-called great men of the United States. In my heart of hearts, I carry the impression that despite their gigantic operations they have very little ballast aboard. They spend themselves too extravagantly. Not so with Mr. Hearst. This shy-looking, calm man, with an agile body and supple mind, impresses me as being so different from the rest of them. He makes me feel that he has reserved energy upon which he can draw any moment—and that it exceeds even my wildest estimate. Even the deepest Americans alongside him look shallow.

William Randolph Hearst is a man with money. He owns millions of dollars. So did his father. The sons of millionaires in America I find engage in all manner of debauchery. Their one aim in life seems to be inventing new methods of squandering their money. There is another class of excessively rich men's sons. They are money-mad. The yellow metal has a lure for them so powerful that their waking life is filled with a maniacal frenzy for amassing dollars. Mr. Hearst, the son of a wealthy man and himself a millionaire, is a friend of the poor man. He is the working people's ally. He is a sworn enemy of the dishonest and crooked money-piler. To quote from a magazine not very favourable to Mr. Hearst:

"It is due to Mr. Hearst more than any other man, that the Central and Union Pacific Railroads paid the £24,000,000 they owed the Government. Mr. Hearst secured a model children's hospital for San-Francisco, and he built the Greek Theatre of the University of California—one of the most successful classic reproductions in America. Eight years ago, and again this year, his energetic campaigns did a

large part of the work of keeping the ice trust within bounds in New York. His industrious Law Department put some fetters on the coal trust. He did much of the work in defeating the Ramapo plot, by which New York would have been saddled with a charge of £40,000,000 for water. To the industry and pertinacity of his lawyers New Yorkers owe their ability to get gas for 80 cents a thousand feet, as the law directs, instead of a dollar. In maintaining a legal department which plunges into the lime-light with injunctions when corporations are caught trying to sneak under or around law, he has rendered a service which has been worth millions of dollars to the public."

And, Mr. Hearst is unlike the other millionaire friends of the poor. He does not install himself on a pedestal. He does not arrogate to himself the position of a "superior man"—one who is superior because of the bigness of the pile of money that has come to him through a mother or father, or which he has amassed by wringing the life-blood of working men and women. He does not talk "down" to the man on the street, whom he puts himself out to help. He ranks himself on a par with them, he establishes himself on the same level with them. He is a WORKER. Some people work with the hands—some with brains—both are workers. Mr. Hearst is a worker of the latter order. At the dead of night, when it is bleak and dreary outside and the mercury, like a coy, fickle maiden is flirting with the zero point, or when the wind is blowing hard and fast and snow is being driven with fury before the blast, you will find Hearst entering the building of one of his morning papers, betaking himself to his superbly-fitted room and there divesting himself of his over-coat, coat and vest. A few minutes later you will discover the man in the composing-room, with his shirt-sleeves rolled up to the elbow, standing half-doubled over a galley of type. Or, he may be dictating an editorial, or instructing a writer how to write an editorial note, or discussing the make-up of the paper. Or, he may be having a conference with his lieutenants, taking counsel with them and talking over matters of importance, asking their advice, and accepting it if it is good, without hesitation. He is great because he knows his own limitations—does not attempt to do *too* much. There is no danger of such a man as this being snobbish or looking down upon the man who works with his hand or brain. For him, the English term "gentleman" for one who eschews healthy, profitable work, represents nothing save undiluted degradation and vileness.

The views of Mr. Hearst on labour are characteristic. In his speech delivered on September 2, 1907, at the Jamestown Exposition at the "Labour Day" celebration, he said :

"Some nations have grown great by conquering their weaker neighbours. Others have grown rich by despoiling dependent colonies, but this nation has grown to be the greatest and the richest of all through the peaceful development of its own resources, by the honest labor of its citizens.

"In this country labor is universal and is universally honored and appreciated. In this country there is no working class, but every man worthy of the name is a workingman.

"In this country there is no class of men that work with their hands while another class work with their brains.

"In America all men work with their brains, and when we say that American laborers are the most efficient on earth we do not mean that their hands are different from those of other men, but that their minds are clearer, quicker and more effective than those of other men.

"In this country the mechanics work, the farmers work, the clerks work, the business men work, the professional men work and even the millionaires work.

"We have no aristocracy save that of intellect and industry, and the proudest title of our most successful millionaire is "captain of industry."

"In a country where all men are workingmen there should be greater community of interest, better mutual understanding and sympathy."

In an editorial note which appeared on the same date in the Hearst newspapers, the workingman was exhorted :

"There are hundreds of thousands of tired horses resting on this day, and we are all glad of it. But a man should not rest as a HORSE rests, merely to relax his muscles and his nerves, or merely to kick up his heels in the open air in physical exultation. The day of physical rest for a MAN should be a day of mental activity, of earnest thought. The man who has conquered better pay and shorter hours should think earnestly today on the best uses to be made of the leisure and the money that the intelligent organization has given him. He should think especially about his duty to others LESS fortunate than himself."

These words were perused by probably five or six million men and women in the United States. They could not but have had a salutary effect on those who read them. The personality behind these words, however, transcends them. Mr. Hearst varies his brain-work by collecting curios, taking photographs and automobile riding. He lives in a land where almost every writer drinks or smokes or indulges in both vices,



THE LATE GEORGE HEARST.



MRS. PHŒBE HEARST.



W. R. HEARST WITH HIS SON GEORGE.



MRS. W. R. HEARST AND HER SON GEORGE.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE EVENING JOURNAL. NEW YORK, MAY 8, 1908.

THE NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL, NO. 222 TO 238 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1908.

She Let the Other Lady Worry.

Women, Please Try to Be Like Queen Elizabeth.

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There are two very sad sights in this world. The first sad sight is a stout lady, early in the morning, sighing and asking her husband whether she hasn't lost an ounce, and then drawing herself in, and panting and puffing, and trying to fasten a tight corset.

And the second sad sight is the same stout lady in the evening, making her poor husband say that she looks MUCH thinner, and then puffing and panting, and drawing herself in, and trying to UNFASTEN the same corset.

Between the fastening and the unfastening there are many distressing hours and minutes, many heart pangs.

The poor lady tries to run and get rid of flesh that way. This makes her hungry and thirsty; then she gets fatter.

She wears a rubber suit, covering up her poor, fat pores, thinking that the rubber suit will make her thin. She deprives her body of the air that it needs, keeps out the oxygen that would combine with the carbon, bring about combustion and get rid of the dead tissue. She hurts herself, weakens her heart, throws on her poor, tired kidneys the work that the fat pores of the skin ought to do, adds extra labor to the liver and muddies her poor complexion.

She is a sad and pitiful creature.

Another sad person is the short woman that wants to be taller. She wears high heels—very bad for her backbone. She wears a foolish high hat, with something sticking up in the top of it, that makes her ridiculous.

That poor SHORT thing stretches her diaphragm, strains her poor neck, trying to be tall.

And just as sad as she is the other poor TALL thing—the woman who imagines herself too tall, and squeezes in her lungs, and humps her shoulders, trying to get down to the insignificant height of some little foolish man that she thinks she likes.

The good wise old man who wrote the inspired eighteenth and nineteenth verses of the thirtieth chapter of Proverbs was puzzled in four ways:

He said:

"There be three things which are too wonderful for me, yea, four which I know not:

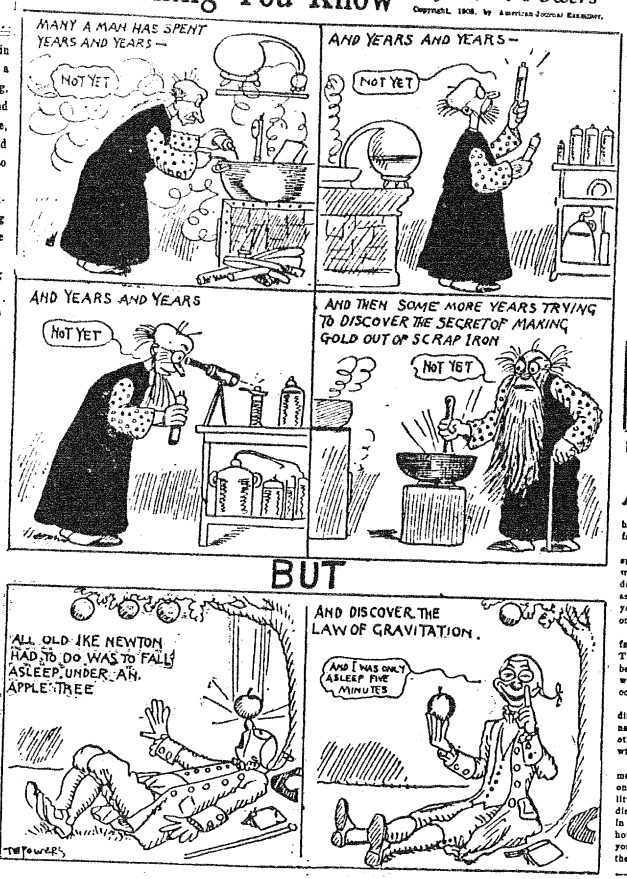
"The way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock; the way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid."

We respectfully submit that a fat woman trying to get thin, and a thin woman trying to get fat, a short one trying to get tall, a tall one trying to get short, are "too wonderful" for anybody, more wonderful than the

Surest Thing You Know

By T. E. Powers

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Deathless.

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

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THERE lies in the centre of each man's heart
A longing and love for the good and pure;
And if but an atom, or larger part,
I tell you, this shall endure—endure
After the body has gone to decay—
Yea, after the world has passed away.

THE longer I live and the more I see
Of the struggle of souls toward the heights above
The stronger this truth comes home to me:
That the Universe rests on the shoulders of love,
A love so limitless, deep, and broad
That men have renamed it and called it—God.

AND nothing that ever was born or evolved,
Nothing created by light or force,
But deep in its system there lies dissolved
A shining drop from the Great Love Source;
A shining drop that shall live for aye—
Though kingdoms may perish and stars decay.

Home-Maker or Poet?

Dish-Washing Is Not an Inspiring Task, but Fortunate Is the Woman That Has It to Do.

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

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A LADY writes me that she has tried to become an author and poet for years, but has met with no success. This lady has a good home and husband and an interesting family. She says:

"I still have a home, but have to spend more time than I really care to washing dishes. I think it is the most dispiriting kind of domestic work. I am said to wash them most beautifully, and year in and year out I seldom break one."

I must confess I think there are more fascinating tasks than washing dishes. There are also worse ones. I have never been able to understand how any woman who has dishes to wash permits them to occupy so much of her time.

The average housekeeper allows her dishes to dominate her instead of dominating the dishes. The work is like any other—it is only half the task when methods with an intelligent preparation.

Plenty of hot, very hot, water is the main thing, and not one housekeeper in one hundred ever has it ready! Then a little system in getting the least soiled dishes at hand first, and a lot of dispatch in getting at the work and through it—hot, boiling hot, rinsing water—and there you are, with only a few dishes needing the touch of a wiping towel even.

Then every time a dish is used between meals wash it out and put it in its place. Do not toss it aside to be cleansed "with no success." Don't leave your breakfast dishes to be washed with your lunch utensils.

I have seen a woman go about her laundry work with breakfast dishes unwashed; she was too busy to do them. That type of woman will never on earth make a success of anything. She will always have a lot of irons in the fire and no one of them will ever get hot.

It would be well for my correspondent to realize that far worse than having too many dishes to wash is to have no dishes at all—no home.

To be an excellent home maker and keeper is better than being a mediocre poet and author. There are a great many more of the latter in the world today, however, than the former.

Yet if my correspondent has real talent, she should use it. Sometimes success is long in coming, but if one has a message for humanity it will be heard in time, as I do not believe in "mute, inglorious Miltons." The temperament and the feeling are sometimes given without the power of expression.

Many people *feel* so deeply that they believe they can write, but they lack that one necessary gift of utterance. My correspondent may be one of these, in which case the only sensible thing for her to do is to be satisfied that she can feel and enjoy the works of others, and to be especially grateful that she has a home and is not struggling alone with life, with only a pen to lean upon.

UPPER HALF OF AN EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL (reduced).

and where even many women writers employ cigarettes and liquor in order to coax the inspiration to write; yet he is absolutely free from the taint of both alcohol and tobacco. Mr. Hearst is a rich man, but he does not squander money on wine or women—instead, he is a married man, devoted to his wife and child. He goes to the theatre but seldom, though he is a lover of music. For so-called "Society", he has the loftiest contempt. He lets alone all frivolities—concentrates upon work, depending upon his wife and child for sane and healthy recreation.

Love for work has been the distinguishing feature of Mr. Hearst's career. When he left college to engage himself in business, he went to San Francisco, where his father was residing. At that time Senator George Hearst was worth Rs. 6,00,00,000. He owned mines and ranches and other valuable properties. He asked his son what particular ranch or mine he wanted for his own to commence his life-work. The young man shook his head at silver and copper mines—said he did not care for cattle ranches; but wished from the "old man" the "San Francisco Examiner"—the political organ of the elder Hearst, which did not pay. With a wealthy father to furnish the early expenses, and with the zeal, intelligence and industry brought to bear by the son, new life was pumped into the paper; the old staff was weeded out; capable, efficient men installed; a new policy outlined; and within a few months the "San Francisco Examiner" became a profitable concern. Mr. Hearst engaged the best talent available to assail the plutocrats, and unearth plots and schemes of politicians to despoil the people. He employed gifted artists to draw cartoons and caricatures to accompany and set off the pen pictures, and by means of attractive typography, made the people of San Francisco realize that a new star had risen in the newspaper firmament—a planet which was destined to outshine others. Society scandals were bared—the iniquities of the get-rich-quick schemers and corrupt politicians exposed—Sherlock-Holmes methods employed to clear murder and other mysteries. The newspaper was rendered intensely interesting—and it sold. Mr. Hearst worked on it indefatigably, night and day, and when success crowned his efforts in San Francisco, he moved in 1895, to New York City, bought a defunct paper and re-organized it on the lines of the 'Frisco Examiner and made it a remunerative and successful publication.

Incidentally it may be remarked here that the San Francisco Examiner was the only property or money that Mr. Hearst ever received from his father. The Examiner was losing money at the time Mr. Hearst took charge of it. He put it on a paying basis, and with the profits has started his various other publications.

The journalistic methods affected by Mr. Hearst are taken exception to by many critics. They are denounced as saffron-coloured—yellow,* sensational. Mr. Hearst does not deny that his newspapers are fearless and daring—that they are conducted so that they will appeal to the populace. Those who decry the Hearst publications as phosphorescent fail to take into consideration the fact that the clientele of Mr. Hearst mainly consists of working people. They possess, as a rule, common primary school education—they cannot therefore, appreciate any other language but the simplest and clearest. They are chary of being "moralized"—and they will reject the pill unless it is sugar-coated. Without the big headlines, without the cartoons and caricatures, without the illustrations, the text written in the old-time staid, conventional style would fall flat on them. William Randolph Hearst realized this—Joseph Pulitzer, of the New York World, had preceded him in employing these galvanic methods to electrify the readers—Hearst set out to beat Pulitzer at his own game—and he did.

I am not an apologist for the "yellow" newspaper-maker. I am, however, fully alive to the fact that the dry-as-dust, old-fashioned style of newspaper-writing might attract the aristocrats educated under the aegis of feudalism, but it would fail to enlist the interest of the proletariat. The newspaper which wants to circulate amongst the masses has to be of a "light" nature. This may exclude so-called "literature" from the columns of the paper—but it serves an important end. It places within the reach of the masses many blessings—which more than counterbalances the evils.

* The word "yellow" was first applied in the sense of being sensational.

In order to show the reader the character of educational work that the Hearst publications are carrying on, let me quote from one or two of Mr. Hearst's editorials. Here is a typical sentiment:

"A very prominent gentleman has advised all boys to learn to shoot, and this has caused some discussion. A reader requests our opinion as to the advisability of advocating the use of firearms in this republic.

"Here is our opinion:

"Every man in a republic should know how to use firearms. Every citizen should know how to use a rifle, and should own a rifle.

"Nations that have lost their liberties have been unarmed nations.

"Nations that have gained liberty or resisted attack have known how to defend themselves as individuals as well as nationally.

"When this country successfully fought the British, almost every man in the United States owned a rifle and knew how to use it. It was simple to turn the sight of the rifle from the bear or Indian to the hired man with the red coat.

"When the little Boer nation beat the British once and kept them at bay so long this last time every Boer owned his rifle and was a good marksman.

"If you want to know the difference between the nations that are taught to fight, that are accustomed to arms, and the other kind, consider the Chinese and the Japanese.

"In China not one man in a thousand ever had a gun in his hand, or knew anything about the use of any weapon. They were beaten so easily by the little Japanese nation that it was comical.

"In Japan, on the other hand, for centuries a great body of the people—the Samurai—have been taught to fight. They have been looked up to, imitated by the working class below them.

"The flower of Japanese manhood has been trained in fighting, self-denial, military exercise, for centuries. And the result shows in the splendid fighting officers and men that Japan could produce at a moment's notice to thrash Russia.

"As a sample of another peaceful, unarmed country, look at India, with three hundred millions of mild, sheep-like, dark-colored creatures living under the rule of a handful of beef-eating, beer-drinking, fighting Englishmen thousands of miles away.

"It is a bad thing to fight. It is a brutal thing to want to fight.

"But it is an extremely unfortunate thing not to know how to fight in case you are attacked."

Here is another extract from a Hearst editorial:

"Do criminals viciously and voluntarily arise among us, eager to lead hunted lives, eager to be jailed at intervals, eager to crawl in the dark, dodge policemen, work in stripes and die in shame? Hardly.

"Dear bishops, noble women, good men and scheming politicians, listen to this story:

"In the South Sea Islands they have for contagious diseases a horror as great as your horror of crime.

"A man or woman stricken with a loathsome disease, such as smallpox, is siezed, isolated, and the individual sores of the smallpox patient are earnestly scraped with seashells—until the patient dies. It hurts the patient a good deal—without ever curing, of course—but it relieves the feelings of the outraged good ones who wield the sea-shells.

"You kind-hearted creatures, hunting "crime" in great cities, are like the South Sea Islanders in their treatment of smallpox.

"You ardently wield your reforming sea-shells and you scrape very earnestly at the sores so well-developed.

"No desire to decry your earnest efforts.

"But if you ever get tired of scraping with sea-shells, try vaccination, or, better still, try to take such care of youth, to give such chances and education to the young, as will save them from the least profitable of all careers—crime.

"Rich good men, nice bishops, comfortable, benevolent ladies,—every man and woman in the Bridewell,* every wretched creature living near a "red light"† would gladly change places with any of you.

"Scrape away with your sea-shells, but try also to give a few more and a few better chances in youth to those whom you now hunt as criminals in their mature years.

"God creates boys and girls, anxious to live decently.

"Your social system makes criminals and fills jails."

These quotations are taken at random; but they are a fair sample of what the readers of the Hearst editorials are taught day after day. The constant endeavour seems to be made to uplift the masses in every possible manner.

Leaving the editorial section alone, the comic page of the Hearst newspapers may be criticized. Take the "Mrs. Trubb" pictures which are appearing at the time of this writing. They are showing the husbands the folly of neglecting their own wives and dancing attendance on other men's spouses. Similarly, "Advice to the Love-Lorn" is a section full of interest and instruction. The United States is a land where the institution of marriage is becoming more and more decadent, and where men and women are all hunting for romance. Under such circumstances, hearts are bound to be broken, and the value of sound advice restraining immature girls and boys from eloping and doing other reckless things is of patent utility. The Hearst papers conduct other departments from day to day in the interests of the populace which show that great vigilance is exercised and sedulous care is bestowed upon the matter of studying and supplying the wants of newspaper readers.

In the United States the death-knell has been sounded for the snobbery of caste and

* The name of a gaol.

† "Red light" is the district in which the "unfortunates" dwell.

plutocracy. The privileged class exists in the country—but its fate has been sealed. There are many anomalies present in the land today—there are many things which appear to me and to other observers to be far from right—the predatory operations of the American trusts, of the corruptionists and grafters cannot but be scored. With all this, the people of the United States are slowly and steadily marching toward democracy. The common man, therefore, has to be uplifted—educated to know his rights—taught how to use them wisely and to the best advantage of himself and the country. The tragedy of American politics and of business frauds, it seems to me, consists in the fact that the farmers and the working people are taken mean advantage of by shrewd and unscrupulous schemers. "Popular government" cannot be said to be fully representative so long as the average voter is not acquainted with the wily schemes plutocrats and office-seekers employ to gain their selfish ends. The nation rests securely on the intelligence, integrity and industry of the common people. The true leader realizes this and therefore works for the sane education of the masses.

A propaganda such as it is, some may object, involves a class-struggle. Mr. Hearst has been accused of inciting class hatred, of developing contempt for the law. He has emphatically contradicted the reports that he is a socialist; and to call him an anarchist is a folly, pure and simple. However, it cannot be denied that Mr. Hearst is leagued against privilege and monopoly. He is an enemy of the few exploiting the many. He is teaching the common man to wake up and refuse to be cheated.

In Mr. Hearst's mind I see the common man reflected. He is the maker of his times, in a measure—but is himself a product of the times. In his brain are mirrored the opinions of the American people—and its replica you see in his politics—in his newspapers. As a man, newspaperman and statesman, his influence is for the betterment of the masses. His work, no matter how selfish—his newspapers, no matter how sensational—are steadily shaking off the lethargy of the proletariat and setting the face of the people toward prosperity by bringing the passing of plutocracy and money-madness nearer and nearer to materialization.

The personality of the man Hearst is visible both in his newspapers and political ideals. His journalistic work and political activities are so dove-tailed together that it is impossible to say where one ends and the other begins. Mr. Hearst is aiming, by all the means he has in his power, to purify the politics of his country, to educate the voter to a sense of his responsibility and to make the government of the land representative in the most literal sense of the word.

William Randolph Hearst is dearly loved by millions of Americans, and execrated and opposed by as many. In good and evil report, not the least concerned by success or failure, he toils on in the achievement of his object, which, to the writer, seems to be the thorough democratization of the United States.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

SPECIMENS OF TUKARAM'S *ABHANGS*

7. If thou canst not utter forth sweet words—if God hath not blessed thee with a sweet voice—(what recks it?)—Vitthal does not pine for these. Voice forth—or well or ill, *Ram Krishna, Ram Krishna.* Ask of God a spirit of tender affection knit to faith and love and strength of heart. O Heart, saith Tuka, this is the counsel I give thee. Strengthen thy will from day to day.

12. Enough, all of thee have I received. Let not the slightest feeling of estrangement

12. *All of thee have I received.* He does not ask for any more blessings.

The Disputations of men—Tukaram will have nothing to do with the disputes between the Dvaita and the Advaita Schools of Philosophy—The former maintains Duality (Spirit and matter; God and man &c.). The latter reduces all to *one* universal Soul. The best orthodox Schools while they maintain the

keep us asunder. Every where I trace thy footsteps. The three worlds, all of them are full of thee, O, Vitthal. The disputations of men whether Thou art one with Nature or apart—do but delude. O, save me from wrangling with them. Thus saith Tuka:—No infinitesimal particle but contains Thee—the unbounded heaven fails to compass Thee. (All bounds dost thou exceed).

19. This boon nor *Brahma* nor the other gods have earned. Suppliants, we are stronger and happier far. All desire cast off, we have merited this right (*i.e.* of performing *Bhajan*) and by our service have made *Brahma's* Sire our debtor. Bounteous for ever flows the milk of this *Kama-Dhenu* streaming forth till the heart's desire is full. So mighty is its overflow that even where ye sit it transcendeth the height of Triputi. We servants of *Vishnu* know not what it is to fall (to fare the worst in the fight), for *Narayan* hath found rest in us (has possessed us). Tuka's self beareth witness—sumptuous is this banquet—nor may one leave it with hunger unappeased, but the truly miserable.

truth of *one-ness*, concede provisionality to the doctrine of Duality. Tukaram, as will be seen, wavers between both.

19. *This boon*—The capacity to perform Bhajan or Kirtan. This is done by groups of persons holding each a Vina, or cymbals, singing together the names of God, or saints, to the sound of music; or repeating some Abhang line by line, when the headman has led. Occasionally when an eminent preacher visits a place, he takes a text, expounds it, and illustrates it with stories drawn from Puranas or Biographies of Saints. The latter is the true *Kirtan*; while the former goes by the name of Bhajan. Bhajan is later on called the feast to which all are welcome, save the truly miserable.

Brahma's Sire i.e., Padmanabha=[Vishnu] from whose navel springs up a lotus upon which Brahma is seated. Hence Vishnu is called the father of Brahma.

This Kama-Dhenu—i.e., Bhajan, which is likened to a desire-fulfilling cow owned by Indra—the God of Gods.

Triputi—lit-three folded into *one*. Every thought or every act involves the conception of a triad, (*a*) (1) the thinker (2) what is thought (3) the act of thinking; (*b*) (1) the doer, (2) the act done, (3) the act of doing. When a worshipper in the last stage of devotion, in a trance succeeds in losing his individual soul in the universal soul and is absorbed in the latter, *the three* become *one* and are called *triputi*.

Narayana, Pandurang, Vishnu, Hari (A. 22) are different names of the same God, who is symbolized at Pandharpur as Vitthal (pop. Vithoba).

21. The *Vaishnavas* say that *Vishnu* pervadeth the universe and that all distracting wrangles about immanence and non-immanence are unholy. Listen to me O, *Bhagavats*. Take heed, O take heed of your welfare. The secret of worshipping the Almighty God is this "that ye hate no creature." All, saith Tuka, are but limbs of one body. The *Jiva* soul that suffereth or rejoiceth is but the reflection of the Universal Soul.

22. We have cast off all desire and have become *Udasa* (indifferent to the world). Why should we now fear Death, O Hari? My body may fall anywhere or ride a horse. O, God, keep Thy treasure to Thyself. We are as we were. Honour or dis-honour, joy or sorrow, have no menace for us. No care nor anxiety, saith Tuka, do we harbour now in our heart.

25. A true diamond withstands the hammer's shock. It shall earn its price; while the false is crushed to atoms. A Mohora jewel carries a thread safe with it through the fire. So, saith Tuka, doth a true Saint bear unmoved the strokes of the world.

32. Make me, O God, a slave of slaves that serve Saints; and then I care not if

21. *Vaishnavas i.e.*, followers of Vishnu; same as Bhagvats called so later on. *Immanence and non-immanence*—the opposed doctrines that God pervades the universe, and that He sits apart from it;—the doctrines respectively of the Advaita and Dvaita systems of philosophy.

The Jiva soul—the Individual soul,—the reflection of the Universal soul (Advaita).

22. *Udasa* literally means *indifferent* (to the world). The followers of Nanaka, a Reformer in the Punjab, call themselves Udas-is.

May fall any where or ride a horse. Symbolical respectively of *dying in misery* or *living in affluence*; viewed as outward circumstances that concern the body and not the soul.

Keep Thy treasure to Thyself—Tuka asks no boons like common worshippers. He says he has realized his own nature, which is one with God (Advaita)—*we are as we were*. The true nature of man is concealed from him in this life by Avidya (Ignorance), whose veil is torn away by Vidya (knowledge of Brahma realised).

25. A true saint is compared to a true diamond which does not break into atoms under a hammer, or to a mythical mohora jewel, which passes unscathed through the fire itself, and confers a like virtue on cotton-thread wound round it.

32. Deep humility is a marked feature in Tukaram's character.

He does not, as will be seen later on, ask for moksha (Liberation), nor holds in dread life on earth, if he

I undergo pangs of rebirth for ages! Low service too shall be dear to me, if only my lips may ever utter forth Thy name. This is the word of Tuka, let all desires have their consummation in Thy service.

36. If ye look on others' wives as on your own mother, what taxes you, pray?

If ye delight not in backbiting and slander nor covet another's wealth, what taxes you?

If sitting at ease in your own place, ye repeat "Rama" "Rama", what taxes you?

If ye put faith in what Saints say, what lose ye?
To speak the truth, costs little—prithee what do ye
lose, ?"

And yet behold, saith Tuka, all this gains God; no rules straiter than these do ye need.

37. The pure seed yieldeth a fair fruit and savoury. Whose lips breathe words of nectar, whose limbs are dedicated to the service of God, whose heart through all its cells is as holy as *Ganga-water*, of him, saith Tuka—if ye light upon *such* a Saint, straightway your troubles cease, and ye obtain rest.

38. If contentment reign in the heart, poison and gold behave alike. Excess of greed is wrongful, know my good people. O, how can I convince you? If the heart be ill at ease, the cool sandal powder serves but to set the body afire. Every thing, saith Tuka, even honour proveth a torture.

39. Crush not the flower that thou mayest distil its fragrance. Eat not the child because it is so dear. What is not possible to intense faith? (Canst thou not like the tortoise mother, shed ofttimes thy loving glance and foster growth?) The water of the pearl is bright, yet seek not to taste it. The lute yields sweet music, O, break it not to see whence its sound proceeds. Feed not on fateful desire, saith Tuka, to see how *Karma* worketh out its course. Well is it for me to point the secret path to all mankind.

42. Who seek and gain *Vritti*, lands, kingdom, wealth, know ye, that verily these find not God. The hired ass bears his burden on his back.

No lot is his to taste its savoury contents.
With lustful eye, dwelling on what the faithful bring,
He serves the idol—a piece of stone—himself another—
saith Tuka.
Practising the wily ways of a prostitute,
He longs in vain, to reach the goal!

43. Holy, sacred, are they alone on the broad surface
of the Earth,
To whom God is dear; whose love for Him
runs its full, even course,
Blessed are they—even as untold wealth—that
serve your cause and never fail.
Serve them, saith Tuka, and ye too shall be blessed.

44. Who serves his hopes—can he catch God's eye? He serves his senses, he seeks but his body's ease. When reason is dethroned, the tongue talks wildly, verily he knoweth not his good. Saith Tuka:—A drop of poison doth corrupt a whole dish of food.

46. They serve him best, who serve him in the heart.
Why need ye reck what people say?
Your silent prayer should reach him—*that* ye need.

commands two blessings (1) company of saints in any guise, and (2) opportunity of praying to God, and repeating His names.

36. This and some of the following selections embody much of Tukaram's preaching to the common people, who need not practise any rigid rules of Yoga to gain God.

39. This Abhang is a little obscure. I have literally translated khau naye mula avadate—(Eat not the child)—But I suspect mula is a misreading for mula and the line probably refers to the proverb current in Marathi (us god jhala mhanun mula sakata khava kaya)—which may be rendered, if you find sugarcane sweet, do you eat it *root* and all?—

Like fish, the tortoise mother leaves the offspring to shift for itself: but poetic fiction endows the mere sight of the tortoise (and the remembrance of the fish) with the virtue of nourishing the offspring. So Tukaram says in another Abhang—

"the fish by her thought or remembrance, and the tortoise by her sight preserve [the offspring]." The tortoise sight (kurma-drishti) has passed into a proverbial expression for "the power to protect from afar"—possessed by great lords, kings, or saints.

Fateful Desire. How karma works out its course. Every Desire leads to action (karma). *Karma* may be good or bad. Good *karma* secures Heaven, bad *karma*, Hell, *for a limited* portion of time. When this is over, the soul has again to be born, *i.e.*, to enter some body and leave it at death. This cycle of birth and death, the result of the law of karma, must continue, until the virtue of karma *i.e.*, the power of the seed to bear fruit is destroyed. This is done when the seed is fried *i.e.*, when all actions are done not in the pride of self, but done in the name of God, unselfishly, with no intention of reaping the fruit.

This is the theory underlying the doctrine of Rebirth in all schools of Hindu Philosophy not positively atheistic.

42. *Vritti i.e.*, means of livelihood, *e.g.*, the office of an idol-worshipper with right to collect all *offerings* made at the shrine; to which Tukaram alludes at the close of the Abhang. An idol-worshipper of this sort, who has an eye to the offerings, and who practises arts to attract devotees, is in Tukaram's opinion, a piece of stone worshipping another piece—for the *idol* in his case is no better than it.

Rest assured, He reads your inmost heart,
For truth responsive is to truth,
The fruit is good or ill even as the seed,
Pray well with glowing faith intense,
Tuka saith :—Peace *it shall* yield and
bring you safely home.

56. *Yoga* is then blessed when it is wedded to charity. First tame your senses. Make God your dear relative, and all blessings shall come home to you. The field your fathers owned that you have inherited yields no crop if left untilled. List to the word of Tuka :—Learn what is right. Why toil ye for nothing ?

57. While no tear wets the eye, and no pity rends the heart, your words are trifler's words, uttered but to amuse—hollow are they all. No fruit can they bear, so long as the Lord withholds his grace from you, so long as, Tuka says, ye see Him not eye to eye.

65. Sesamum thou hast burnt (in a sacrifice) and much rice too. But Desire and Anger, the evil foes, live on as mighty as of old.

Why ? Thou hast not prayed to Pandurang.

All thy labour is spent in vain. Diligently at letters hast thou toiled. What gain hast thou ?—Bread or honour, perchance ; or an inward craving to look triumphant, satisfied. Penance thou hast performed—all holy places visited—but still hast nourished pride. Thy wealth thou hast left for all—but selfishness is a hoard untouched. Saith Tuka :—Thou hast verily missed the secret (path of *Dharma*). Thy actions are *Adharma* all.

66. Ministering, aye, to the needs of the family, scorched have I been by this worldly fire ; and therefore, O God, do I bring to my mind Thy feet. Come to me, O Pandurang ! For how many lives have I been a burden-bearer ! I know not the secret that will give me strength to push the load from off my back. Foes, within and without, besiege me ever. None pitieth me. Exhausted, robbed, and harried, long have I suffered. saith Tuka :—Now haste Thee to my aid.

56. *Yoga.* A system of rigid austerities which enable the would-be saint to concentrate his attention gradually on Brahma. Brahma is either Nirguna or Saguna. Schools differ as regards the superiority of the one or the other. Here Tukaram seems to ascribe it to Saguna Brahma [as the Bhagvata does].

66, 69. Those Abhangs are autobiographical and vividly describe Tukaram's feelings before he had reconciled himself to God.

Prove good Thy world-wide name as the Saviour of the afflicted.

69. Just as a *Bahurupi* (an actor) takes a part that is not really his—just as a heron putteth on the taciturnity of a sage (to deceive the foolish) fish ; just as a hypocrite applies all marks (to the different parts of his person) and wears beads, but takes care to hide from the world his wicked designs ; just as an angler throws his bait to the fish, or a butcher with seeming kindness rears up a calf only to cut its throat—even so am I, saith Tuka, among the people—but Thou art kind, O, Pandurang, (and lendest me Thy grace).

70. You need practise no austere penance. Easy is the way to salvation that has been pointed out by *Narayana.* In this *Kali* age, perform *Kirtan*, and he will present himself before you. You need not abandon this worldly life and retire to the woods, nor besmear your body with ashes or (take up) the staff (of an anchorite). All ways, saith Tuka, other than calling upon the name of God, appear to lead nowhither.

76. And yet again, once more and once more I say unto you, that ye forfeit not your life. I beseech you all—I fall at your feet—make your heart pure. With faith chasten your soul, and think of God. This alone, saith Tuka, will profit you. What more shall I teach ?

77. But for a worshipper, whence will God find bodily form ? Whence worship ?

70. See note on 36. The present is the *Kali* age in which man has according to Hindu conception fallen from his high estate. His life is now short, and his strength, physical and mental, is weak. He cannot therefore practise long and rigid austerities as he could do in earlier ages, to attain to God. As some compensation, however, God in His grace has opened out an easier path of salvation to mankind ; *i.e.,* Bhajan or Kirtan (see note on 19). "Wherever there is kirtana," says Krishna to Narada, "I am present." (Bhagvat).

77. The conception is that God is devoid of form *(Nirakara)* and of qualities *(Nirguna)* ; but he is obliged to take an Avatara (Incarnation) by the prayers of his worshippers (Bhaktas) ; and then he has form *(Sakara)* and qualities *(Saguna).* The Vaishnavas think the *Saguna* Vishnu is higher than Nirguna Brahma ; and maintain that even after the knowledge of Nirguna Brahma has been gained, a worshipper should continue his Bhakti (Love for God), then he attains to the highest form of Salvation *i.e.,* Sarupya, when he assumes the form *(Rupa)* of Vishnu.

Each reflects lustre on the other, like a diamond set in gold. Saving God himself, who shall give the worshipper freedom from desires? Tuka says: They are bound to each other by ties of affection like unto mother and child.

81. Be it a son, or a wife. or a brother,—break off all relations with them. I have realised these to be an evil. Touch them not lest you pollute yourself. With one stroke break the jar, and consider they are dead (to you). Tuka says: If there be no renunciation, then is there no freedom from fruition.

83. If they part you from God, abandon them—be they father or mother. What consideration, then, do the others—such as wife or son or possessions,—deserve? Your foes are they and expose you to misery. Prahlad (gave up) his father, Bibhishana, his brother; while Bharata (not only) gave up a kingdom (but) reproached his own mother. All duty, saith Tuka, lies in (serving) the feet of *Hari*. All other ways are the beginning of sorrow.

81. Some insist upon the renunciation of the world as a preliminary step for the preparation for liberation; others say, it is not necessary. Both these views find an expression in Tukaram's Abhangs and reflect his mood *at the time*. In this Abhang the first view is expressed; while No. 70 expresses the other view.

With one stroke, break the jar. Breaking a jar is a prominent and completing operation on the occasion of burning a corpse. The same operation is performed in the case of a *living* person, when the latter becomes a *patita* (*i.e.* fallen) by his heinous offences (*e.g.* conversion to another faith). When this ceremony is performed, the *living* person becomes practically *dead* to all his former relatives.

83. See note on 81.

Prahlad was the son of Hiranyakasipu—a Daitya who hated Vishnu, whom, however the son greatly loved. This led to the persecution of the son by the father, which ended in the destruction of the Daitya by Vishnu in his fourth Avatara as Narahari (Man-Lion).

Bibhishana was a brother of Ravana, the King of Lanka, who abducted Sita, the wife of Rama (7th Avatara of Vishnu). Bibhishana having failed to persuade his brother to restore Sita, left him to his fate and joined Rama, whom he helped to destroy his brother.

Bharata was a brother of Rama and son of Dasaratha by his second wife Kaikeyi, whose machinations drove Rama into exile for fourteen years, and who sought to invest her son Bharat with royalty. But Bharata was loyal to Rama, refused the kingdom offered to him, and reproached his mother. He could not persuade Rama to return to the capital city, but had to manage the affairs of the kingdom during Rama's exile—which he did in the latter's name.

84. Honour and dishonour,—give them no heed. Then only are you in the presence of God, when you are always calm. Where serenity dwells, death's path-way is blocked up. This goal you m y reach easily, saith Tuka. Only overpower each wave of passion that may invade you.

85. All is easy, all is easy, if you make the mind your friend. No joy nor sorrow hath place when it findeth its consummation in Pandurang. Trouble not yourself o'er long to find the easiest way of salvation. Tuka saith:—Look upon all the phenomenal world as unreal. Mistake not the body for the soul.

87. Form no attachment; be undisturbed. Let no thought of self stain the soul. This is indeed *Advaita*. This is true *Brahma-Vidya*. Those who have not felt it, they can merely babble. (It means) a victory over senses—extinction of Desire; the ceasing of the mind to formulate a Desire. Tuka says:—(at this stage) no pride of knowledge possesses the soul, which rests in eternal joy.

89. In a sacred place, (you have to pour water) over stones (ere they listen to your prayer). But in saints you find God verily present. So when you chance to meet them, you will do well to offer them your obeisance. In a sacred place only faith fructifies. But here even the wild are led (to the path). Tuka says: When evil leaves you then only know you what tribulation it was.

90. With his disc and his mace, He hath ever been performing this work to protect the worshippers at his feet, and destroy the wicked. The formless hath taken a form; the merciful hath assumed a shape. Saith Tuka: Vitthal grants to each the boons he asks.

98. Who sells his daughter (in marriage) or performs a *Kirtan* for a fee, he is a

89. Saints are considered superior to holy places, which contain a shrine sacred to some deity or other—inferior to Vishnu in the eyes of Tukaram. Unless you pour water over an idol—the least you are expected to do—it will not grant your prayers. But saints who are visible manifestations of Vishnu himself (see 77),—bring about an immediate change in you—the magnitude and consequence of which you realize only after it has been wrought.

90. See note on 77.

98. In Tukaram's opinion, God has no consideration for caste. He insists on "worth not birth." A *Chandala* is a man of the lowest caste.

veritable *Chandala*. Naught is of account save whether ye be worthy or not—seeing that for caste God hath no consideration. Each one reapeth as he sows. Each action bears its fruit. Lured by the hope (of gain), saith Tuka, they do what they should not do and go to Hell.

99. No distinction is there between *Hara* and *Hari*. Make no dispute about it. Each dwells in the heart of the other—(even as ye cannot separate) sweetness from sugar. The difference of a mark (*ra* and *ri*) is small in itself, but how it mars the disputant! The right side and the left, saith Tuka, form but one body.

103. Whatever I have said, I have said that ye may profit thereby. If unwittingly (I have offended you) forgive me. Be not angry with him who points out the way. The perverse only destroy themselves. The (bitter) *Nimb* leaves are administered internally to cure the ulcer. If the eruptions are suppressed from without, the disease makes its mischievous way within. Tuka says:—Those that have eyes may see the good—the blind fall into a well.

104. The monkey holds fried gram in the fist; he knows not it is the gram that holds his hand—he knows not his good. Blame not the stupid monkey. The parrot hops on to the revolving rod, (and is whirled down by his own weight). His claws are (seemingly) held by the rod—but he forgets, he still has wings. Tuka says: How many souls are like these brutes or birds! Who can help them?

108. When the heart seeks it not, what avails it to you if it be near at hand? The cow leaves her calf to shift for itself (when it is grown up). But when the heart is one with it, even the wind that comes over it is dearly welcome. Tuka says:, without love all is insipid, even as food without salt.

109. What shall *Kashi* and *Ganga* do for him who is not pure within? He is like a grain that remains undissolved even in boiling water. What shall marks and beads do for a bad man, who has no faith? Tuka saith: Without love, whoever speaks but barks—all in vain.

111. The mother fondly puts small morsels into the mouth of the little infant—but she lords it over the grown up son. This difference in treatment cometh of increasing knowledge, and widens as that knowledge grows. Both are her own flesh, born of her; and yet the treatment is different. Tuka says:—The weaned one is torn away perforce, while the crying babe sucks at the breast.

112. God's (servants) they say they are, and yet slight God. How strange is this! How shall we then blame those others that have to bear the burden of their family on their shoulders? Having left off worldly life they have still hoarded Pride and Selfishness:—This is monstrous. Tuka says:—Making indolence their ally, behold, how wilfully they (waste their lives).

113. (Good) advice, from whomsoever it comes, receive. Look not to the vessel but the contents. Cast off the shell and seize the kernel. Wife—son—slaves—remind you of God. A diamond of the purest water, saith Tuka, owes its preservation to the dirty rag in which it is tied up).

99. This Abhang shows how tolerant was Tukaram, Vaishnava as he was. Hara is Siva, and Hari is Vishnu. This toleration preached in the Mahabharata, is seen in Maharashtra. In the North and in the South of India, people are intolerant, and no love is lost between Vaishnavas and Saivites. In Tukaram's view, Siva and Vishnu are the right and left sides of one person (the highest God); and those who insist upon a difference go to Hell.

103. This is addressed to persons whom Tukaram may have offended by his severe strictures.

104. The Abhang refers to incidents of not uncommon occurrence, A monkey finds a vessel with a narrow neck containing fried gram *(phutane)* for which he has great fondness. He puts his hand into it, and grasps as much gram as he can. His fist becoming big, he discovers he cannot take out his hand. He is a victim of his over-greediness.

A wild parrot lights upon a revolving rod (placed to catch such birds), loses its balance, and hangs from it with its head downwards, while its claws clutch the rod. Fear leaves it no power over its wings. Tukaram says there are many persons who have the saving power in them, but who cannot like these stupid brutes and birds, exercise it owing to their stupidity.

108. *Seeks it not i.e.*, object of love.

109. *Marks i.e.*, lines of sandal wood paste with which a man decorates his person after a bath, as signs of his belonging to a particular sect or caste.

111. It was a favourite notion with Tukaram that while God dearly loves the ignorant people full of intense faith, he slights the learned devoid of such faith. The former he compares to the "crying babe sucking at the breast" of its mother, and the latter to the "weaned child" "the growing boy," "the grown up calf." (No. 108). The notion was a favourite one with Christ also.

112. Refers to officiating priests at sacred Shrines, or Lords of Maths.

114. Think not of the faults of saints—for if you do, you destroy all your past merits. The fool crushes the flower to get at its sweet scent, cuts the plantain stem to reach at the fruit. Tuka says:—Who falls foul of *Ganga* and Fire (says, they are defiled by touch), he is a *Chandala*, and ends his life in misery.

117. To the unlucky a treasure trove appears to be guarded by snakes or scorpions—or seemeth merely a heap of coal. The bleared eye clouds what is bright with a haze. Giddiness makes the whole earth whirl round with its trees and stones. Even so, saith Tuka, our own sins come in the way of our weal.

119. Behold even Gods wish to descend on earth as men. Blessed are we that, born here, have become slaves of Vithoba. This will enable us to reach the state of *Sachchidanand*. Tuka says:—O, we shall make this life the first rung in the ladder whereby to scale the Heavens.

123. Fill a golden dish with *Kshir* and give it to a dog to devour. Deck an ass with a pearl neckless. Offer musk to a pig. Even so a *Pandit* versed in the *Vedas* may preach knowledge to a deaf man. Of what avail is it to him? Tuka says:—He alone appreciates a thing who knows it. Only a saint realizes the greatness of Faith.

124. O God of Gods! O saviour of the fallen! How hard it is to please the world! Lead a worldly life and they blame you. Leave it and they call you an idle man who fattens on others. Observe all rites and they say "What show! What a hypocrite!" Fail to observe them, and they blame you equally. Wait on saints and they say you seek to become a *Guru* (to beguile foolish people). Keep aloof from saints and they say "how unfortunate! How blind!" If you have no wealth, they say, you are a born miscreant. If you are rich, they reproach you with being proud. If you speak much, they say you are a babbler, If you keep silent, they credit you with self-conceit. If you do not seek company, you are "churlish"; if you do, you have ruined them by your frequent visits. If you seek to marry, why, you swell with pride; If you do not, you are impotent. If you have no sons, they say "Behold a *Chandala*"; if you have a large progeny, it is but a source of sins. (Thus) people are like vomit which you cannot hold, even if you try to do so. They that are devoid of faith cannot bear the company of saints. Then, saith Tuka, Listen to me now. Leave the people to themselves and practise Faith.

125. To preserve *Dharma* we must strive to our utmost strength. Our words shall be in accordance with the teaching of the *Vedas*. Our deeds, they shall be like those performed by saints of old. Without attaining to the stage reached by the highest saint, whoever ceases to practise the daily rites is a miscreant. Tuka says:—He is a bad man—Service of God only makes him worse.

126. He who bears in His womb the future worlds, Him we have treasured on our lips. What then do we need? For *Riddhis* and *Siddhis* are at our door. He who vanquished the *Asuras*—he folds his hands to us. He who had no form—no shape—no outlines—to him we worshippers give form and shape. He who bears infinite worlds over his shoulders is unto us like an ant. We that trampled under foot the *Riddhis* and the *Siddhis*, do you imagine, we shall give the slightest consideration to such insignificant things as these? Remember, saith Tuka, we have become stronger than even Gods—by casting off Desire.

127. *A ling* of *Mahádev* is made of clay;

117. It is a popular notion that a treasure-trove is discovered by the lucky; and that if others go near it, they see there only serpents or scorpions, or a heap of coal.

119. *Descend on earth as men i.e.* to take part in a Kirtan.

The State of *Sachchidanand*—Existence, Life and Joy—the three states (in one) in which Brahma dwells.

123. *Kshir*—(mar. Khira)—Rice and milk—boiled together.

125. Refers to Tukaram's mission on earth.

126. *Riddhis* and *Siddhis*—*Riddhis* are heavenly treasures; *Siddhis* are *powers* which enable Saints to cure illness, to go any where, to curb the elements &c. Vithoba's worshippers do not seek these—for they are supposed to delude them from the true path. Hence he says later on "we that trumpled under foot the Riddhis and the Siddhis."

Asuras—Daityas—giants of old, who fought with gods, and to quell whom Vishnu (and Mahadev) had to take Avatars.

He who had no form—give form and shape. See note on 77.

127. Those who worship Mahadev often worship him in the image of a *ling* made of clay from day to day,

but what do you call this clay?—(Siva). The service offered to the *Ling* reaches (is accepted by) *Siva*, and clay goes back unto clay. So saints honour us—but the honour or respect (meant for God) God accepts. We slaves are but slaves of saints. We seek not the position of saints. * * * *

128. Who are my relatives dear and friends?
Saints who remember Vitthal's feet.
To all the rest I pay respect,
But that I do to keep the Law,
Which says, God's creatures are they all.
But saints I serve with all my heart,
Their bondsman true, I long to eat
Of crumbs from off their joyful feast.
Vithoba's Saints, I do confess,
I honour all, above the rest.
To *these* I little hope to turn
For help, saith Tuka.

129. What's mercy, say? To creatures large and small,
T'extend protection and to root up thorn.
Say what is sin? To disregard the Law
And do what will, run mad, imperious tells.
This *Dharma* teaches, this the *Veds* enjoin.
O seize the kernel, cast away the husk.
Behold, when *Dharma* is in danger, God
Descends on earth, and goes through pangs of birth.

130. A little good done to the child
Is deep imprest on mother's heart—
The child is dearer than her life.
Keep her apart and though you treat
Never so well the child, she pines,
Feels she is poisoned, dies.
The hind her missing young one seeks
In quarters all. The cow delights
To roam in pastures fresh and new,
And yet her heart is with the calf
That waits, she knows, for her, at home.
Know yet not, saith Tuka, how
The foot rubbed well with cooling ghee
Allays the irritated eye?

131. When the young bride sets out on a journey to the house of her father-in-law, she casts a backward glance. So is it with my soul. When shall I see thee, O *Keshav*? The child seeks its missing mother with anxiety. Like fish out of water, Tuka pines for God.

After service, the *ling* is cast away and it goes back into clay.

I have omitted other illustrations: which like the one given are a defence of idol-worship.

128. Tukaram recognises no natural relations; just as Christ did not recognise his mother and brothers.

Tukaram makes a distinction between Saints and other people.

131. *Their marks i.e.* of copper or brass with which they paint their bodies with Sandal wood paste *marks*.

The *general kitchen*—kept by Mahomedan rulers in large villages.

Selling oil or ghee—trades condemned by Manu for Brahmins.

132. They sell their daughters for gold, received in hand as earnest money. Such occurrences are considered the peculiar usages of the *Kali Yuga*, when the righteous beg, and the vicious wax fat. Rites are forgotten, *Brahmans* have turned tell-tales and thieves. Their marks they hide in bags, while they wear leather pantaloons. From the seat of justice they persecute the starving wretches. Some serve as clerks in the general kitchen, while others gain their livelihood by selling oil or *ghee*. Slaves of the low (oppressors), they receive stripes when they go wrong. The king wrings the subjects. The *Kshatriyas* smite those who are not on the alert. As regards *Vaishyas* and *Shudras*, they are low enough. All is show! Below the surface—it is all unripe, while above there is a mask. O God, saith Tuka, hast Thou gone to sleep? O, run for help.

137. I know no trick to gull people with. I perform *Kirtan* and sing Thy good deeds. No magic roots can I show with which to raise ghosts in an instant. No band of followers have I gathered to feast themselves uncalled on people. No Lord of a *Math* am I—; nor broad acres (*Chahurs*) of land have I secured to live upon. No temple with splendid worship have I raised to turn it into a shop (to bring me fees). I claim no friendship with *Vetala* so as to discover by signs (hidden treasure). I am not a *Puranik* to preach one thing and practise another. I do not know how to dispute like the wretched *Pandit* with his *Ghat* and *Pat*. I bear no flaming trays and cry *Udo Ananda* (Glory to *Amba*). I gather no silly crowds around me and sit counting my beads among them. I practise not the wicked arts of *Tantra* worship so as to cause others to swoon, or die or to subject them to my powers. Tuka is not a fool to practise like these and go to Hell.

132. This Abhang describes the political state of the country before Sivaji made himself powerful.

137. Is an autobiographical Abhang, and indirectly mentions the various pseudo-Sadhus, who infested the country in Tukaram's days.

Vetal is prince of *Ghosts*.

Ghata and *pata i.e.* jar, and a piece of cloth—often introduced by Logicians in their illustrations of different kinds of *causes*.

Flaming trays are borne by worshippers of Amba.

Tantra worship. Its object is sufficiently described in the words that follow.

142. If I praise any one other than Pandurang, I shall incur the sin of *Brahmana*-murder. We *Vaishnavas* hold a single faith —we call none else God. O, let my tongue split a hundred fold, if these words prove otherwise. If I conceive, saith Tuka, any other thought, I shall incur all sins.

143. The thirsty gets ample relief, while the portion (of water) he takes makes little difference in the volume of *Ganga*. So satisfy my desires, O Ocean of Mercy. Thou art a king among the generous, and my desire is small. O look on me with pity, saith Tuka, and come to my help.

144. If you fail to honour saints while you offer worship to Gods, it is *Adharma* (impiety). The flowers you throw on Gods during such a worship strike them as hard as pebbles. You abuse (or drive off) a long travelled guest and offer a *poli* to your God as *Naivedya*! Why, such a worship by a dualist is no worship, but a beating to his God.

150. A sandal-wood tree needeth not to call the trees and tell them it beareth sweet scent. What is within naturally runs out and cannot be stopped, even if an attempt be made to do so. The Sun does not ask his rays to make light, so that the world might wake up. Tuka says:—The cloud makes the peacock dance. What is in nature can not be hid.

144. *Poli* is a cake.
Naivedya is an offering to Gods.

151. The roots and branches of a sandal-wood tree are all sandal-wood. No part falls short. A light has no darkness before or behind. Sugar is sweet through and through. So in a Saint, saith Tuka, ye cannot find a fault even if ye seek one.

153. If the mother and father be (cruel like) a serpent or cat, the child will not fare well in their company. A *chandana* (Sandal-wood) stake, or a golden fetter will give no joy; it will pierce and take life. Tuka says:—Pride leads to hell—the swelling pride born of learning.

154. They will preach a long yarn: They have learnt it all by rote. But few have felt what they talk about. The learned *Pandits* will perform a *Kirtan*; but themselves are strangers to Eternal Joy. Tuka says:—Just as for a bribe, they bear false witness,—they know not the Truth.

156. He whom the Scriptures seek and the *Vedas* represent,
He is my companion, my dearest Friend.
And therefore I care not for others.
One single name (of God) has completed all,
He whose limbs are *Sagune* and *Nirgune*
The very One plays with us.

We are no less than *Brahma's Sire*, saith Tuka—self-born, self-risen, and not made.

V. M. MAHAJANI.

156. In this Abhang, God is conceived as both Saguna Nirguna [*i.e.* Personal and Absolute.]
Brahma's Sire *i.e.* Vishnu. In this Abhang Tukaram identifies himself [*i.e.* the Jiva soul] with Paramatma [Vishnu].

A LESSON IN IRRIGATION FOR THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT*

WHEN the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, the American statesman and journalist, was touring India in 1906, he wrote a series of articles which were syndicated throughout the United States. In one of these papers Mr. Bryan dealt with the irrigation policy of the Government of India. The head-line writer who "edited" the article for the New York Sun, gave a characteristic caption to this portion of Mr. Bryan's paper, heading it with: "Money for an army, none for irrigation." Wrote Mr. Bryan:

".....the land is being worn out. Manure which ought to be used to renew the fields, is consumed as fuel, and no sight is more common in India than that of women and children gathering manure from the roads with their hands. This, when mixed with straw and sun-dried, is used in the place of

* In the preparation of this article Mr. Edmund T. Perkins, M.A. C.E., Member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, has rendered me valuable assistance.

wood, and from the amount of it carried in baskets it must be a chief article of merchandise.

"There are now large tracts of useless land that might be brought under cultivation if the irrigation system were extended. Proof of this is to be found in the fact that Government of India has already approved of extensions which when made, will protect 7,000,000 acres and irrigate 3,000,000 acres.

"The estimated cost of these extensions is about 45,000,000$* *and the plans are to be carried out 'as funds can be provided.' Ten per cent. of the army expenditure applied to irrigation would complete the system within five years but instead of military expenses being reduced the army appropriation was increased more than $10,000,000 between 1904 and 1905.*†

One acquainted with conditions in the United States, can easily understand the disgust, disappointment and chagrin which the woeful inefficiency displayed by the Christian rulers of India in the matter of opening adequate irrigation works, would have raged in the breast of Mr. Bryan, and which actuated him to write the caustic, though nonetheless true, words which the writer has taken the liberty, to italicise. It would have been meet and proper for the two times democratic nominee for the office of President of the United States to have written a supplementary article for India calling the attention of the people of Hindustan to the fact that the Federal Government of his country was energetically carrying on a number of irrigation and reclamation of land projects in the United States, and roused the spirit of emulation of the Englishmen who are so blatant about the remarkable manner in which their kinsmen are shouldering the "white man's burden" in India, to duplicate the irrigational works of the United States in the land of the Hindu.

The United States Government has undertaken a gigantic propaganda to irrigate the arid land and render the desert country in the Western parts of the land fertile. The Federal authorities appear to have gone into the work in a whole-hearted manner and the ample resources of the government are being strained to improve the land.

On June 17th, 1902, the Reclamation Act became a law in the United States. By virtue of this legislative measure all the proceeds from the sale of public lands in the American West are set aside for the reclaiming of lands which have hitherto been considered incapable of cultivation. Already this reclamation fund amounts to nearly Rs. 12,00,00,000. Work has been commenced and is being vigorously pushed ahead in twenty-nine different places, with a view to rendering 2,000,000 acres of land fertile at the expenditure of Rs. 15,00,00,000. The returns for this outlay of money undoubtedly will prove gratifying. The census estimates the value of these lands, when irrigated, to be Rs. 60,00,00,000. The actual crops of these lands, it is expected, will yield a net return each year of from Rs. 9,00,00,000 to Rs. 12,00,00,000—almost 100 per cent on the investment. The government experts figure that the two million acres, when reclaimed, will provide homes for from 35,000 to 50,000 families.

The distinction between the irrigation policy of the governments of the United States and of India is to be seen in the fact that while the terms of the settlements of the Chenab Colonies were so stringent that it would have brought a sort of civil war in those Districts of the Punjab had not the Government of India withdrawn the noxious measure, the American authorities have been very liberal and judicious in making provisions for the settlement of the land which the government is now planning to irrigate. The Bureau of Reclamation which is entrusted with the work, keeps an accurate account of all moneys spent on every project. When the project is completed the pro rata charge per acre of the number of acres irrigated on this project is made so as to cover the entire expenditure of the government. *After water has been furnished to the settler, he is given ten years to repay to the Government the money which has been ACTUALLY expended on his behalf. There is no interest charged for this work. There is no fee for the promoter. There are no large issue of bonds to add to the wealth of the capitalist. Each and every step taken is in the interest of the settler.*

After the settler has made his ten payments, the land and the water and all the great irrigation works are his. The only charges he has to pay from that time are

* A dollar is approximately three rupees.

† The italics are mine.

the costs of the maintenance of the system and its operation.

The engineers and soil experts of the Government make serious studies of all conditions that decide how many acres of irrigated land are necessary to furnish a comfortabe home. This cannot be less than forty acres nor more than one hundred and sixty. The man who has obtained the land from the Government is permitted in the future to subdivide his holdings ; but the Government has reserved the right to at any time refuse to irrigate for one man a greater number of acres than the engineers and soil experts have decided to be necessary for a home. In this way is a monopoly of lands prevented.

It is easy to frame stupendous projects, but hard to carry them through in a short space of time and do the work efficiently. Our own government frankly states that it carries out irrigational plans at its whim. Not so with the United States Government. A summary of the work of the Reclamation Service to January 1st, 1908, shows that it has dug 1,267 miles of canals. Some of these canals carry whole rivers. The tunnels excavated are 47 in number. They have an aggregate length of 9½ miles. The Service has erected 94 large structures, including the great dams in Nevada and the Minidoka dam in Idaho 80 feet high and 650 feet long. It has completed 650 headworks, flumes, etc. It has built 376 miles of wagon road in mountainous country and into hitherto inaccessible regions. It has erected and has in operation 727 miles of telephones. Its own cement mill has manufactured 70,000 barrels of cement, and the purchased amount is 312,000 barrels. Its own saw mills have cut 3,036,000 feet B.M. of timber, and 6,540,000 feet have been purchased. The surveying parties of the Service have completed topographic surveys covering 10,970 square miles. The transit lines had a length of 18,900 linear miles, while the level lines run amount to 24,218 miles, or nearly sufficient to go around the earth.

The diamond drillings for dam sites and canals amount to 47,515 feet, or more than 9 miles. Today the service owns and has at work 1,153 horses and mules. It operates 9 locomotives, 223 cars, 23 miles of railroad, and 39 stationary engines. The laborers employed directly by the Government number 3,500. Added to this the 6,100 employed by contractors aggregate 10,000 men. The expenditures now total nearly Rs. 30,00,000 per month. As a result of the operations of the Reclamation Service eight new towns have been constructed and 10,000 families have taken up their residence upon land which was but a short time ago a desert.

In order to convey an idea of what the United States Government proposes to do and is doing, a rapid survey of some of the projects now in operation may be made.

The Huntley project, in Montana, contemplates the reclamation of about 30,000 acres of land located along the Yellowstone River in the southeastern part of the State. These lands are favorably located with respect to railroad travelling facilities.

The construction of the irrigation works under the Huntley Project was authorized by the Secretary of the Interior, April 18, 1905, and the work was about two-thirds done on January 1st, 1907. The main Canal, headworks and incidental structures are being built in the most substantial manner. The culverts, turnouts and waste-ways are made of concrete re-inforced with steel. The three tunnels, aggregating 2,650 feet in length, are lined with concrete throughout. The small turnouts, and culverts on the Distributing System are built of wood, but are heavy and well-constructed. A special feature of the pumping plant near Ballantine which utilizes the power developed by a necessary drop of 33½ feet in the main canal is to lift about 56 cubic feet per second of water about 50 feet to the High Line canal. The main canal is about 32 miles long and the high line canal about 7 miles long. It is proposed later to extend both these canals to water additional land. A telephone system has been installed to facilitate construction work and forms an important part of the operating system.

The cost of reclamation to be assessed against the land will probably be about Rs. ninety-six per acre to be paid in ten annual instalments.

The climate is good, the temperature ranging from 100 degress F to 35 degrees F and the rainfall varying from 9 to 15 inches annually.

The soils vary from a fine sandy loam to a

heavy clay and in some places are strongly impregnated with alkali. The wastewater ditches are laid out so as to prevent the rise of alkali on the good land and to make it possible for the poorer pieces to be reclaimed.

The crops will be largely forage crops and sugar beets. There is a fine free range country adjoining the valley which makes stock raising profitable when winter feed can be had. A new sugar beet factory at Billings, 13 miles west of Huntley, seems to be very successful and with the market as it is at present, the raising of beets is exceedingly profitable. Apples and small fruits can also be raised.

The Salt River project involves the construction of a dam 290 feet high on Salt River, about 60 miles above Phoenix, in the State of Arizona. This dam, which will be one of the highest in the world, will impound 1,100,000 acre-feet* of water, to be used for the irrigation of nearly 200,000 acres of land in Salt River Valley.

It is intended to utilize the power developed at the dam and other favourable localities for pumping the underground waters to augment the surface supply available for irrigation, and increase the acreage of the irrigated district. The power developed along the river will be transmitted to sub-stations properly located and there distributed at a lower voltage to pumping stations so situated as to furnish water for irrigation.

The estimated cost of the dam and power plant will be about Rs. 1,08,00,000. The water impounded by the dam will be allowed to pass down the river as needed, to be picked up by the ditches already constructed and in private ownership. An ample spill-way will provide an escape for excessive flood-waters, and a tunnel driven through solid rock will enter the reservoir directly on the bottom to furnish reinforcement to the spillway and also to facilitate the discharge of sediment from the reservoir, and will be used to divert the river during construction.

The soil is very productive. Large quantities of wheat, barley and alfalfa are grown, and fruits of all description flourish and yield bountifully.

* An acre-foot implies the amount of water which will cover an acre of ground to the depth of a foot.

Contracts for various construction works connected with this system were let during the latter part of 1903. The locality is so nearly inaccessible that freight on bricks, lime and cement was practically prohibitive. Arrangements have therefore been made to manufacture these on the ground, as first-class material for doing this was found in the vicinity.

The Belle Fourche project contemplates the irrigation of about 85,000 acres of land lying northeast of the Black Hills in Butte and Meade counties, South Dakota. The construction of a dam on Owl Creek just below the mouth of Dry Creek will create an impounding reservoir 60 feet deep, with a water surface of nearly 9,000 acres, when full. This dam, when completed, will be one of the largest earth embankments in the United States, being 100 feet high in the highest place, nearly 1 mile long, with a top width of 20 feet, and will be paved with stone riprap. The reservoir will be filled by means of a canal taken from Belle Fourche river and heading below the town of Belle Fourche. The lands to be irrigated lie on both sides of the river and extend east to Willow Creek. The acreage irrigable on the north side is approximately 63,000, of which 40,000 is public land and 23,000 in private ownership; that on the south side is about 20,000 acres, of which all except 1,000 acres is private land.

The length of the main supply canal will be 6.45 miles. It will have a bottom width of 40 feet and a capacity of 1,635 sec. feet. A lateral from this canal will reclaim about 4,000 acres of land along the river above the reservoir. From the reservoir two distributing canals, each 40 miles long, will be constructed. The larger canal will run in a northerly and easterly direction, irrigating about 60,000 acres of land on the north side of the river between the reservoir and Willow Creek divide. A canal which will leave the reservoir on the west side of Owl Creek will irrigate some 4,000 acres on lower Owl Creek, emptying the stored water into the river below the point where another diversion is made to irrigate some 16,000 acres of first class land on the south side of the river in the vicinity of Vale and Empire. By making a second diversion here, the return water from the lands irrigated above may be used.

The soil is free from alkali and little drainage will be necessary. The crops that can best be raised are small grains, such as oats, wheat, rye and barley, and fruits such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, and small fruits. Sugar beets would no doubt prove a profitable crop if a factory for making beet sugar were located in the neighborhood. Potatoes can be raised on the south side where the soil contains more sand. The main crop, however, will be hay, both native and alfalfa, for which there is great demand as winter feed for cattle and sheep that have the large range to feed on during the summer months. Alfalfa produces, with water, 3 crops, and will average, it is said, at least 5 tons per acre, worth from $4 to $5 per ton in the stack. The demand for farm and garden products is great in this part of the State on account of its close proximity to the mining region of the Black Hills. The farm unit recommended under this project is 80 acres, which will be reduced to 40 acres within three miles of towns or proposed towns.

This project has been approved and the Secretary of the Interior has set aside Rs. 63,00,000 for its construction. Water users will be required to pay Rs. 96 per acre, in ten annual instalments, which sum includes maintenance and operation for 10 years.

INDO-AMERICAN.

SOCIAL EFFICIENCY

THAT social efficiency is the key to national prosperity and to success in all international struggles is a fact which has now been well recognized by all the great writers on sociology in the new as well as in the old world. It is being freely acknowledged by both the thinker and the legislator that the health, the intellect, the physical and the moral welfare of every man and woman composing a State are no longer the exclusive concern of the man or woman himself or herself or of those interested in him or her on account of ties of blood and relationship but are the object of anxious regard and solicitude to the nation at large including the greatest, the best and the richest in it. Both individual and national welfare require this regard. Both selfishness and altruism dictate the same policy. That man is a social animal, and has duties towards society, was always understood, but that the welfare of the body politic depended upon the physical, the moral and the intellectual capacities of *all* the individuals composing it, and that the former had duties and obligations towards the latter as great and binding as those that the individual owes to the society has only very lately dawned on Western minds. The education and help of the poor, and the relief and succour of the needy, the orphan, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the crippled and the sick had always been looked upon as works of merit and charity to be performed by the pious and the charitably inclined rich for the benefit of their souls and in the hope of reward in the next world. The helper of the poor was an epithet of distinction and praise, which the world bestowed upon the benevolent and the philanthropic. The practice of benevolence and philanthropy was mostly dictated by considerations of religion and was almost entirely due to the influence of the latter. It was generally the business of the monk or the parson, or of those directly or indirectly under their influence. Outside the church hardly any thought was devoted to it. To give charity or to help the poor was an act of religious merit, having hardly anything to do with the duties and obligations of citizenship. The sense of civic responsibility towards these unfortunate objects of charity was wanting. Even education was confined to the fortunate few. It was valued principally for religious purposes and was considered to be the special privilege of the rich and the noble. The idea of mass-education as a national asset had never entered the European brain. Education being the monopoly of a few, gave its possessors advantages which secured for them great power and influence in the body politic.

An educated man was an exception and a rarity. Consequently he wielded a vast amount of influence over the rest of the nation, which gave him quite exceptional opportunities to acquire riches and gave political power and influence which were denied to others. It was of course no business of his to give equal opportunities to others and thus to produce rivals and competitors. The only persons amongst the poor who had any opportunities of acquiring knowledge were those who dedicated their lives to the service of the church. But the knowledge which the church dispensed was chiefly religious and was in most cases confined to religious formulas and practices to enable its recipients to perform religious ceremonies and minister to the spiritual needs of the community. The national uses of education never entered the head of either the statesman or the clergy. The latter in fact waged a great and determined war against the former when the idea of general secular education amongst the masses, as a national asset, first dawned upon the statesman. Long and bloody was this war. It has ended, if it has ended at all, only lately in the complete triumph of the statesman. Education is now almost universally, in Europe and in America, regarded as a nationl asset of the greatest value. It is being freely recognized everywhere that it is the first and paramount duty of every State, to see that every boy and girl in the body-politic, whether born in lawful wedlock or not, of rich or of poor parents, receives a certain amount of education, at the cost of the nation, if necessary, to give him or her a start in life. Education is no longer dispensed as a dole of charity to be bestowed or given out of mercy or as an act of benevolence. It is no longer the monopoly of those who can pay for it. It is no longer sought as an act of benevolence or philanthropy. It is a national duty and an obligation with which no State can trifle with impunity. As such it is no longer left to the option of the people to avail themselves of it or not; it is not open to a parent to send or not to send his boys or girls to school, nor can the boys or the girls evade it of their free will. Education is thus both compulsory and free; because the idea of corporate social responsibility has been fully grasped and the necessity of social efficiency in international struggles has been understood. The instinct of national self-preservation and the desire of national success in the struggle for supremacy in the affairs of the world has instinctively led nations and statesmen to realize that the cause of national efficiency requires that every child of the nation be educated in such a way as to fit him for the battle of life, no matter whether he or his parents can pay for it or not. Those who can, must pay for it in one shape or the other, nay, whether they will or not they must also pay for the education of those who have not the means to get education for themselves or their children. This is the genesis of all educational taxes on the continent of Europe and in the new world. The idea is every day growing in volume as well as in intensity, that the children of a nation are its capital and that the future prosperity and success of the nation depend on making the best and the most profitable investment of this capital. It is for this reason that all the self-governing nations of the world are vying with each other in the spread of general education amongst their people, in providing all sorts of facilities to infants, children and young men to acquire knowledge and efficiency and in organizing all educational forces on a national basis. The expenditure on education is growing in every civilized country, and the national vote for funds is generally as large and liberal as the one for the army and the navy. But education is only one phase of the social question; though it is by far the most important and all-embracing, as it encompasses both mind and body and includes physical as well as moral fitness. But taking the other phases separately we find that the health of an individual is as important from the social point of view as his mind. Social efficiency must to a very large extent depend upon the physical fitness and the bodily vigour of the units composing the society. Hence we find that social reform on the continent and in America comprehends among others the following:—

(*a*) The supply of cheap, unadulterated and wholesome food, including the supply of pure milk for infants and children.

(*b*) The providing of sanitary and well-ventilated houses for the poor.

(*c*) The regulation of public health both

on preventive and curative lines, the former by providing public parks, common baths, gymnasia, etc.; and by the supply of good water and good light: the latter by establishing public hospitals, dispensaries, infirmaries, sanitariums, etc.

(*d*) The protection of children from the vagaries and cruelties of parents as well as others.

(*e*) The bettering of women's position in society.

(*f*) The reform of marriage-laws.

(*g*) Factory legislation to protect those who by pressure of want or by mental imbecility are unable to take care of themselves in their relations towards their employers—the factory-owners.

(*h*) The recognition of the community's liablity to provide for the wants of old age by establishing the system of old-age pensions.

(*i*) Last but not the least, the wider diffusion and fair distribution of wealth among the different classes of people that contribute to its production or accumulation.

All these and various other items of the greatest importance and widest significance to the nation at large are included in the programme of social reformers in England and in America. Irrespective of the idea of equal-handed justice and fair opportunities to all to live decent lives, which is the basis of some of these demands, the great idea underlying most of them is the social efficiency of the entire community taken as a whole. Most of them have consequently been brought within the range of practical politics with the result that the different political parties are vying with each other within their respective spheres to give effect to them, so as to establish their claim to the vote of the proletariat and enlist popular sympathy in their favour. Some of the questions, however, which are radically socialistic still form the bone of contention among the different political parties and are within no near distance of practical realization. But long before any of these questions were brought within the political arena, many a battle was fought over them in private circles and earnest, continued and serious efforts were made to create and educate public opinion about them. For a long time they continued to form the subjects of discussion and debate in clubs, societies and associations, on the platform and in the press, so that at the present moment every one of them possesses a voluminous and at the same time most enlightening literature in every language of Europe. On the most radically socialistic question the war is still raging and raging furiously. But on a large number of others public opinion has practically settled definite conclusions so as to allow of their being made the subject of positive legislation. About these latter the only subsisting differences between the different political parties that hold power in the State, relate to the ways and means of giving effect to them and in the determination of details; for example, all parties are agreed as to the duty of the community to provide for the elementary instruction of all children of school-going age. There are, however, differences as to the place of religion in this instruction, the control of religious instruction by the clergy, the composition of the general controlling body, the sources of revenue and so on. Similarly there are hardly any differences of principles on the points mentioned in clauses *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* and *g*. A vigorous and uninterrupted contest is constantly raging on and about other questions. Vast amounts of money, talent and energy are being freely and unstintedly spent by those interested in raising issues about the same and in getting their inclusion within the range of practical politics. The question of old-age pension is just now being solved by the parties in power in England and steps are being taken to give effect to it at once though partially. Similarly the question of the reform of marriage-laws in the interests of society at large is making rapid progress in America and some State legislatures have already embarked on legislation dealing with the subject. Comparatively few people realize, says Mr. Ely, in his "Evolution of Industrial Society," how strong is the quiet movement now going forward to regulate marriage with a view to the natural selection of those who are to continue the race. This movement can be traced back for at least forty years. Investigations have been made from time to time during the past thirty years in New York showing to how large an extent the most unfortunate class of the community are the descendants of

those who are physically, mentally and morally unfit.

Again he says, "Regulation of marriage which is proposed and which is being put forward by physicians and thoughtful people —by people who are the furthest removed from any possible designation as cranks— looks beyond the prevention of the marriage of paupers and the feeble-minded * * * * . There lies before the writer the text of the law passed by Michigan, which prohibits the marriage of persons having certain maladies. There also lie before him bills introduced in four legislatures in 1901, to regulate marriage."

On the question covered by (*e*) we dare say our readers are well aware of the almost "frantic" efforts of the women suffragists in England. What they are now fighting for is the franchise, *i.e.*, the right to vote for and gain entry into, the Parliament, as they have already gained seats on many of the local bodies. The question covered by (*i*) has so far received a recognition as to cause comparatively heavy taxes to be imposed upon large inheritances.

Thus our readers will at once realize the close connection between social and political questions in free, independent and self-governing countries. The case is, however, entirely different in countries where a foreign nation holds the sway. In such a country, the question of advancing social reform by legislature is always a very delicate one. Both the rulers and the ruled approach it with a great deal of natural timidity. While considerations of policy and finance check the zeal of the former, if there be any, suspicion of too much interference in their domestic affairs affects the other. While imperial interests leave no time and opportunity to the former to enter into the spirit of the people and embark on schemes which are likely to involve a great deal of expenditure of money (which can be ill-spared from imperial projects) as well as a larger representation of the people in the country's legislative and administrative machinery, the latter themselves are very jealous of having their domestic affairs interfered with by foreigners who in their opinion cannot possibly understand them and their institutions so well as to leave no chance of legislative intermeddling doing greater harm and mischief than otherwise. In a country like India, however, where social life is so much mixed up with religion, the difficulties are still greater in the way of any legislative action in matters social. In the West, as pointed out above, the boundary line between matters social and political is very thin, here the close connection of religion with social life makes it very thick. The safest and the best way, therefore, in this country to effect social reform was and is by universal education, the lukewarm progress of which has so far stood in the way of social reform making head as it otherwise might have done. The cry for universal free elementary education has several times been raised, but it has met with no or scanty response from the authorities for reasons briefly alluded to above, *viz.*, considerations of *imperial policy and famine*. India is, perhaps, the only country on the face of the globe just now where under a professedly civilized system of Government (unless Russia is also to be included in this category) the percentage of illiterates is so large, and where a system of free compulsory primary education is not in vogue. Japan, which started much later, has in a few years gone far ahead and left India far behind in the matter of Education. The Indian Government has not yet seen its way to recognize the responsibility of the State to improve the social efficiency of the people constituting the State, by providing for universal, compulsory and free elementary education. Why? The reason is plain. The people and the State here are not identical. The people do not constitute the State. The State is something above and beyond the people. Hence the interests of the former as understood by its statesmen take precedence of those of the latter.

This makes the work of social reform in this country still more difficult and uphill than in other countries. Social reform, here, has to be scrupulously kept apart from politics and consequently fails to arouse that enthusiasm which is so necessary for the successful working of all public movements. It has, moreover, to a certain extent, to consult and if possible to reconcile the religious angularities of the different religious denominations (and their number is legion) that find allegiance in this land. So far religions and religious prejudices have been its chief

enemies. But for them the progress might have been greater and more rapid; though, however paradoxical it might seem, its successes and its acheivements, too, whatever they are, are greatly due to the intercession of religious authority. Speaking of social reform amongst the Hindus, it was a religious movement (that of the Brahmo Samaj) which gave it birth and nursed it in its lap. Then it was another religious movement, *viz.* the Arya Samaj, which supplied the momentum for its successful march onward. It is again the gradual conversion of another religious movement (originally its opponent) to its side, *viz.*, that of the reformed Sanatan Dharma, that is conferring new vitality upon it. In an intensely religious (some might sarcastically call it religion-ridden) country like India it was perhaps impossible to do anything substantial in the way of social reform without the help of religion. General enlightenment brought about liberal education and the irresistible contact with the West with which so many material interests are bound up, was no doubt, bound to give birth to a social reform movement in India; but except for the ready and handy co-operation of religion, the progress would have been extremely slow and highly unsatisfactory in more ways than one. Amongst Muhammadans, even the great Sir Syed Ahmadhad to apply himself to a liberal commentary of the Quran in order to find the necessary sanction for his social reform movement. Amongst Hindus also the movement perhaps would have been stronger and more successful than it has been, if the authority of the ancient religious literature had been originally invoked on its side as was at a later stage done by Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Swami Dayanand Saraswati and is now being done by the reform party amongst the Sanatanists. Social reform thus like all other important movements in the world, has to make a great struggle for getting a national sanction. The nation had to be lectured off and on, on the absolute necessity of social efficiency before any progress could be made. Reason, rationalism, science and religion had all to be brought into the field before a substantial breach was made in the citadel of superstition and deep-rooted prejudices. That a substantial and never to be repaired breach has after all been made is abundantly clear from the awakening consciousness of the intelligent among those who had so bravely and so gallantly held the citadel for so long against all assailants. The attitude of the Central Hindu College authorities towards social reform in general (leaving some questions aside on which there is still great difference of opinion) is an incontestable proof of the national awakening to the absolute necessity of social efficiency for progress. So far the field has been opened. As an evidence of this general feeling for social reform we may now examine how far the idea of national efficiency has descended to practice and how far the nation has accepted the responsibility of each and all for the good of the whole.

Judging from the private educational activity in different provinces we may fairly infer that the necessity of a system of national education for national efficiency has pretty generally been accepted. There are wide differences of opinion on what national education means and what it may comprise, but there seems to be unanimity on the absolute necessity of educating the classes as well as the masses of the nation for national efficiency. Further, the prevailing sense amongst the educated classes is based on an idea of **duty**. The educated classes have realized or have begun to realize that it is their duty to educate the rest of their countrymen and if they fail in its discharge they will be failing in their *dharma* towards their country, which failure will be a standing hindrance in the way of national progress and a standing menace to national as well as individual interests. The Fergusson College at Poona, with its affiliated schools, the Metropolitan and many of the other numerous private colleges and schools in Bengal and Behar, the M. A.-O. College at Aligarh, with a number of Islamic schools and colleges spread over the land, the D. A.-V. College, Lahore, with its Anglo-Vedic and Anglo-Sanskrit schools, the C. H. College, Benares, with its Hindu schools, the Gurukul, Kangri, Hardwar, with other similar Gurukuls in the Punjab and the United Provinces and, last but not the least, the National College in Calcutta with its national schools, are standing monuments of the birth of this idea of national efficiency. It is not a sense of charity that

impels the organizers and conductors of these institutions, but a sense of duty towards the different social units which they represent.

The sense of duty has grown sufficiently strong to enable highly able, gifted and wealthy men to undergo sacrifices of a high order for its sake. The ennobling and inspiring sacrifices of men of the type of Messrs. Gokhale and Paranjape, of the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, of Lala Hans Raj, of Lala Bhagwan Dass, of Lala Munshi Ram and of Principal A. Ghose in the cause of education, are sufficient indications of the working of the idea that social efficiency is a *sine qua non* of national progress, and that education is the best means of securing social efficiency. The idea that the cause of education is a national cause, which each and every Indian must serve is spreading and the various social organizations are taking it up. These social organizations or caste-conferences as they are called, have a mischeivous tendency in so far as they tend to perpetuate the caste-system as it exists, and may at any time be used for causing disunion. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that their lead be in safe and trustworthy hands. In the hands of these latter, they can be used to advance the cause of education and social reform to some extent at least. They can at any rate disseminate the idea of corporate social responsibility of a certain social unit for the welfare and prosperity of all the members composing it. But in the interest of general national efficiency they require to be watched with great care and vigilance so that there be no chance of their getting narrower than they are or being used in the interests of individuals or for purposes other than national. This is, however, only by the way. What I was driving at was that the idea that the education of all the members of the nation is a national asset and a national concern is being gradually grasped by the different communities composing the Indian nation, and that it requires to be pushed on with logical consistency in all its phases. This subject is so important and has, of late, come to such prominence that it need not be pursued any more here. There is no danger of its being lost sight of in the vortex of general political agitation.

There seems to be a consensus of educated public opinion that not only general education but commercial, professional and technical education also require to be looked after in the national interest. There is a widespread desire to found educational institutions on national lines and under our own control. People are beginning to learn the absolute duty of making sacrifices for the cause of national education.

There is one more social question on which the various religious units composing the nation seem to have realized their duty, *viz.*, in the matter of the rescue of their orphans. For a long time the Hindu community allowed its waifs and orphans to be taken away and absorbed by other religious denominations. This was due to a want of a sense of social duty towards them. This has been or is now being comprehended. The idea of charity, however, greatly dominates this branch of our social work ; though I am confident that gradually the idea of duty (*dharma*) will replace the former effectually. It, by no means, follows, however that what is being done is quite satisfactory. Certainly a great deal more is required, but it is gratifying that the number of such institutions is on the increase and the community is awakening to a sense of its duty in this matter.

We are, however, afraid that the Indian Social Reformer has so far done practically little in the matter of checking the great mortality amongst infants. The appalling infant mortality in this country requires immediate attention at the hands of the Social Reformer. At the time of the last Social Conference at Surat I was informed that the matter had been taken up by the Bombay Reformers. The evil is, however, not confined to Bombay alone and the other provinces should not lag behind in the matter. Societies for the protection of children should be organized in all the important towns in Northern India, which would undertake to disseminate the idea by means of public lectures and brief pamphlets. The question is no doubt to a certain extent included in the greater question of female education. The prominence given to female education in the programme of Social Reform is quite justified and will eventually be a fairly effectual check on infant mortality. But female education alone will not solve the whole question. In the West, where the

mothers are generally educated ladies, other remedies have had to be applied to decrease the appalling percentage of infant mortality. There is a vital connection between food and infant mortality, and in this respect, I am afraid, we are getting into worse conditions than those that prevail in Europe. Nature had provided us with a plentiful supply of good and wholesome food. Our milk supply was also quite sufficient ; but civilization has its own penalties to exact, and in the train of Western civilization have come penury and poverty. On all sides you hear the cry of insufficient and bad food. Hundreds and thousands of our countrymen, nay, millions do not get sufficient to have a fill even once a day. There are millions who live on bad food which in civilised countries would not be placed before cattle even. We are face to face with a food difficulty of the greatest magnitude. Food in India is getting scarce and dear. The supply of milk and butter is getting deficient, and a great deal of adulteration is going on in these two chief articles of Indian diet. Milk is the chief article of diet for infants and what hope can there be for the vast majority of Indian infants, if that article of diet also is going to be scarce for them? I am afraid, pure, unadulterated milk can be had cheaper in London than in the presidency towns of India. In London it is not difficult to get a tumbler of good milk, containing a pound of milk, for a penny, though we cannot say the same about Calcutta and Bombay. The question, therefore, is assuming great importance and ought to be at once taken up by the Social Reform Associations all over India. What shall our children do without milk? How are we to have it unadulterated, in abundance, and on reasonable prices is a problem to be solved. Considering the physical helplessness of the population, which the scarcity of milk supply increases, I think the question of a pure milk supply is of the greatest importance both from the humane and national point of view, a proper consideration of which can no longer be delayed without incurring great risks. This does not take away from the importance of the question of general food supply in India, in face of the famine-rates that prevail even in normal times.

Ghi, which is so necessary for a Hindu in all the different phases of his life, is becoming scarce and is in some municipal cities being taxed as a "luxury." A Hindu requires ghi at his birth, at his tonsure, at his *upanayana*, at his marriage, at his death. His gods cannot be pleased without ghi; much less can his own god (*i.e.* his own stomach). But ghi, good ghi, cannot be had except at exhorbitant prices. Millions of people have to go without ghi! How can those who can scarcely get wheat or barley to eat, go in for ghi or milk. The condition is becoming indescribably sad and requires the immediate attention of national leaders.

There is one more question which I will touch, before bringing this article to a close, as I consider it to be of very great importance for the national efficiency, *viz.*, the condition of the depressed classes among Hindus. The Hindu community must once for all recognize that the caste-system, as it prevails now, is doomed and that its rigidity must be relaxed if the Hindus are to improve as a social unit. That the condition of these lower classes is deplorable and requires immediate attention is admitted on all hands. Large numbers of them are being lost to the Hindu community, because the latter would not give them any social status and would not otherwise improve their condition. These are the classes which suffer most in times of scarcity and famine and it is absolutely necessary that effective measures be adopted to educate them, to lift them in the social scale and to give them work which will enable them to get sufficient for a decent living. At present they are a drag, but with a little care they can be converted into a source of strength and power. The community, as a whole, have not as yet realized their duty in the matter. What little is being done in Bombay and the Panjab is being done more from religious and philanthropic motives than from the point of view of social efficiency. The subject is of such great importance that I propose to deal with it in a separate paper.

A word now as to the meetings of the Social Conference. I think it is high time that the programme of the Indian Social Conference should undergo a change and that instead of rushing through the programme in the course of a few hours, the work of

the conference be given greater importance than is being attached to it now, by holding it at a different time of the year than in the week the greater part of which is occupied by the Indian National Congress. What the Conference might lose in spectacular effect, will be more than gained otherwise by greater attention being bestowed on thinking out modes of practical work and on finding ways and means to give effect to them.

LAJPAT RAI.

THE DIRECT METHOD OF TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

WHEN in any department of life, a new idea based on a half-truth is started, the chances are that the adherents the idea gains would take it to be based on a whole-truth and would endeavour to work it out as if it were such. What is called the Direct Method of teaching foreign languages, I take to be based on a half-truth. It rests mainly upon the unquestionable truth that a living language is best learnt by hearing it spoken and by speaking it, but in insisting that in teaching a living foreign language the use of the native language should be discarded from the very beginning, it wanders, as will appear from what follows, into the regions of untruth.

In the Berlitz Illustrated Edition for Children, English Part, is quoted the following dictum of Luther*:—

"Every one learns German or any other language much better from hearing it spoken in the house, in business and at church than from books."

Sonthals at Karmatar, whose linguistic or other intellectual aptitudes are by no means extraordinary, speak with great facility, as I can say from personal knowledge, two foreign languages in addition to their native Sonthali. These two foreign languages are Magahi Hindi and Bengali, and conversation alone has been the means by which they have been acquired. Conversation is *the natural means* of acquiring a language, native or foreign. But in no system of school instruction can adequate facilities for conversation in a foreign language be provided, and such conversation as can be provided requires to be largely supplemented by knowledge that can be supplied from books.

The Berlitz Method, which may be taken as the representative Direct Method, professes to be "an imitation of the natural process by which a child learns its mother tongue." The natural process by which a child learns its mother tongue *cannot*, however, as a matter of fact, be imitated; only some approach towards imitation can be made. The child that has learnt its mother tongue and is beginning to learn a foreign one is not exactly in the position of the child that knows yet no tongue and is just beginning to learn its mother tongue. One who has already learnt a language, be he child or adult, cannot avoid comparing what he learns of the new language he has begun to learn with the corresponding components of the one he has already learnt. Berlitz would bar out comparison entirely. "It is, for instance," says he, "as easy to learn 'I you see' (French from) as it is 'I see you' (English form), the difference appears only when the student compares the foreign expression with that of his mother tongue in which the construction is different."† But the child, and much more the adult, must be extraordinarily stupid who would not compare, when the difference is of so striking a character. Indeed, a noting of differences must be a means and a very effective means, for the acquisition of a foreign tongue, for knowledge of all kinds, in its ultimate analysis, consists, as psychology teaches us, of the two elements of likeness and difference. Another difficulty in the

* The Berlitz Method for Teaching Modern Languages, Illustrated edition for children, English Part, 8th Edition, 1906, p. 3.

† *Ibid* p. 5.

way of imitating the natural process is that it is impossible to secure for most of those who have to learn a foreign tongue the benefit of hearing that foreign tongue spoken, correctly and fluently, for as great a length of time and on as great a variety of topics as the child hears its mother tongue spoken. It is by hearing a language spoken and by being under the necessity of speaking it that a language is most easily acquired. In teaching a foreign living language in any school, the aim should, therefore, be to arrange for conversations being carried on in that language as largely as possible in the class room. Teachers of the right stamp for conversational work in English would hardly be available in India in sufficient numbers. The preparation of a suitable book to serve as a help to both teacher and pupil seems to be in every way desirable. If the book contained such conversations as actually take place among English-speaking children—on matters in which Indian children too can feel an interest—it would be of very great value. It would be a great thing in Bengal, if in the Hindu and Hare Schools of the capital, the schools attached to the Government Colleges in the Mufassal, and the Schools which Government is to maintain in the several districts as models for institutions of their kind, had each on its staff a teacher for English conversation, whose vernacular would be English.

In the English Syllabus for Standard III, *i.e.*, the Standard for beginners in English, issued by the late Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, Mr. Earle, conversational lessons are enjoined, and this is a valuable feature of the syllabus. It lays down the Direct Method as the principle to be followed, and in so doing it delivers itself as follows :—

"The introduction of the vernacular interferes with the direct association, and it should as a general rule be avoided. In a class which knows no English at all the teacher has only to hold out his hand and say 'hand'. In doing this the child has connected the object and the name."

To enjoin that the vernacular should as a general rule be avoided seems to be carrying the Direct Method a little further than Director Walter, who is, as we are told by Professor Nelson Fraser, one of the best exponents of the method in Germany, carries it. Director Walter says—

"We must make it our first principle to employ the mother tongue only when it affords the quickest route to the comprehension of the foreign tongue; we must avoid it whenever we can attain this end by gestures, by objects or pictures, by reference to something already known, by description in the foreign tongue."*

The injunction that 'we must make it our first principle to employ the mother tongue only when it affords the quickest route to the comprehension of the foreign tongue' does not exactly bar out the use of the mother tongue 'as a general rule', but leaves ample room for its use. Holding out the hand and such-like gestures; pointing to actual things, models and pictures; and actions corresponding to a number of verbs, may answer for teaching the young learner the foreign names of a number of material objects and of a number of external actions without the intervention of the learner's vernacular. But feelings of the mind would hardly admit of this sort of manipulation. The simple sentence, "the mother loves her child," for instance, the Bengali boy ignorant of English can hardly be made to understand without the help of his vernacular, while with the help of the vernacular it would be exceedingly easy to make him understand it. The late Director's Syllabus does indeed allow of translation from English into Bengali at a later stage of progress than the initial. But translation from English into Bengali cannot be half as helpful towards the learning of English as the opposite process of translating from Bengali into English, *i.e.*, expressing in the foreign English tongue what the Bengali boy has already learnt to express in his own tongue. Translation from Bengali into English has no place in the Director's Syllabus, and this in consequence, it seems, of the hostility of the Direct Method to the mother tongue.

The principle of avoiding the use of the mother tongue as largely as possible while teaching a foreign one appears to be psychologically wrong. What does a human being, be he child or adult, spontaneously do when he learns a language akin to his own by hearing it spoken? Does he not associate the expressions of the foreign tongue that he hears with the corresponding expressions of his own tongue, and does not this

* *Occasional Reports, No. 4* (issued from the Office of the Director-General of Education in India), p. 75.

association serve as a help to his memory? When, as a child, I learnt the Hindustani words *ham* and *tum* (in their corrupt Bengali forms *hám* and *tom*) I must have compared them with the corresponding Bengali words *ámi* and *tumi*, and the comparison must have helped me to retain the Hindustani words in my memory. Not long ago I heard a Bengali boy of about ten say "Tár thándá (thandhá) ho giya (gayá)," which he had heard a tram-car driver or conductor say and which he had evidently identified with the Bengali "Tár thandá hoye gechee." The native tongue here was decidedly helpful towards acquiring a bit of a kindred foreign tongue. A month or so ago an eight year old Bengali boy was walking along with me when an up-country-man uttered the words "Inta chorá le gayá." I asked the boy what the words meant, and he at once answered. "It churi kore ne geche." When, in adult life, I read Hindustani (High Hindi and Urdu) in books, I constantly made comparisons with my native Bengali, and the comparison greatly helped the memory and altogether greatly facilitated progress. I doubt not that the experience of others learning any language akin to their own has been like mine. Even a known foreign tongue may be a help towards the acquisition of another foreign tongue that one wants to learn. An English-knowing Indian learning French would naturally make his knowledge of English culture-words a means of fixing in his mind the corresponding French culture-words which are either exactly the same or very much the same in writing, though in sound more or less divergent. Is the child psychologically so different from the adult that what the adult does spontaneously would be unsuitable for the child?

In regard to allied languages, then, the intervention of the native language is a positive help instead of a hindrance to the acquisition of a foreign one. As against the Berlitz method, which is the Direct Method in its extreme form, as in it 'translation as a means of acquiring a foreign language is entirely abandoned,' I give below a diametrically opposed method as I find it on p. 304 of the Review of Reviews for March 1908. This method makes the native tongue an instrument for the acquisition of a kindred foreign tongue.

"Mr. W. R. Boelter [a German, by the way] claims that he can teach any ordinarily intelligent person to read any magazine or paper in German in three months of two lessons a week. And judging from his trial lesson which he gave at Clark's College at the end of last month this is hardly so incredible as it seems. Mr. Boelter's system differs entirely from the Gouin and Berlitz methods. Instead of teaching the foreign language by ignoring the mother tongue altogether, Mr. Boelter, on the contrarv, builds up the knowledge of the new language from the bricks and mortar already at hand, and makes the utmost of the close relationship between the two languages. At least twenty-five percent of English and German words, he says, are closely related, some almost identical, and therefore easily recognised. As the result, at the end of the twentieth reading lesson the pupil will know at sight over 2,000 words without having had to memorise them. For instance, in the first reading lesson we find such sentences as "Nelson war ein englischer Admiral. Mein bruder ist ein student in Oxford und mein Vater ein Doktor in London." Any one not knowing a word of German would find no difficulty in translating such sentences as these. The readings then proceed gradually to those more difficult to recognise. But as the pupil proceeds from the obvious to the less obvious, the lessons have been made as easy as possible by arranging them so that the pupil can guess the meanings of the passages from the context. Great stress is laid upon this suggestion of ideas."

The position, again, that the association of a foreign word with the thing it signifies, through the medium of the corresponding native word is an obstacle in the way of acquiring the foreign word, appears to be open to challenge. To take an example: The Bengali boy learns *kukur* as the term which stands for a particular concept, which, by the way, is incapable of being imaged in the mind. If he learns 'dog' as the English equivalent of *kukur*, does he not connect the new term with the concept which is already associated in his mind with the term *kukur?* After he has learnt the word 'dog', if he has occasion to use it in conversation or writing, he would naturally call to mind the word directly in connection with the concept and not mediately through the word *kukur*. What then is the harm done by learning 'dog' as the English equivalent of *kukur?* Again, by teaching the word 'dog' from a picture of a dog, the word *kukur*, already known, does not come to be dissociated from the concept, and an older association has a firmer hold on the mind than a later one. A Bengali boy, who has been taught the word 'dog' in association with the picture of a dog, cannot be made to forget the word *kukur*. When there is any occasion for his express-

ing the concept by its English name, does the Bengali name, as a matter of fact, interpose itself? The gain from learning the word 'dog' in association with the picture of a dog, instead of learning it as the English equivalent of *kukur*, does not appear to be very clear, while, on the other hand, it is unquestionable that the latter mode of learning is handier than the former. The really important thing in this connection is that the use of the word 'dog', after it has been learnt, must be insisted on to the exclusion of *kukur*. So, generally in teaching a foreign language the use of that language as largely as possible in the class-room should be made a *sine qua non*.

Verbs form the very back-bone of a language, and the different parts of the foreign verbs can be most conveniently taught on the basis of their equivalence to corresponding parts of the native verbs. The difference between 'I play' and 'I am playing', for instance, can be very easily taught if the former is given as the English equivalent of *ami khelai* and the latter as the English equivalent of *ami khelaitechhi*. It has long been my creed that the teaching of grammar from lists and paradigms with their necessary accompaniment of technical terms is a senseless procedure. But the teaching of the grammar of a foreign language with the native language as the starting ground, *i.e.*, the teaching of the foreign grammatical forms as the equivalents of the corresponding native grammatical forms is as simple as it is rational, I think. The direct method has the merit of saying boldly,

"Away with lists and paradigms! Let the pupil learn his accidence as he meets it in the text."*

The German Direct Method has a rival in the French Gouin method. The distinctive feature of the method of Gouin is that it makes the verb the basis of instruction, and this is a very valuable feature indeed, for the verb is the instrument of all assertions. A further recommendation of this method is that it arranges sentences in the lessons in such logical order that the memory is greatly assisted thereby. A short specimen here may not come amiss.

I wish to speak.†
I open the mouth.
I move the tongue and the lips.
I speak.

Professor Nelson Fraser speaks of this method as follows:—

"Now, as to the success of the method in imparting command over a language, there can be no doubt whatever that success is simply astonishing. It is certain, I believe, that Gouin's method, conscientiously followed, affords incomparably the most rapid introduction to a new language.‡"

It does not speak very largely for the openness of the German mind that the writer just quoted should have to say—

"This system is not much followed in Germany, but there are schools which have adopted it, and I visited such a school in Hamburg."‖

This method does not interdict the use of the native tongue.

"The teacher first explains in German that he is going to describe the actions involved in writing on the blackboard. He names each of the actions in German and requests the pupils to recall them in their minds. He then abandons German and names each action in English. The pupils repeat each sentence after him; and subsequently each sentence is written on the blackboard."¶

Germany has won for herself the foremost place in the world of intellect, and her industrial and commercial development, too, has in the course of the last three decades been quite phenomenal. It is but natural that at the present day men would feel disposed to over-value things German. The Direct Method has thus come to be over-valued. It is to be desired that in reforming the method of teaching English in India only what is of incontestable value in the Direct Method and what can be effectively worked with the means available in the country should be adopted, and that at the same time all that is good in the method of Gouin should be appropriated.

"'A practical criticism of the Direct Method is," says Professor Nelson Fraser, "that it is very difficult to find men to work it."§

The practice of making the teaching of the English alphabet the first step in the process of teaching Indian children the English language and of making English as it is written the basis of teaching English as it is spoken is really putting a stumbling block in their way. The English graphic

* *Occasional Reports*, No. 4, issued from the Office of the Director-General of Education in India, p. 21.

† *The Study of French* by Eugine and Duriaux, the first lesson translated (p. 1).

‡ *Occasional Reports, No. 4*, issued from the office of the Director-General of Education in India, p. 38.

‖ *Ibid*, p. 36.

¶ *Ibid* p. 37.

§ *Ibid* p. 35.

system is not only not phonetic, it is not consistent either. It is in fact bewilderingly conventional. Teaching English orthography to foreign children at the initial stage is certainly a wrong course to follow. It is much more difficult to learn words like 'light' and 'fire' through their written forms than to learn them directly through the ear. Here I may fitly give a brief account of an experiment I have recently made in teaching English. The experiment was begun about a year and a half ago with a remarkably intelligent grandson of mine. Without being taught the English alphabet, he was taught a number of the commonest English words as the equivalents of the Bengali words bearing the same sense, and he was taught also the essentials of English grammar in regard to simple sentences by means of typical English sentences as the equivalents of Bengali sentences conveying the same meaning. When he was just seven years and two months old, he was taught the English alphabet from Macmillan's *King Primer*, and this book, which usually forms a year's course in schools, he mastered in three months with only about half an hour's work a day at it. He was then put to the *Berlitz Illustrated Edition for Children, English Part*, a copy of which had in the meantime been procured from England. This book, though unsuited to the surroundings of a Bengali child, was found very helpful. The questions attached to the lessons in the Second Part form a particularly good feature of the book. It is a pity that it is not free from faulty English and faulty logic although it reached in 1906 the 8th European Edition, the edition from which my grandson was taught. In teaching him from the book, the vernacular was largely used, *i.e.*, used wherever it was found to be a help, no more help, however, being given him in any form than was absolutely needed. He went through the book rapidly enough; but, without the help of the vernacular, I can say, his progress could not have been anything like what it was.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN THE UNITED PROVINCES

SINCE a short article of mine on this subject was published in the May-June number of the *Hindustan Review* the Government Resolution on the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for last year and a second Resolution convening a representative Sanitary Conference to meet at Naini Tal on the 4th September have been published, as also a volume of very interesting and useful Statistics of Public Health in British India. I have had too the great advantage of a communication from a valued friend and honoured leader bristling with figures which throw a flood of light on the subject. In view of the approaching Conference at Naini Tal I have thought that it may not be without use to invite attention to some of the instructive information contained in the papers referred to. Before doing so, I may be permitted to say one word of grateful acknowledgment of the efforts of Sir John Hewett whose informed zeal for the well-being and advancement of the people over whose destinies he presides has honourably distinguished him among the Provincial rulers ever since his assumption of his present high office.

An under-fed and ill-housed, ignorant and superstitious population living in insanitary areas, victims of many diseases, and dying in abnormal numbers as they have not the stamina to resist the attacks of these, is the difficult situation for which a remedy has, or rather remedies have to be found. The Resolution convening the Sanitary Conference contains evidence of Sir John Hewett's appreciation of the necessity for improvement in the material condition of the people as well as the spread of education among them if sanitary measures are to prove efficacious. For the former he looks to the devolopment of industries—a subject in which he has shown himself specially interested. It may be pointed out at the same time that the bulk

of the population will continue to subsist on agriculture and that accordingly a reform of the land revenue administration of Government on the lines proposed by the National Congress and the Provincial Conference is essential to secure to them the fruits of their honest toil. While if knowledge is to penetrate into the dark corners where now, ignorance reigns the educational expenditure of the State has to be largely increased. This is not, however, the occasion to dwell at any length on these subjects, and more will not be said on them.

To those who hold the opinion that of all sanitary problems the foremost place must at present be given to the opening up of congested areas in towns and cities and a mitigation of the evils of overcrowding in damp ill-ventilated houses, it must be a source of great satisfaction that Sir John Hewett shares their view and that this will be the problem to which the first attention of the Naini Tal Conference will be given. The recurring epidemics of plague have left no room for doubt as to the gravity of this particular problem. It is not implied, however, that the supply of pure drinking water and a scientific system of drainage are matters to be overlooked. Their importance to the well-being of the community is not to be belittled, and they are set down for deliberation at the Naini Tal Conference. Rural Sanitation is another vastly important subject that will engage the attention of the members. On this the suggestion that was made in the articlc in the *Hindustan Review* to which reference has been made may perhaps be repeated, which is that village committees or boards should be established to look after the sanitation of the rural areas. Some amount of money should be placed at their disposal from the local funds supplemented from Provincial revenues, and a health officer of the district or taluka board as the case may be should visit the villages once a month or once in two months to advise the committee. In this as in other matters of sanitation the wise observation of the late Sir Ashley Eden should not be forgotten, that one sanitary reform effected with the willing consent of the people is worth a hundred that are forced on them. The question of the revival of village *punchayets* is among the subjects on which the Decentralisation Commission will report. If their recommendation be in favour of their revival and the entrusting of definite tasks to them, these village boards, the creation of which for facilitating the introduction of sanitary reforms has been advocated above, will, perhaps, be found to be suitable bodies to which to delegate other functions as well. Before I leave the subject of village sanitation reference may perhaps be made to the deliberations on this subject of the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography. The members of the Indian Committee of the Seventh Session of this Congress which was held in London in 1891, among whom were Sir Douglas Dalton, Sir W. Guyer Hunter, Sir W. Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, recorded a memorandum declaring that the removal of the present sanitary evils in villages was the first necessity of these villages and urging upon the authorities that reasonable sanitary improvements should be regarded as the first charge on the village cess. Before the Tropical Section of the eighth Session of the Congress held at Budapest in 1894, the veteran and venerable Miss Florence Nightingale read a paper on this subject in which she quoted the above memorandum with approval. And the Congress recorded the following resolution on Miss Nightingale's paper:—

"The Tropical Section of the Congress having had under consideration a paper by Miss Nightingale on Village Sanitation in India, are of opinion that the subject is a very important one, affecting as it does the health and prosperity of so many millions of industrious and law-abiding people. They appreciate the efforts that have been made in the different provinces by the Government of India to promote this work; and looking to the special conditions of the Village Communities of India, they think that the best results will be obtained through the co-operation of the people themselves if they are instructed in the primary rules of health. The most pressing needs appear to be a wholesome water supply and the removal of refuse and other insanitary matter from the neighbourhood of dwelling-houses."

Revision of the functions and constitution of the Sanitary Board and increase in the number of sanitary inspectors are other matters referred to the Conference. Both of them are important subjects and we may be confident that the very capable members of it will discuss the entire problem with the thoroughness that it demands and withal with a strict regard for what is immediately

practicable and what can only be gradually achieved as funds permit. A more important Conference has not been called together and every one with the welfare of the millions at heart will invoke the blessings of the Almighty on their patriotic labours.

The statistics quoted below will impress the public with the gravity of this problem of public health at the present juncture.

The ratio of births per 1,000 of the population of India in 1906 was 37·8. The ratio in the United Provinces was 40·22. This was exceeded only in two provinces, *i.e.*, the Punjab where the ratio was 43·7, and the Central Provinces and Berar with a ratio of 51·72. The birth-rate in the United Provinces in 1907 was 41·18 per mille, the quinquennial average being 49·02.

Coming to deaths the ratio for all India in 1906 was 34·8, whereas in the United Province it was 39·07. The ratio was larger than in any other province save the Central Provinces. The death-rate in 1907 increased to 43.46, the quinquennial average being 38·82. The death-rate from causes other than plague was 37·61 in 1906, and 36·56 in 1907; even this is higher than the ratio for all India which includes the mortality from plague.

Male deaths for all India in 1906 worked out at 35·4 per 1,000 and female deaths at 34·26. What did the United Province show in the same year? Male deaths 38·72 per 1,000 and female 39·44. The male ratio is the largest of all Provinces save the Central Provinces and the female too is likewise the largest, only the Punjab being a little worse off with 39·50.

The ratio of the rural death rate in all India in 1906 was 34·21 and urban 41·8. The corresponding figures for the United Provinces are 38·31 and 49.15 respectively. In rural areas the rate was the largest in India save the Central Provinces. In the urban it was only exceeded by Bombay and the Central Provinces, Bombay being exceptional.

Taking deaths in the larger cities Cawnpore is the worst off with a death-rate of 81·63 per 1000. It was only beaten by Poona City with 103·56 and Nagpur with 82·32. The incidence in Lucknow was 50.41, in Benares 58·47, Allahabad 36.87, Agra 39·62, Bareilly 34.19, Meerut 43.15, Mirzapur 25·38, Fyzabad 40.89, Shahjahanpur 34·05, Farrukhabad 46.14, Moradabad 45·91, Gorakhpur 54.93, Saharanpur 57.04, Aligarh 49.71, Muttra 53, Jhansi 80·28, Mussorie 10.7. Of these 18 cities, the mortality in so many as 14—namely, Lucknow, Benares, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Agra, Meerut, Fyzabad, Farrukhabad, Moradabad, Gorakhpur, Saharanpur, Aligarh, Muttra and Jhansi—was above the average, and in a few cases fearfully so.

Next we have the gruesome figures of infant mortality. No less than 249,574 male and 231,810 female children under one year died in the Provinces in 1906. There was an increase over these figures in 1907. The average for the period 1891—1900 was 229·4 per 1,000, while that for the first six years of the present century was 248·5 and the death rate for 1907 was 253·2. Taking statistics of deaths of children under one year in the different Provinces in 1906, we find the rate of mortality per 1,000 to be as follows:—

	Males.	Females.
The United Provinces	333·57	320·45
Bengal	298·29	256·77
Eastern Bengal and Assam	246·18	206·85
The Punjab	310·8	318·62
The North-West Frontier Province	251·21	216·20
The Central Provinces and Berar (in 1904)	564·84	494·3
Madras	211·1	177·1
Bombay	352·91	319·39
Lower Burma	342·05	247·02
Ajmer-Merwara	277·37	140·57
Coorg	207·82	197·30

The ratio of deaths per 1,000 in the United Provinces alone according to age in the years 1897 and 1906 is as follows:—

	Males.		Females.	
	1897	1906	1897	1906
Under 1 year	262·97	333·57	255·1	320·55
,, 5 years	73·64	78·16	72·78	78·4
,, 10 ,,	20·24	19·51	17·68	18·1
,, 15 ,,	12·2	12·04	11·45	12·47
,, 20 ,,	14·65	14·57	18·63	18·76
,, 30 ,,	19·96	18·13	18·52	20·46
,, 40 ,,	27·68	20·71	21·41	20·91
,, 50 ,,	43.66	28·08	33·73	25·84
,, 60 ,,	68·01	45·38	50·55	41·47
Over ,, ,,	85·4	83·44	57·51	70·98

It is instructive next to note the comparative mortality in different classes. More Hindus die than Mahomedans or Christians. Thus, in the United Provinces in 1906 the death rate among Hindus was 39·33 against 38·52 and 11·41 among Mahomedans and Christians respectively. And this rate

was exceeded only in the Central Provinces among both Hindus and Mahomedans.

Next we shall take the deaths from different diseases. The largest number is due to fevers. The ratio in the United Provinces in 1906 was 27·62. This increased to 28·31 in 1907. No doubt the ratio was 31·21 in 1897, but that was a year of severe famine. That it was quite abnormal becomes evident from the fact that the ratio fell to 22·67 in 1898, and in the years between 1898 and 1905, the ratio was 26·55, 23·58, 23·46, 24·51, 27·65, 23·92 and 26·92 respectively. The ratio of the different provinces for 1906 shows that more people die from fevers in the United Provinces than in any other province. Thus it was only 9·77 in Lower Burma, 21·65 in Eastern Bengal and Assam, 22·41 in Bengal, 25·77 in Ajmer-Merwara, 20·28 in the Punjab, 26·14 in the North-West Frontier Province, 14,86 in Bombay, 18·95 in the Central Provinces and Berar, 8·4 in Madras, 23·62 in Coorg, and 19·85 in all India, against 27·62 in the United Provinces. The mortality from other diseases in 1906 was as follows :—

	All India.	United Provinces.
Cholera	3·08	3·14
Small-pox	·48	·28
Plague	1·32	1·46
Dysentery and Diarrhœa	1·32	·55
Respiratory diseases	·89	·42
Other Causes	7·42	5·05

The total from all causes was 39·07 against 34·8 in all India.

It is unnecessary to present more figures to drive home to the mind of the people the conviction that the condition of things must cause the gravest anxiety. The Government Resolution reviewing the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for the year 1907 rightly says :—

"The statistics given in the report afford food for very serious reflection and indicate a state of affairs calling for the serious consideration of the Government and the local authorities. The birth rate is below and the death rate above the normal. The provincial death rate was surpassed only by that of the Punjab. In municipal towns particularly the excess of deaths over births was marked, amounting to no less than 17·27 per thousand of population against 9·75 in 1906. The number of deaths attributed to fevers was higher than in any of the preceding three years, and although the deaths from this cause during the months of July to November—usually the most feverish time—were fewer than in 1906, they were more numerous than in either 1904 or 1905. Infant mortality, though not actually as high as in some previous years, shows a decided tendency to rise and was higher than in any province except the Central Provinces."

III

The Government under Sir John Hewett have given some evidence that they at any rate do not underrate the gravity of the situation and that within certain limits—no doubt far too circumscribed—they are prepared to introduce some much needed measures of sanitary improvement. I certainly do not say that they are not called upon to do more; indeed it is their just obligation to devote a much larger proportion of State revenues to sanitation, medical relief, education and other measures of domestic reform than under a vicious system of finance in which military expenditure absorbs the larger part of the revenues they are able to do. What are the people themselves doing—what have they done—what do they mean to do—to introduce improvements? With the liveliest recognition of the duties of the State there must exist a corresponding sense of our own duties. Are there not measures of domestic and social reform the introduction of which is essential but in regard to which the State can do next to nothing and the people can do a great deal? Is there not room for unlimited propagandist work in this field? How do the ignorant people keep their houses and what care is taken of the surroundings of houses? What about the bringing up of children? Is there not a crying necessity for reform in many of the customs and habits of the people? How much has the ignorance of mothers to answer for in the matter of the frightful mortality among infants? And what about the enormous evils of premature marriage? These and other matters call for the urgent attention of the enlightened members of the community. Again, how much may private philanthropy not do to make life a little less cheerless for the poverty-stricken and helpless masses? One has only to read of the magnificent and admiration-compelling efforts of the public-spirited philanthropists in Western countries to realise the responsibility of those who have more than their fair share of the world's good things and can afford the luxury of doing good. Social problems are of the first importance in India even more than in the West, and the well-wishers of the country cannot but regret that they receive so little

earnest attention from public workers. For sometime past the welkin is ringing with the cry of self-helf and no mendicancy. Is it too much to expect some evidence of the sincerity of this oft-repeated cry in the shape of substantial and practical work for the amelioration of the lot of the people?

C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION IN SCIENCE AND CIVIC LIFE

THE doctrine of Evolution is a very old one. It was known to the ancient philosophers of India and Greece and also to some of the poets of ancient Europe. But although it is an old doctrine it has been clearly enunciated only since the middle of the nineteenth century. In its present form the doctrine is associated with the name of Darwin. It has been attempted to apply it equally to the physical, animal, vegetable, and even mineral worlds. Of every branch of science—mental, moral and physical, it has been considered to be a fundamental conception.

For over a quarter of a century, the doctrine as enunciated and elucidated by Darwin held its ground almost quite unchallenged —being accepted by the leading scientists of every country of the West. But since the last decade or more there have been some scientists who do not accept Darwinism in its entirety. Evolution according to Darwin may be defined to be continuous variation brought on by several circumstances. But there are now several scientists who hold that continuous variation does not satisfactorily account for all the phenomena of Evolution. Francis Galton, in his paper on "Discontinuity in Evolution," published in *Mind*, Vol. III, believes in spurts or sudden leaps being "competent to mould races without any help whatever from the process of selection, whether natural or sexual."

Again in the same paper referring to discontinuous or what he calls transilient variation, he says :—

"A leap has taken place into a new position of stability. I am unable to conceive the possibility of Evolutionary progress except by transiliences, for, if they were mere divergences, each subsequent generation would tend to regress backward toward the typical centre, and the advance which has been made would be temporary and could not be maintained."

Another writer—Mr. William Bateson, believes that discontinuous variations are the all-important means of organic evolution.

It is not necessary to quote other scientific authors whose expressed views coincide with the above. Evolution in the Darwinian sense of the term would not satisfactorily explain the phenomena of geological formations. Thus, for instance, we may conceive as possible the formation of a mountain by piling up of atoms of sand or earth being accomplished in the course of centuries or thousands—or may be, millions of centuries. The formation of a mountain by the above process is quite possible. But it may be definitely stated that as a matter of fact no mountain was ever formed by the above process. The above process may account for the formation of mounds or hillocks, but not of mountains. Mountains are brought into existence by sudden volcanic eruptions and not by a slow process of accumulations. The Darwinian theory of Evolution would not also satisfactorily account for the progress of human society. To a certain extent social progress may be achieved by evolution. But it does not reach its highest development by that process. As volcanic eruption lifts a mountain to its eminence, so a society reaches its height by a process analogous to volcanic eruption. That process is revolution. Prince Kropotkin, the Russian exile and revolutionist, defines revolution to be "rapid evolution," for he says that—

"Revolutions—that is, periods of accelerated rapid evolution and rapid changes—are as much in the nature of human society as the slow evolution which incessantly goes on now among the civilized races of mankind. And each time that such a period of accelerated evolution and reconstruction on a grand scale begins, civil war is liable to break out on a small or large scale."*

* *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, p : 290.

According to Edgar Quinet—

"Great revolutions are the prominent and enduring landmarks on the highway of the world, far raised above all surrounding objects pointing the progress not of particular nations but of the human race."

But while attention has been paid to the study of the laws which govern evolution, no attempt has yet been made to study the circumstances which bring about revolutions.

When human society has evolved, that is, made progress to a certain extent, and when some ferment has been introduced in it, the further progress of society does not follow the line of "continuous variation," but of "discontinuous variation," that is of sudden leaps. The ferment may be generated within or introduced from without. The ferment is of the shape of a high ideal, it may be religious, political or social. The revolution takes place when there is no safety-valve for the escape of the gases generated by the action of the ferment. The proper name for the social safety-valve is *Liberty*. Prof. Sheldon Amos, in his treatise on the Science of Law, says that

"Liberty, in itself, is a negative term denoting absence of restraints; on its positive side it denotes the fulness of individual existence."

It is when liberty in any sphere of life is curtailed, or the safety-valve closed, that the occurrence of a revolution becomes possible. For, to quote the above-mentioned jurist, liberty

"implies rest, meditation, imagination, slow and steady culture of the faculties, combinations and associations for all sorts of purposes, and especially that slowly formed belief in the certain power of carrying resolutions into action on which so much of human greatness depends."

From its very nature, no revolution can be accomplished with rose water, because it means a resistance to existing circumstances, and it tries to restore liberty. The French Revolution is often used as an illustration of a typical revolution, for it swept away every vestige of the old. Kingsley, speaking of the French Revolution, says :—

"But, side by side with the death, there was manifold fresh birth; side by side with the decay, there was active growth; side by side with them, fostered by them, though generally in strong opposition to them, whether conscious or unconscious."

Again, he says that the French Revolution proclaimed the doctrine that—

"In each man there is a God-given individuality, an independent soul, which no Government or man has a right to crush, or can crush, in the long run."

But "discontinuous variation" in social progress does not necessarily mean revolution. It is a sudden leap "competent to mould races without any help whatever from the process of selection."

Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., in his address delivered as president at the Shrewsbury meeting of the Archæological Institute, July 24, 1894, and printed in *The Antiquary*, London, September, 1894, said :—

"We talk of a Stone age, of a Bronze age, and of an Iron age, and these are excellent terms when we apply them to some particular area like Scandinavia to which they were first applied; but they are misleading when universally applied. Many savages are still living, or were quite recently, in the Stone age, the Shell age, or the Wooden age, * * while along side of them were living the emigrants from Europe, who were not only living in the Iron age, but had learned to harness steam to iron, and to multiply human labor tenfold. Not only so, but it is obvious in such cases that *there may be a great jump in civilization from a very low to a very high step on the ladder without the necessity, or the possibility even, of intermediate steps*. A Bronze age or a Copper age is not at all likely to intervene between the hewers of rude stones or of polished stones in the Pacific and in many parts of America and their adoption of iron; * *"

Well, this is a very good illustration of what may be properly called 'discontinuous variation' in the evolution of civilization.

Great stress should be laid on "discontinuous variation" as a means of progress; for in India, Anglo-Indians are never tired of telling the people of this country that they are not yet fitted to enjoy the representative or parliamentary form of Government, because they have not passed through all those stages of society which England and other countries of Europe have done. Taking it for granted that their statement of facts is accurate, it is necessary to remind them that Evolution does not necessarily mean "continuous variations." It also means "discontinuous variations"—a fact which was not lost sight of even by Darwin himself.

KHUDA BAKHSH, THE INDIAN BODLEY

Life and Character.

Khan Bahadur Khuda Bakhsh, C.I.E., was born at Chapra in North Bihar, on Tuesday, 2nd Aug., 1842, (23rd Jamadus-Sani, 1258 of the Hijera era). His family was distinguished for scholarship if not wealth, and one of his ancestors, Qazi Haibatullah, took part in compiling the *Institutes* of Aurangzib (*Fatawa-i-Alamgiri.)* Muhammad Bakhsh, the father of our hero, practised as a lawyer at Bankipur. Though not a rich man, he had a passion for Persian and Arabic books and succeeded in adding 1200 manuscripts to the 300 which he had received by inheritance. On his death-bed he charged young Khuda Bakhsh to complete the collection in every branch of Oriental learning and to build a library hall for the use of the public. The family was then in hard straits; there was no patrimony for Khuda Bakhsh, and the future seemed cheerless. But without a moment's hesitation or fear, he accepted his father's command, and right nobly did he fulfil it. The 1500 volumes left behind by Muhammad Bakhsh have now increased to about 5,000, and their value in 1891, when they numbered only 3,000, was estimated by an expert under Sir Alfred Croft at two and a half lakhs of Rupees (£16,666.) An English collection, worth nearly a lakh of Rupees, has been added. And the whole has been housed in a splendid edifice costing Rs. 80,000. All these represent the life's work of one man, Khuda Bakhsh.

Young Khuda Bakhsh read in Calcutta for sometime under the care of Nawab Amir Ali Khan Bahadur, a pleader of the Sadar Court, who maintained the English administration at Patna during the Mutiny. Sad news from home recalled the young student to Bankipur: his father was stricken with palsy, unable to earn anything, and the family was in great distress. Khuda Bakhsh was called upon to support them. He applied for a *naib-ship* under a Munsif, but without success. Appointed *peshkar* of the District Judge, he soon disagreed with his chief, Mr. Latour, and resigned. We next see him serving as Deputy Inspector of Schools for 15 months. But in January, 1868, he passed the Higher Grade Pleadership examination held at Patna, threw up his post, joined the local bar, at the age of 25, and followed a career of striking brilliancy and success from the outset. On the very day that he began his practice, he signed 101 *wakalat-namahs*. Of no other lawyer has such phenomenal success been recorded.

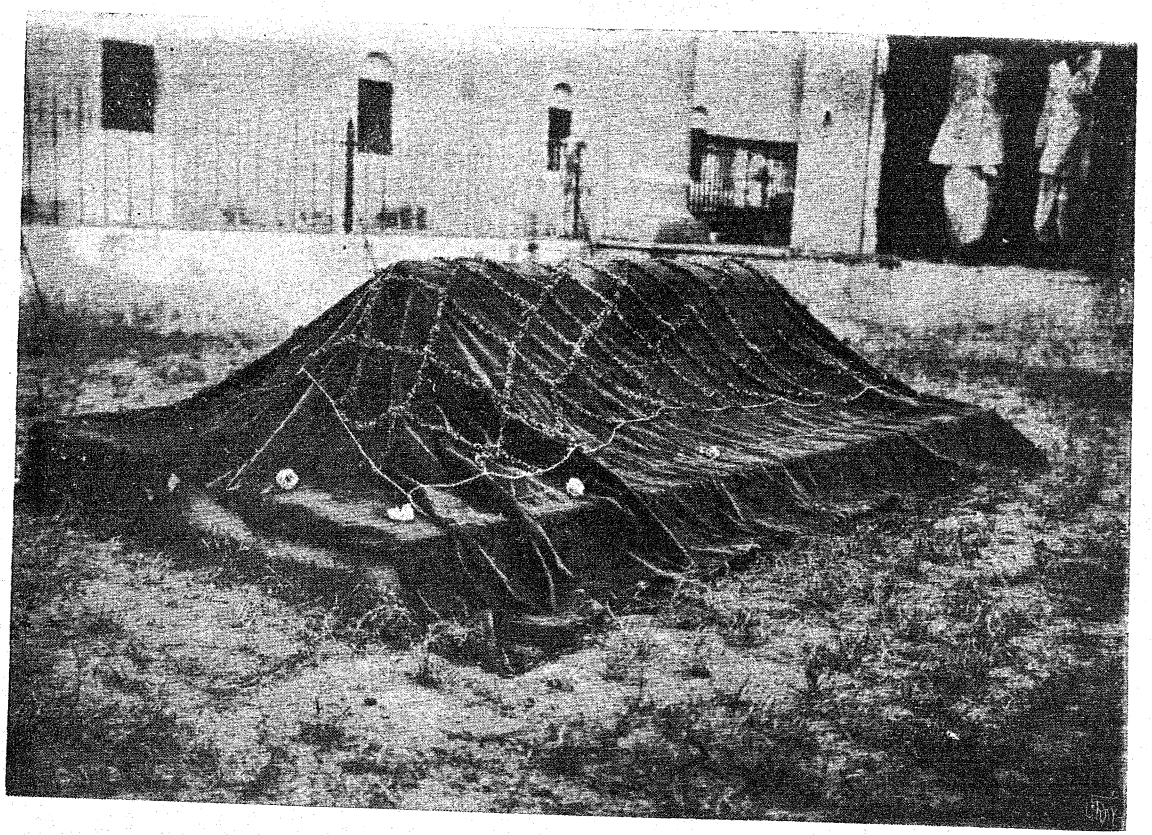
His memory was wonderful; and numerous as his cases were, he required only a rapid view to master his briefs. Sir Louis Jackson, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, while on a visit to Patna was struck by Khuda Bakhsh's advocacy, and was pleased to learn that he was the son of Muhammad Bakhsh whom he had known well during his District Judgeship of Patna. Sir Louis visited the bed-ridden Muhammad Bakhsh and offered Khuda Bakhsh a sub-judgeship with hopes of promotion to the Statutory Civil Service. But he had a roaring practice and declined to enter the public service.

Public honours, however, came thick upon him. Like a true citizen he cheerfully gave his free services in many a public cause. For his work on the School Committee he got a Certificate of Honour at the Delhi Durbar of 1877. He was the first Vice-Chairman of the Patna Municipality and of the Patna District Board, when these self-governing bodies were created by Lord Ripon. His forensic ability found recognition in his appointment as Government Pleader; and he received the highest honour of his profession when, in 1894, he was appointed Chief Justice of the High Court of the Nizam. A Khan Bahadurship was conferred on him in January, 1883, and a C. I. E. in 1903. He was also a Fellow of the (old) Calcutta University.

Returning from Haidarabad in 1898, he again joined the Bankipur bar. But his health was already on the decline, and the



KHAN BAHADUR KHUDA BAKHSH, C.I.E.
(ON THE LEFT, STICK IN HAND); AND
M. CHERAGH ALI, AUTHOR OF "A CRITICAL
EXPOSITION OF THE JIHAD."



TOMB OF KHAN BAHADUR KHUDA BAKHSH, C. I. E.

toils of his profession were too much for him. Latterly his powers gave way, and finally at 1 p. m., August 3rd, 1908, he breathed his last, after having completed his 66th year just the day before. His younger brother, Mr. Abul Hassan, Bar.-at-law, is now Chief Judge of the Calcutta Small Cause Court. Of Khuda Bakhsh's sons, the eldest, Mr. Salah-ud-din, M.A., B.C.L. Oxford, Bar.-at-law, has already made his mark as an Orientalist, the second Mr. Shihabuddin is a Deputy Superintendent of Police, and possesses a rare knowledge of Persian MSS., Muhiuddin is an undergraduate of Aligarh, and the youngest, Waliuddin, is reading at the Patna Collegiate School.

His Scholarship.

Khuda Bakhsh was one of the greatest authorities on Islamic bibliography. An article from his pen on this subject appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*. But it represents only a small part of his knowledge. I remember how one day he poured out of the copious store of his memory, a full list of Arabic biographers and critics from the first century of the Hijera to the eighth, with running comments on the value of each. Most of their works he had himself collected. But, alas! Arabic is already a dead language in India. He also compiled a descriptive catalogue of many of his manuscripts, (the *Mahbub-ul-albab*, written in Persian and lithographed at Haidarabad in 1314 A.H.) Next to the acquisition of a rare MS., what gave him most delight was to see any body using his library in carrying on research.

The Library Building.

Khuda Bakhsh had promised to his dying father to erect a house for the library, but the way in which he carried out his promise must have delighted Muhammad Bakhsh's soul in paradise. This middle-class lawyer—there are 3 or 4 such men in every District Court in Bengal,—spent Rs. 80,000 on the library building. It is a two-storied structure with a spacious hall and two side rooms on the first floor and a wide shady verandah going all around it. The two stair cases, the west verandahs and most of the lower rooms are paved with marble or stone mosaics; in the other verandahs and rooms the floor is covered with encaustic tiles (as in the Writers' Building, Calcutta). The whole library with the building and grounds was made over to the public by a trust-deed, on 29th October, 1891, one of the conditions being that the Mss. should not be removed from Patna. The donor in his unselfishness did not even give his own name to his gift, but called it the *Oriental Public Library*. The public, however, do not accept this self-effacement, and the Khuda Bakhsh Library is the only name by which it is known in India and Europe.

His Devotion to the Library.

But Khuda Bakhsh's devotion to the Library is not to be measured by the money he spent on it, practically all his earnings. His whole heart was set on it. The library was the subject of his thoughts in waking and sleep alike. His very dreams centred round it. Two of them are here given from his narration:—

"At first MSS. came in very slowly. But one night a stranger came to me in my dream and said, 'If you want books come with me.' I followed him to a grand building like the Lucknow Imambara, and waited at the gate, while my guide entered it. After a while he came out and took me inside to a vast hall in which a veiled being sat surrounded by his friends. My guide said, 'This man has come for the manuscripts.' The veiled one replied 'Let them be given to him.' Shortly after this, MSS. began to pour into my library from various places."

[This was a vision of the the Prophet Muhammad and his *Ashab* or Companions.]

"One night I dreamt that the lane near the library was filled with a dense crowd of people. When I came out of my house, they cried out, 'The Prophet is on a visit to your Library, and you are not here to show him round!' I hastened to the manuscript-room, and found him gone; but there were two manuscripts of the *Hadis* (Traditions) lying open on the table. These, the people said, had been read by the Prophet.* [Both these volumes now contain a note by Khuda Bakhsh, stating that they are never to be allowed to go out of the Library; but no reason is given for the prohibition!]

* Unfortunately for the story, Muhammad, like most early saints, could neither read nor write, (Arabic *ammi*.)

So keen was his love for the library that in his last years, when age had brought in its train a weakening of the intellect, he constantly thought of it and conjured up imaginary dangers to it. The position of every book in it was fixed in his memory. Only two days before his death he accurately described the case and shelf in which a copy of Abu Daud Tialsi's *Masnad* is kept.

I can still picture to my eyes the venerable founder as he sat near the library porch, his *hooka* resting on a tripod, his grey hair and beard and plain white dress conspicuous from a distance. There were usually one or two visitors with him, or he was sedately turning over the leaves of a manuscript.

The National Importance of his Library.

He lies buried in the place which he loved so well, and to which he gave his all. A low unpretentious tomb, between the Library building and the Reading room, marks the last resting-place of the greatest benefactor and first citizen of Patna, a man sprung from the middle class who has left the country richer by a treasure surpassing the gifts of princes and millionaires. He was the Indian Bodley, and unborn generations of Indian scholars and readers will bless his memory and say that he was rightly named *Khuda Bakhsh*, 'the Gift of God.'

For, the value of his gift and its full significance in the growth of our nation will be realised more and more as time passes. At present the Indian Orientalists are a small body, and few of them have taken to Persian, almost none to Arabic. A European scholar, after inspecting this library and noticing its lack of readers, remarked to Khuda Bakhsh, "What a fine *cemetery for books* have you built! In Europe such a library would have been daily thronged with a hundred students busy in research; but I see none such here." But it will not be so with us for ever; already a new era of research has dawned among us. In the meantime the Khuda Bakhsh Library forms a nucleus round which Indian manuscripts are gathering, sometimes by purchase but mainly by gift. A most admirable feature of the European character is that wherever they go they collect MSS., antiques, and specimens for presentation to their national museums. In the Bodleian, the British Museum, and the India Office Library, there are many precious Oriental MSS. bearing the signatures of historical Anglo-Indians of the 18th Century,—Kirkpatrick, Gladwin, Fitzpatrick, Jonathan Scott, &c. Even in those early days of British power, while they conquered and settled the land, they eagerly hunted for MSS. and bequeathed them for their country's use. Many rare and even unique works have thus disappeared from India, and now adorn the libraries of European capitals. *European* savants use them; to the Indian scholar, unless he is rich enough to visit Europe, they are sealed books. The Khuda Bakhsh Library, by offering a well-known and secure home for books and ensuring their public use, is tempting private owners all over India to send their collections to it, and thus save them from being dispersed or lost to the country. This has been strikingly seen in some recent valuable gifts of Persian MSS. to this Library by generous Muhammadan gentlemen. Jahangir's book of fortune-telling, *i.e.*, a copy of Hafiz's *Odes*, which he used to open at random to learn the future (just as they took *sortes* from Virgil's poems in mediæval Europe),—has been presented by M. Subhanullah Khan of Gorakhpur. It contains marginal notes in the Emperor's own hand, stating when and with what result he consulted this oracle! Then, again, Secretary Inayatullah Khan's *Akham-i-Alamgiri*, giving the Emperor Aurangzib's letters in his last years and graphically describing the coming breakdown of the Imperial authority, was formerly known by name only; no public library in Europe or India had a copy of it. Last October I discovered an old Badshahi MS. of it in the Rampur (Rohilkhand) State Library and got the Nawab's kind permission to take a copy. On my return to Bankipur, what was my surprise and pleasure to see that another copy of it, (once belonging to some noble of the Court, and affording many differences of reading,)—had been shortly before presented by Safdar Nawab! These are only two examples out of many which show how this library has been the means of keeping in India India's literary treasures.

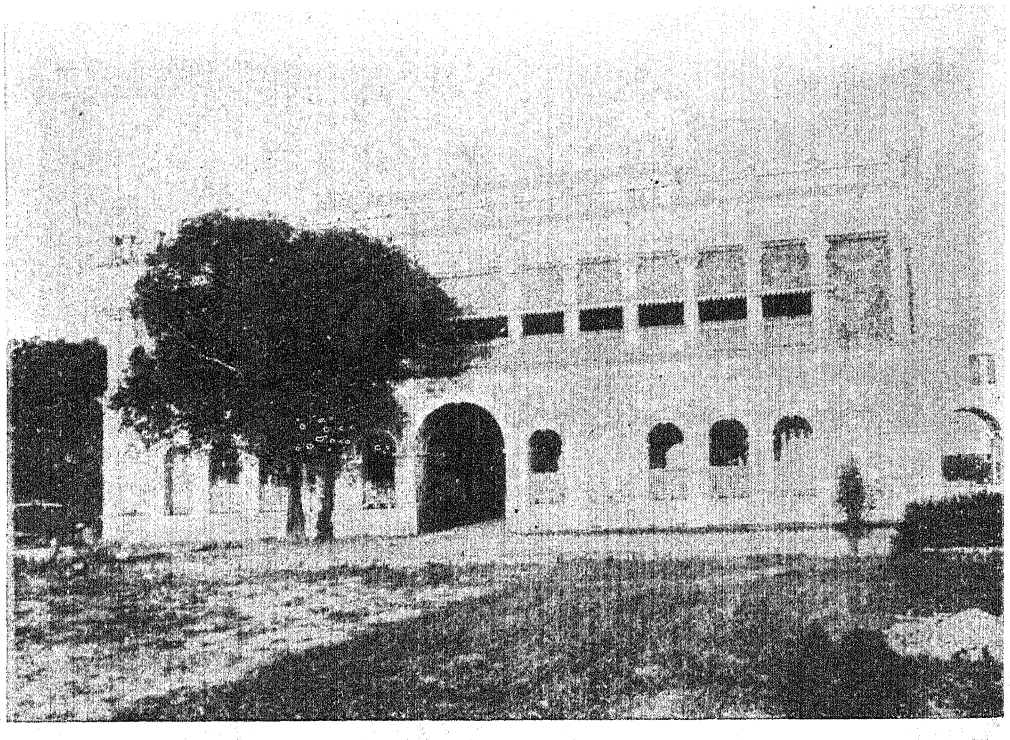
Its Paintings and Caligraphy.

The specimens of eastern painting,—Chinese, Central Asian, Persian and Indian,—collected here are invaluable to the stu-

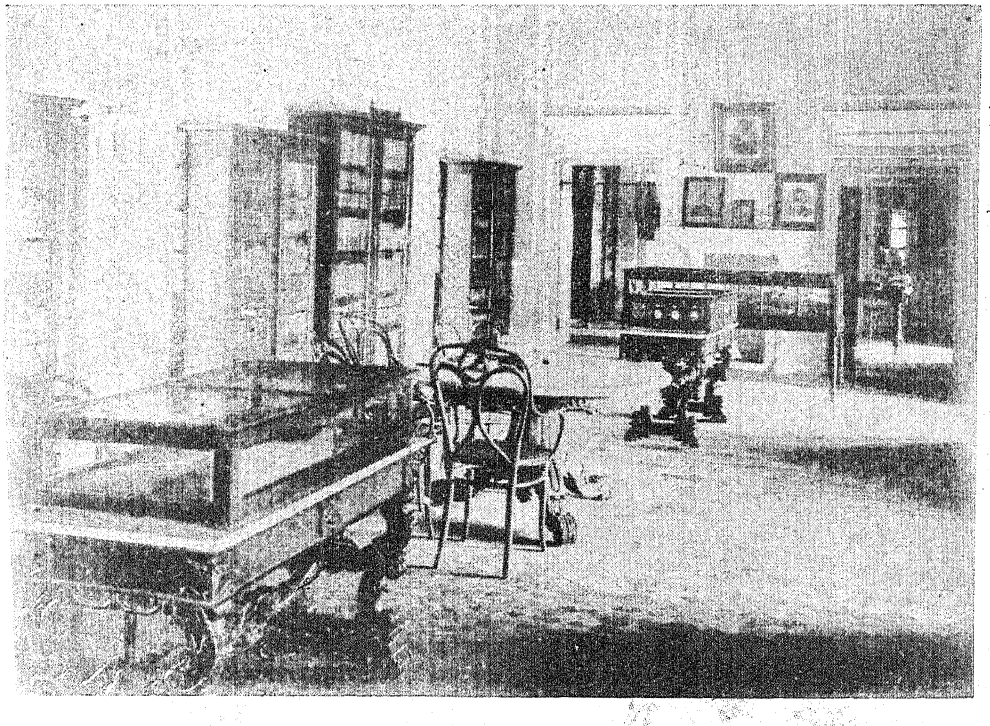


BAWA KABIR.

Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.



THE ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, BANKIPUR.



INTERIOR OF THE ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY.

dent of Oriental Art, and have gained the warmest praise from a critic of Mr. Havell's ability. Many of them are illuminations of manuscripts from the Mughal Imperial Library, some from Ranjit Singh's collection, most others from the picture-albums of the nobles of the Courts of Delhi and Lucknow, or scrap-books completed piecemeal after years of waiting and search by the untiring and single-minded founder. Most of the portraits of bygone celebrities are unique. The very papers in which the manuscripts are written are of such varied description and represent so many countries and periods of the paper-making art, that a volume might be written on them. The finest and most numerous specimens of Persian penmanship are to be found here of any country in Asia.

Its English Books.

Great as are the value and celebrity of its Persian and Arabic manuscripts, its English books are of no mean importance even by their side. There are standard works on every subject,—Poetry, Philosophy, History, Fiction, Essays, &c.—and costly and very complete collections of Dictionaries, English translations of Oriental works, and rare books on Indian history. Alibone's *Dictionary of English Literature* (with the *Supplement*) the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 Vols., the *Sacred Books of the East*, Burton's *Arabian Nights*, and many more are to be found here only in all Bihar. There is a set of the very first edition of the Waverley Novels. Admirers of Scott will be delighted to see the once famous small volumes, printed at Edinburgh by Scott's friend and ruinator Ballantyne, and bearing on the title-page the words "*By the author of Waverley*" and not Scott's name,—(for he was still the "Great Unknown," "the Wizard of the North!")

Of the illustrated English books the total price runs up to several thousands of rupees. There are Griffiths' *Ajanta Caves*, Maisey's *Sanchi*, Cunningham's *Bharhut*, Fergusson and Taylor's *Bijapur* and *Dharwar and Mysore*, Finden's *Byron*, and many more. Khuda Bakhsh had purchased an entire library in England by auction for £4,000 (Rs. 60,000). Hence the beautiful leather binding of most of his English volumes.

The Romance of his Book Collection.

There are many romances connected with the growth and history of the library. The most precious MSS. in India were undoubtedly those of the Mughal library of Delhi. Thither, through the 16th and 17th centuries, came all rare and fine examples of caligraphy and illumination in the East. Some were purchased, others were executed by artists retained in the Imperial service, some were secured by conquest (as of Golconda and Haidarabad in Aurangzib's reign), and many by the confiscation of the goods of great nobles on their death.* Thus was formed the largest library in the east at that period, for, while Central Asia, Persia, and Arabia were torn by incessant war, India enjoyed peace under the Great Mughals. In the 18th century many of these found their way to the library of the Nawabs of Oudh. But the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 brought about the fall of Delhi and Lucknow. The Imperial and Nawabi treasures were dispersed. The Nawab of Rampur (Rohilkhand) who had joined the English got the best of the loot, as he had proclaimed among the victorious loyal sepoys that he would pay one rupee for every MS. brought to him. Khuda Bakhsh began his collection much later; but there was the greatest rivalry between him and the Nawab. At last Khuda Bakhsh won over from the Nawab's side that jewel of a book-hunter Muhammad Maqi, an Arab, paid him a regular salary of Rs. 50 a month (besides commission) for 18 years, and employed him in searching for rare MSS. (mostly Arabic) in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, (especially Beirut and Cairo.) It was Khuda Bakhsh's invariable practise to pay the double railway fare to every manuscript-seller who visited Bankipur, whether he bought anything or not. Thus his fame spread throughout India, and he was given the first choice of every MS. on sale in any part of the country.

Curiously enough, one year the library was broken open by a former book-binder and some of the best MSS stolen. The thief sent them for sale to a broker or merchant at Lahore, and the latter unsuspectingly offered them to Khuda Bakhsh as the likeliest person to buy them! So in the end the honest man came by his own and the thief was punished.

In another case divine justice was secured

* On the death of Akbar's poet-laureate Faizi, his 4300 volumes were added to the Emperor's library.

by a similar roundabout process. Mr. J. B. Eliot, Provincial Judge of Patna, (a great book-collector and donor to the Bodleian), borrowed a unique MS. of the Odes of Kamaluddin Ismail Isfahani from Muhammad Bakhsh, and afterwards refused to return it, offering a large price for it. The owner indignantly declined, but held his peace. When Mr. Eliot retired, he packed his choicest MSS. in some cases and shipped them to England, while his worthless books were put in another case and left at Patna to be sold by auction. But by the irony of fate or the hand of God, call it what you will,—not only the extorted volume of Odes but some other rare MSS. (such as the *Majalis-i-Khamsa* bearing Shah Jahan's autograph) had got into the wrong case, and Muhammad Bakhsh bought them! On reaching England Mr. Eliot discovered his mistake, only to fret and fume in vain.

One day when Khuda Bakhsh was driving back from the High Court at Haidarabad, his eyes, ever on the look-out for books, discovered a bundle of volumes, on a sack of flour in a grocer's shop. He stopped, turned the books over, and asked the price. The owner shrewdly answered, "To any other man I should have sold these old and rotten papers for Rs. 3. But as your Lordship is interested in them they must contain something of value. I want Rs. 20 for them." A true guess, for along with some worthless things the bundle contained an old work on Arabic bibliography not to be found elsewhere. Immediately after Khuda Bakhsh's purchase, Rs. 400 were offered for it by the Nizam, but in vain.

Its Literary Treasures.

One of its literary treasures, Jahangir's Book of Fate, has been already described. Another is an autograph copy of the *Shahan shah-namah*, an epic poem celebrating the victories of Sultan Muhammad II (the conqueror of Constantinople in 1453), written by the author in 1594 and presented to Sultan Muhammad III. Many bold and striking battle-pieces illuminate the volume, which reached India in Shah Jahan's reign and either that Emperor or some later owner paid Rs. 750 for it. Jami's poem *Yusuf wa Zulaikha*, copied by the greatest of Indian caligraphists, Nur Ali, for which Jahangir paid 1,000 gold mohurs, now adorns this library. There are two of Shah Jahan's Commonplace Books, one of them containing his signature at the age of 14,—Dara Shikoh's autograph copy of his work, the Lives of the Saints *(Safinat-ul-awliya)*,—the *Odes* of Hafiz belonging to the king of Golconda and brought away to Delhi as a spoil of war,—Amir Khusrau's *Masnavi* copied for Sultan Abdul Aziz of Bukhara by Mir Ali (who was kept in confinement for 3 years to finish it,)—Ranjit Singh's military account-book, with entries in Persian and Gurmukhi, —the richly illuminated copy of Firdausi's *Shahnamah* which Ali Mardan Khan presented to Shah Jahan at his first audience,—the *Works* of Khusrau containing the seal of Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begam,—Hatifi's romance *Shirin wa Khusrau* written for Ibrahim Adil Shah, King of Bijapur, in a fine small hand,—and Jahangir's *Autobiography* presented by himself to the King of Golconda, and brought back by Aurangzib's son after the conquest. Among the best illuminated MSS. are (1) a History of Timur's dynasty down to the 22nd year of Akbar, rich in pictures, some of which have been reproduced but very imperfectly in Mrs. Beveridge's *Memoirs of Gulbadan Begam*, (2) the *Padishahnamah* or History of Shah Jahan, with illustrations of the finest execution, detail and ornamentation, some of which will be given in this Review, and (3) a History of India written for Ranjit Singh. Most sacred in the eyes of Persian students is the first half of Mulla Jami's autograph works, of which the second half is in the St. Petersburg Imperial Library. The gifted poet's signature and handwriting agree exactly with those reproduced in the St. Petersburg Catalogue from the last page of his second volume.

Among the Arabic works, we have the *Tafsir-i-Kabir*, three gigantic volumes, written in an uniformly small fine and distinct hand. It is an incredible monument of human patience and industry. There is a very old MS. on botany, *Kitab-ul-Hashaish*, (full of coloured illustrations), translated from the Greek of Dioscorides into Arabic by Stephen the son of Basil (who died in 240 A. H.), in the reign of the Khalif Mamun. Another equally old MS. is an Arabic treatise on surgical instruments (all illustrated) composed by Zahrabi in Granada. Another volume of Zahrabi's works

bears traces of fire on many pages. Could it have escaped from the Moorish library burnt by Cardinal Ximenes? There is a piece of parchment with cufic characters ascribed to Ali! Another wonder is a complete *Quran* on a single fine film-like parchment roll of great length, written in a minute but distinct hand. A second copy of the *Quran* belongs to the age before diacritical marks came into use in writing Arabic.

A historic curiosity of great interest is the "Story of Christ" (*Dastan-i-Masih*) translated from the Bible into Persian at Akbar's request by the Portuguese missionary Zeru (or Zabru) and Hamnu Schuter Christian. This copy was transcribed by Abdur Razzaq Qandhari in 1013 A.H. (1604 A.D.).

In short, if I go on describing the riches of the Khuda Bakhsh Library I shall never end. He who would know them should see them. In January 1903, Lord Curzon, fresh from the Delhi Durbar and with his head full of visions of Mughal grandeur, hummed when he entered this library,

Agar firdaus bar ru-e-zamin ast,
Haminast wa haminast wa hamin ast.
If there be on earth a paradise of bliss,
It is this, it is this, and oh it is this!

JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.,

THE PROPOSALS OF THE FACTORY COMMISSION

I—A RETROSPECT.

INDIAN legislation for the protection of operatives in factories in the country is now a quarter of a century old. The first enactment was passed in 1881. Ten years later some amendments had been introduced, the most important of which were: (1) the compulsory closing of all factories once a week which need not necessarily be on a Sunday; (2) the limitation of the hours of work of female operatives to 11½ hours; (3) and the introduction of the class of young persons between the ages of 9 and 14. This amended Factory Act of 1891 might have remained undisturbed; but private interests, masquerading in the garb of pseudo-philanthropy, supported by some screaming organs of public opinion in Bombay, raised a hue and cry against what was then alleged as the oppressively long hours of labour in Bombay Cotton Mills. That abuses had crept in cannot be denied. That some mills were really guilty of having walked round the provisions of the law may be also admitted. But it was a gross piece of malignant exaggeration to describe the labour conditions prevalent in the eighty mills working in 1905-06, as akin to "slavery"! Slavery of the character which was so marked a feature in Lancashire Cotton Mills till 1840, and which had been so well described by Lord Shaftesbury and his supporters in the House of Commons of the early forties of the last century, there never was in Bombay mills, aye, not even during those years which preceded the date of the first factory legislation. Let those who love truth and hate sensation-mongering refer to the pages of Hansard for a correct description of the shocking conditions which were most prominent then; and let them compare it with the account of the Blancy-Bengalee Committee which was appointed in 1880 to report on the state of the mills and mill-operatives in Bombay. They will soon be convinced that at no time in the history of the cotton industry in that city was there to be discovered that state of affairs which Lord Shaftsbury had to deplore when urging legislation in the House of Commons more than sixty years ago. Better still, we should ask the reader to turn to the pages of "Sibyl," that excellent novel by Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, written just about the time that Victoria ascended the throne of England. A more harrowing account of the "slavery" then practised by Lancashire mill-owners could not be depicted. It makes one's hairs stand on end and teeth chatter at the gross enormities practised in those days on men, women and children

alike. We repeat, *nothing* approaching those enormities has ever been discovered in Bombay mills. But if the most recent and impartial testimony was to be learned of "slavery" in Lancashire cotton factories in the early forties and even later on, we would refer the enquirer to the admirable work of Mr. Chapman, the Stanley Jevons Professor of Political Economy and Dean of the Faculty of Commerce in the University of Manchester, on "the Lancashire Cotton Industry" (Manchester University Press). It is enough for the reader to go carefully over Chapter VI of that valuable book, which we would commend to the serious attention of every cotton factory owner in India, as he would therein unlearn and learn many a thing concerning his own affairs.

Coming then to the agitation of 1905-06 which led to the preliminary investigation by Sir H. Freer Smith early in 1907, it should be observed in the interests of truth that it was set on foot *more in selfish interests than with any considerations of humanity or industrial philanthropy*. The year 1904-05 was a phenomenal year, and so, too, the following one, for cotton spining all over the country. Two important factors combined to reap for mill-owners a golden harvest. The price of the raw staple was neither too cheap nor too dear, while the margin of profit was exceedingly large, with exchange in China of a favourable character. This fat margin of profit, ranging between 1 and 2 annas per lb. was, we repeat, exceptional. No such margin had been known for years. All mill-owners were, therefore, intent on selling as much of their yarn as their machines could turn out. Considerable unhealthy rivalry necessarily was created. Mills, which had electric installation strove their best to work longer hours than their neighbours who had none such. And even among those who worked longer hours, there were half a dozen, with too avaricious owners, which allowed their machinery to be worked for as many as sixteen hours against the average of $13\frac{1}{2}$. Of course, those who had no electric installations could only work for as long as day-light lasted. All had more or less sold beyond their ordinary capacity in view of amassing the rich profits which were to be realised. Sell, sell, sell, was the order of the day and sales were made in advance extending over many months. It was natural that under such circumstances buyers were impatient of obtaining early deliveries according to their contracts. They apprehended lest the good times might not last long. They, too, wished to make hay while the sun shone. Of course, the manufacturers had literally to "put in more steam." And as machinery could not be rapidly added to work off the oversales, beyond the normal, recourse was had to longer hours of work. Thus, there were three sets of rival mill-owners: (1) those who had no electric installations and had therefore to work as long as day-light helped them; (2) those who had installations but who did not work beyond $13\frac{1}{2}$ hours; and (3) those who had installations but whose cupidity or necessity, or whatever might have been the motive, prompted them to work 15 to 16 hours. Now those belonging to class one viewed with envious eyes those belonging to classes two and three, because their daily outturn was necessarily so much greater. At any rate they looked greatly askance at No. 3, while they mildly tolerated No. 2. Thus it was this *economic rivalry*, leading to envy, which prompted some of the influential men of class one to agitate. Having got the ear of one of their favourite organs of opinion, they set on foot the agitation after a kind of inspection of some of the long hours working mills. A hue and cry was thereafter raised in the best style of screaming and sensational journalism. The writer wished no doubt, after the manner of the poet, to sleep one day an obscure man, knowing nothing of the intricate economics of a cotton mill, in order to rise the next morning to be famous—of course, in a way. Fame he may have acquired, but at the expense of perpetrating the infamy of libel against a whole class of honest and law-abiding mill-owners. The shibboleth was "slavery" and for a time it was dinned into the public ear as loudly as possible. They achieved their objects, these veracious agitators, who were so ardent in their hollow denunciation of "slavery" as conjured up by their envious imagination. This, of course, is the genesis of the affair as every honest mill-owner in Bombay is perfectly aware. That they have now been fully vindicated as to their reputation of being fairminded instead of op-

pressive and inhuman taskmasters is a source of the greatest satisfaction to them. The Factory Commission has given the quietus to the infamous libel of the agitators,—for we cannot call it by any other name, and proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the heinous charge of "slavery" was absolutely unfounded. The agitation was wholly selfish and never prompted by any feelings of industrial philanthropy. As to the preliminary investigation, it is a matter of history and need not be dilated upon, here. It is well-known that the Factory Commission was the outcome of that preliminary committee of inquiry. That philistine Lancashire was greatly instrumental in forcing the hands of the Secretary of State goes without saying. That the attitude, conduct and action of Cottonopolis towards the Bombay Cotton industry *has throughout these thirty-four years* been of a character which is not creditable to its morality or Christianity none will deny. Cottonopolis is powerful and influential. It had in the beginning of the nineteenth century done its worst by killing the cotton industry of the country without the slightest remorse. History has written in letters of the deepest black that economic murder perpetrated by it, aided and abetted, of course, by men in authority. But Retributive Justice slowly came to the assistance of helpless India. And the whirligig of time, in its revenge, wrought a revolution in industrial economics. Prior to the American War of Independence there were 7 mills in the city of Bombay. That war brought on the Lancashire crisis and cotton famine. The doors of factories in Cottonopolis were closed for months. The raw staple had greatly endeared, so much so that in 1864-65 prices ranged from Rs. 500 to 700 per Candy. That was the year of the most feverish and gigantic speculation in Bombay where fortunes were said to have been made in a day. Between 1860 and 1864 the handful of cotton mills reaped a golden harvest till the enhanced price of the raw staple compelled them to suspend working for a time. The crisis came in the middle of 1865, soon after the battle of Bull's Run. Bombay was engulfed in ruin. Ancient and wealthy families were swept away. Liquidation and litigation were the order of the day. The 1st of July 1865 is still remembered there as a black-letter day. When the hurricane had passed and commercial credit was re-established, the enterprise of the community turned its serious attention to manufactures. Mill after mill was projected and worked so that by 1874 there were as many as 15 mills in the city carrying on a flourishing trade in yarn. So much so that their products were successful in driving away the coarser descriptions of yarns, say 10's and 20's, from the markets of China! This economic phenomenon alarmed Lancashire. It looked greatly askance at the Bombay mills. It scented injury to its own preserves and vowed vengeance to hamper the newly established but flourishing industry by all means in its power. That power, it was fully conscious, lay in the 57 votes at its command. Those votes could at any time overturn the ministry in power, be it Conservative or Liberal. This was the key by which it worked and commenced to undermine the Bombay mills, but in vain, as we all know. It was in 1875 that Lancashire first moved Lord Salisbury, who was Secretary of State for India, to remove the import duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all kinds of coarse yarns and goods. But Lord Northbrook was the Viceroy with a watchful eye to all Indian interests. He openly declared in Council that no statesman, entrusted with the administration of India, could jeopardise its interests. The resources of India for purposes of raising revenue in those days were limited. So Lord Northbrook argued that he could not sacrifice the revenue to be derivable from the import duty on the coarser kind of cotton goods, even at the behest of Lancashire, supported by the Secretary of State. The Afghan question, too, was then boiling in the cauldron of the India Office. Lord Northbrook, a stern and righteous Viceroy, saw no reason to enter into a quarrel which was suggested by that masterful office. And rather than be a party to the two unhallowed designs of the imperious Conservative Secretary of State he preferred to resign. This was, of course, a godsend for Lord Salisbury's party, who could not do without Lancashire votes, which were so valuable in the contingency of the impending Afghan war. So the first step was taken. The import duty on the coarser kinds of cotton goods

were repealed. Lancashire rejoiced and thought that it had nipped the Bombay Cotton Mills in the bud. Sanguine Cottonopolis! The fact only redoubled the energy and enterprise of Bombay merchants. Mills multiplied, so that by 1880 there were so many as 32 mills in the Island!

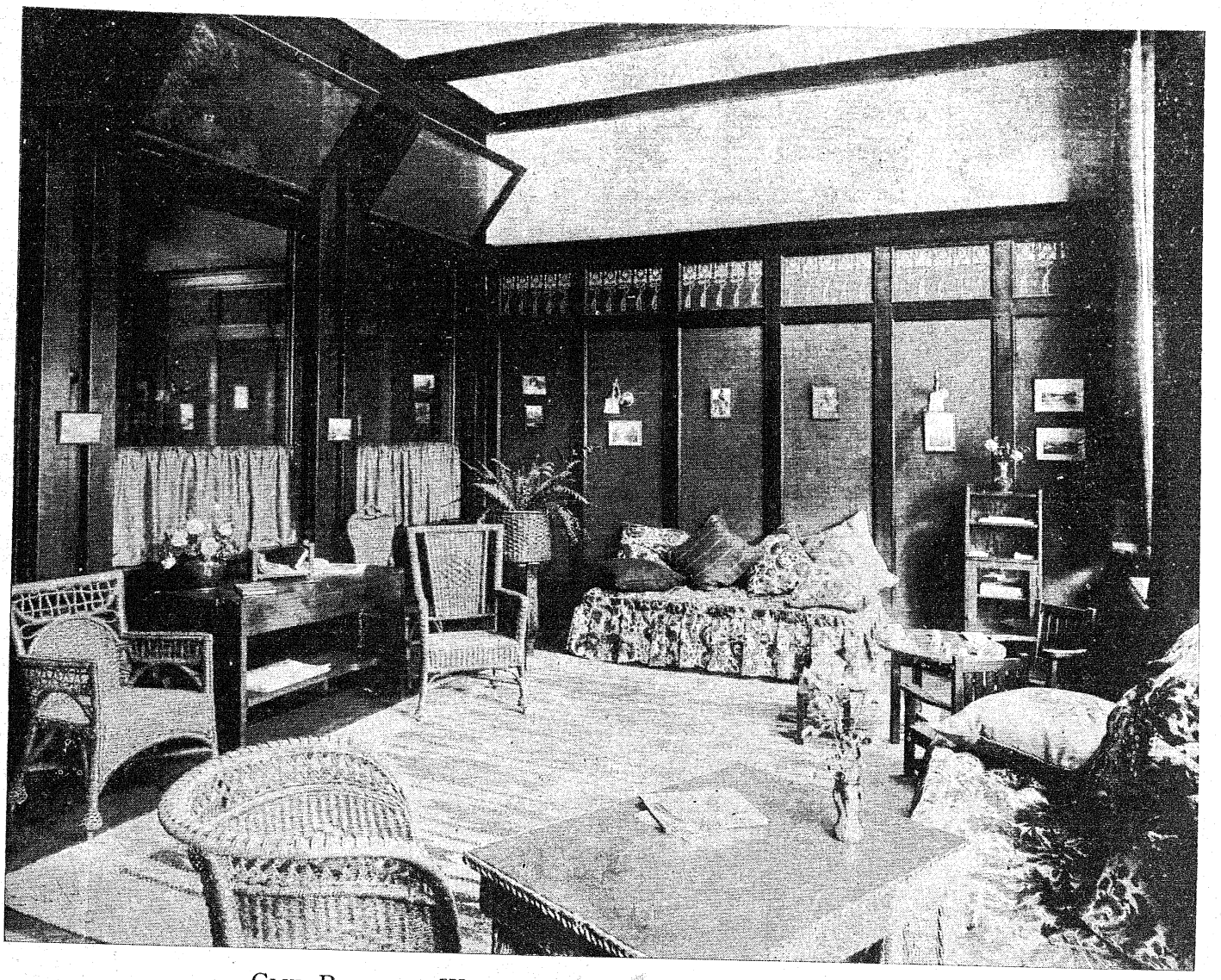
But it was resolved to crush the nascent industry by the aid of its influential votes with the Cabinet at home. And it must be noticed here that as far as Lancashire interests were concerned both the great parties in the House have behaved in a manner which reflects no credit on their righteousness. When Lancashire interests were at stake they have invariably allowed India to go to the wall. So soon after 1880, Lancashire men from behind prompted local men, who shall be nameless, as they are dead and gone, to agitate for a factory legislation under certain pleas, part of which were true but inevitable and inseparable from a new industry. Cries of slavery, cruelty and what not, were also raised at the time. No doubt there were few holidays. The mills worked on Sundays too, and the millowners of the day had tried to treat their operatives ungenerously. These were enough to give a handle to the agitators, at whose head was a European. A Committee was appointed which, like the present Factory Commission, went round some of the worst mills, took the evidence of a large number of witnesses, for and against, and recommended the broad lines on which the legislation for the protection of operatives should proceed.

But even the legislation of 1881 failed to achieve the object which the philistines of Lanceshire had long entertained. The more it attempted to crush the industry, the more it flourished and defied them. Between 1883 and 1890 mills multiplied in Bombay and Ahmedabad as they had never multiplied before. Indeed it was the golden period of mills extension in the Island. By 1890 there were as many as 79 mills in Bombay city and 12 in Ahmedabad. Lancashire was convinced that the cotton industry had come to stay in India and do what it could, even with its powerful influence with Conservative and Liberal Ministries alike at home, there was no hope of arresting its progress. What it could do at the best in that direction, was to put as many spokes in its wheel as it could. Curtailment of the hours of labour and regulation of the work of young persons and women—that was all that it could possibly compass. So a fresh cry was raised that ten years' experience had shown that the act of 1881 was inefficiently worked and that abuses had still crept in which demanded reform. Again, the ministry was moved. Again pressure was brought on the Government of India, with the result that the act was amended, and now 1908 sees again a fresh attempt in the same direction. But from the above statement of facts the Indian community interested in industrial affairs will have clearely perceived how the philistinism of Lanchashire has striven to arrest the natural and healthy progress of this growing cotton industry in the country. To Indians it is a matter of pride and satisfaction that the enterprise, energy, and independence of Bombay men, have successfully circumvented all the sinister and mischievous influences of Lancashire to kill the industry. It is indeed most gratifying that between 1874 and 1908, India has vastly increased its spindle and loom-strength and that to-day the industry is established on a rocky foundation whence it is futile for even powerful Lancashire to hurl it down. But we must stop here to-day and take up the narrative of the recommendations of the Factory Commission in our next issue.

ECONOMICUS.



LUNCHEON ROOM FOR THE WOMEN EMPLOYES OF THE BANK FOR WOMEN.



CLUB ROOM FOR WOMEN CUSTOMERS IN THE BANK FOR WOMEN.

WHAT THE WORLD IS DOING

III

The Emancipation of the Canadian Woman as seen in Banking Life

IT is but recently that the Canadian woman has commenced to wage a war for the right to come into her own. Hitherto she has been dominated by man. So far, the only profession that has been open to her has been that of matrimony. To get married, be somebody's sweetheart and housekeeper, has been the only career that has been vouchsafed her. The spirit of our times, however, has permeated the Canadian woman and to-day she is doing all in her power to attain to equality with man.

The sensible amongst Canadian men are coming to regard the "emancipation of women" propaganda as their own emancipator, since a woman imbued with the desire to be liberated, and capable of maintaining her liberty, means that

"The slave's chain and the master's alike are broken.
The one curse of the race held both in tether;
They are rising, all are rising,
The man and woman together."

The emancipation of woman in Canada is proceeding apace. It was not until the year 1886 that the University of Toronto, Canada, admitted women students to the college lecture rooms. From that time girls at school and young women at college began, of their own accord, to frame for themselves courses of professional or business lives to be followed when student days were passed. What twenty years ago was an innovation is, to-day, accepted in the natural order of events, and to hear two girls planning their future work is hardly less uncommon than to hear boys talking together of their careers.

Marriage and home appeal most strongly to both sexes, and no amount of business training will interfere with romance or detract from the love of one's own family. But, while, the majority of girls were formerly brought up to consider marriage and home-making their only future, they now look upon it as an incident in life to accept or reject; and, if the man who asks for their love and comradeship is not the one who, they feel, will live up to their ideas of what a husband should be, they have no fear that they are remaining a burden upon their parents by refusing his offer; they are quite able to financially and otherwise care for themselves, and fewer unhappy marriages are the result.

For some reason Canadian banks did not open their doors to women officials until years after women were practising the different professions and had adapted themselves to many kinds of commercial business. Bankers held aloof and maintained a strict attitude of ignorance in regard to what women could do in the way of bank clerkships. The first woman who entered the service of a bank was a young lady who did her work well. She kept silent during out-of-bank hours about bank matters. She proved herself worthy of confidence and was honest and upright. Her ability opened a way for other young women to take positions in the same capacity; but while they were admitted into the bank buildings, they were not really considered members of the bank staff, nor were they given the training nor subject to the rules and regulations that men officials were compelled to follow.

In 1904 a new bank was opened at Toronto, its chief officer being a former manager in the bank which first employed a woman in Canadian banking establishments. He believed that women would prove as efficient in other positions in the bank as they had as stenographers and private secretaries, and, with the opening of the bank, three women received employment as regular officials. One was his private secretary with recognition as an honoured post-keeper. Two were placed in the Savings Department—the first women in Canada to enter into actual banking life.

The innovation was closely watched and critically commended upon by members of the banking profession. If it proved good, broadminded men at the head of affairs were willing to accept the change; but if it did not, women would again be excluded from banking life.

Of course there were hundreds of objections from the class of men who would never rise to any place of importance themselves, and were fearful that they might be ousted from their clerkships if women were allowed to learn their duties and prove themselves more capable of fulfilling them. But the three women who took their positions in the bank did not realize that their manner of deportment, their mode of dress, their regard for punctuality and every detail of their behaviours were being watched by hundreds of eyes, as carefully as the accuracy and neatness of their work was noted. Let one solitary little stepping-aside be made in their deportment, one blot or wrong figure in their work, and the news spread like wildfire until at the end of its repeatals such offences were magnified to great proportions. The young women were too busy learning to notice the fault-findings, and as the work was done and the department increased in importance, other women were admitted until, within two years, a staff of 20 young women were enrolled upon the books of this solitary bank, and were subject to exactly the same rules and regulations as were the men.

Not only were young women admitted to the ranks of workers, in the bank, but much thought was given to the women customers as well. The bank fitted up special rooms for them. The Woman's Banking Room, opening directly from the outer vestibule, is arranged so that their business can be transacted without their having to enter the main commercial office at all. The Manager of the Savings Bank Department, a woman, answers all questions in regard to banking matters, and every official in the Savings Department is a young woman. Leading up the Banking Room is a private stairway to the Rest or Club room, a delightful place, where are lounges, writing desks, reading tables—and one corner is set apart and furnished for the younger customers of the bank. A short stairway also leads from the Banking Room down to the retiring room, where a work basket, a lounge with linen-covered pillows—a great comfort in case of sudden indisposition—and all toilet accessories are in charge of a maid. Growing ferns and flowering plants add to the home-like appearance of every room set apart for women.

The comfort of the women officials is also well looked after. At midday a maid carries a luncheon service to the young women tellers and ledger-keepers who may not absent themselves from their desks. Upstairs is a luncheon room set apart for the young women who have an hour at their disposal. A kettle of water is at boiling point, and fresh tea can be brewed in an instant. Covers are laid on the table for two or three, and replaced by others as soon as used. The luncheon room is small, but very cosy, and, as seldom more than four occupy it at the same time, it is found quite adequate for all requirements. Each woman official has her locker, and a robing-room opens from the locker corridor. The private secretary, and the staff of clerks which she superintends, has each a private office, and one of the prettiest decorations about them are the blooming plants.

Women have succeeded in Canadian banking life in a degree far greater than was anticipated when they first undertook regular banking duties in 1904. In Canada there are now between one and two hundred young women employed in banks, and by their strict attention to duty, and accuracy of work, they have paved the way in this most conservative business for other women.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE FUTURE OF INDIA

WHATEVER extremes of opinion may be held upon the present affairs of India, all must admit that, next to the people of India themselves, those who ought to be most interested in those affairs are the people of Great Britain. That which to the Indian is a right, is to the Englishman a duty. If, then, a keen interest and a deep sympathy be any passport to the hearts of Indian readers, perhaps the writer may ask them, without further apology, to listen to some thoughts of an Englishman upon certain questions that are now being earnestly debated.

Let me say at once that, ever since I first was able to think for myself on political questions, the Imperialistic idea of "possession" of India as 'the brightest jewel of the English crown', has appeared short-sighted, unworthy, and even odious.

For many years past my political dream has been of a great and liberal federation (not 'Imperial', for Empire and Federation are incompatible terms) of British peoples, and that India should form a free and equal member of that great community.

But, the Indian may justly object, 'our position is wholly different from that of the colonial members of such a federation. We are not a product of its growth: we never entered into it of our own free will: we do not love it. Why should we remain in it?'

And, were no further idea present to my mind, I do not know what reply could very well be made to that. But ever behind that dream of a British federation has been a greater dream. Always have I conceived it as but a step to a wider unity still, to the achievement some day of universal peace, or, to use a famous phrase, 'the federation of the world.'

Aad so my question is: why break up what we have ready to our hands? Why not develop, and raise, and improve it? Freely and sadly, do I admit that events of recent years have somewhat dashed my hopes of my country as an instrument for bringing in that great ideal. But I am old enough to remember the Disraelian Jingo period: I saw that pass away: and now what we may call the South African one is passing too: and so slso will pass that other nightmare of a self-contained, self-feeding, self-trading, selfish Empire. I do not despair of the hearts of my countrymen.

Therefore would I ask the patriotic leaders of Indian aspirations so to guide those who look to them that the accomplishment of their hopes may be a step forward not for India only, but for all mankind.

But there is yet a further consideration, more important still, to my thinking.

With Europe an armed camp, on sea and land, the price of national independence will be national defence: or the last state of India may be worse than the first. That is to say, an independent India must become one of the 'Great Powers.'

On the economic burdens which that would involve, I will not enlarge, though to all classes, and to the poor, of India it is easy to see how heavy they would be.

For a greater price still would have to be paid, and of a more subtle kind.

Defence would need the sinews of war: for these, money; and for money, commercialism. India would enter into the ordinary struggle of the commercial nations of the world.

But lovers of India see that she still retains much of the placid and simple life of the ancient East; long since lost, and often sighed for, in the West; a civilisation not based upon commercialism; with arts, and the virtues from which those spring, peculiarly its own; not to speak of religions that are still a living thing among her people.

Is she to exchange this, lightly, for the black and squalid cities, the competition, the fever and the haste, the selfish wealth and restless workers, the shaken and decaying faiths of the West?

Nor is she without the light of an experi-

ment for guide. We have all rejoiced at the successful resistance of Japan to the aggression of a European military despotism. But those who have known and loved Japan are full of misgivings as to her future: and are doubtful whether in her wonderful career of progress, her people are wiser, better, and happier than they were before. Let India watch closely what is happening in Japan before committing herself to a similar course.

A day will come when independence will not involve all this. If I do not despair of the heart of England, neither do I of that of Europe, and there are abundant signs that nations will not always hunger to possess and to absorb each other.

One word in conclusion. What has been India's great contribution to the life of the world? Not, primarily, natural science, nor applied science; not commercial or political organisation. But India has been the birth-place of two religions, two of the greatest, if not the greatest, that have ever appeared among men. Europe is beginning to turn a listening ear to Indian teaching, and to look for light therefrom for some of her own perplexities. She thinks, too, that that light is not wholly in Asia's classic past.

What light will come from a commercialised and Westernised India, free in name but subdued by Europe in her inmost soul, and become even as one of Europe's own children?

Ex Oriente Lux. Will India turn away from that constant Light of the Beyond to the brilliant but unsteady glare of an artificial and a transient phase of human progress?

EDWARD GREENLY.

NOTES

Women and foreign travel.

There is a notion amongst us that foreign travel always acts as a means of education, and as many of us are likely to make over again, in the case of women, all the mistakes that have already been made in that of men, it follows that it is worth while to examine the correctness of this particular pre-conception. Any one who has had opportunity and is in the habit of social observation, will at once tell us that the effects of travel are quite as often destructive as beneficial. In England or America, the girl who has been dragged from country to country throughout her childhood, in order to grow up pattering fluently in French and German, usually ends by ignorance of English grammar and spelling. The fact is, the effects of travel on the mind and character depend entirely on the preparedness or unpreparedness of the individual. We see only what is already within the mind. Human development is not accidental or confused. It is an orderly sequence. There is a proper place for every experience. The woman who has no notion of India, and no thought about significance of place at all, may pass in review the whole panorama of Europe without deriving the slightest benefit from it. But to the eye that has looked understandingly on the ruins of Delhi, those of Rome are eloquent.

No, there are three stages in the idea of place. First, the child has to be made familiar with all that is her own. Next, the girl may receive the impression of all India. This comes to many women through pilgrimages. But it must now have added to it the modern concept of *India*, with a place for the historical events that have occurred since the year 1096 as well as for those which transpired before the Christian era. The same function is fulfilled in literary education by a classical culture. The study of Sanskirt or Persian used in the old Indian education, to give the intellectual emancipation that has now to be sought through the idea of all India. According to the modern outlook, Aurangzib's Mosque is as interesting a factor in the *ensemble* we call Benares, as the Golden roof of Runjit Singh, or the Ghat of Ahalya Baee Rani. The notion of all-India is made up of time as

well as place. Indeed of *kal-desh-nimitta*, time, place and causation.

Having now a standard of interest and enjoyment, the woman may well be taken to see the world. What she thus beholds, will be siginificant, in proportion to her comprehension of what has gone before. By the love of English parish churches one may be prepared for the beauty of Sanchi. In the carvings of the Parthenon, as we see them in the British museum, one may receive the training that opens the eyes to the glory of Elephanta.

The same is true of social ideals. He who has striven for the highest realisation of his own, will gain only the highest from those of others. But one is quite as apt to go to China and learn only opium-smoking, as to make the visit an opportunity for the study of Confucianism!

In all human development, the greatest stimulus is given by contrasts, but unless a foundation-experience is first made firm, there is nothing against which to produce a contrast. This foundation-experience is education, in the world that is one's own, and before this is complete, the intrusion of foreign elements is merely bewildering and destructive of faculty.

A London Letter.

A correspondent writes from London—

The parks and commons of London are full of preachers on socialism. One wonders if this is the kind of thing that preceded the French Revolution. Socialism is a fine name for the revolt against poverty. Can it bear much fruit? It is like a growl from the inarticulate; for it is essentially the many against the few, and the moment the crowd has created an individual for its purpose, it seems to repudiate him, whether by its fault or his, who shall determine? One wishes the rebellion against Poverty—a sound and true cause, if ever there was one!—had some message of a nobler emancipation to proclaim. But there is no other country like India, where this revolt is bound up automatically with the Evangel of the return to the National Life. The more we are true to ourselves and to our own past, the more chance is there of making the black spectre of hunger retreat before us. The cry of the people is ever for freedom or for food. It is a wonderful thing for a country when these two causes can be one.

In the Franco-British Exhibition there is only one feature which is architecturally agreeable—the Court of Honour made in imitation of an Indian city, like Amritsar or Fattehpur, in white plaster. Bad as this may be in comparison with the originals, it is so marvellous in contrast with the rest of the exhibition that one wonders how men capable of such mastery of taste and intellect could ever be subjugated. The race that built such cities can do anything! There is no task beyond it. Infinite is the power of India. Infinite the hope of the motherland. *Bande Mataram*! Nothing that India has ever done is impossible for her to do again. History is dynamic. It is worth while to note also that these builders received their training from their own arts. The old crafts of India were a great system of technical education. Neither more nor less. Technical education is what we need again—what we must have. We must have before we cease to be Indian, while the old standards of taste are not entirely dead. Who is to compensate us, if our smiths discard the old forms of their vessels, in order to copy the iron pots and enamel ware of Birmingham? No, the *Swadeshi* movement on the one hand must progress, and foster all our ancient knowledge of beauty, and technical education must be ours, on the other, to develop our powers and enrich our area.

Edinburgh Conference of Indian Students.

A very successful conference of Indian students, from various parts of Great Britain, was held at Edinburgh, July 25th, under the presidency of Mr. Ajit Mohan Bose,

Resolutions were passed regarding (1) the compiling of a handbook of educational information, for the guidance of students in India, intending to go West; (2) the establishment of a well-considered co-operative movement in India, for the aiding of Swadeshi trade and industry: and (3) the desirability of a determined effort for the modernising of the education of woman.

The necessity of a handbook to be circulated in India, containing reliable and detailed information about Western Universi-

ties; courses of training; fees; expenses of living; and other matters, was universally admitted. Mr. Khambatta, Secretary of the Edinburgh Students' Association, undertook to edit such a book; and a committee of reference was formed, of delegates from Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, London, and others, representing Medicine, Law, Agriculture, Engineering and Chemical Industries. It is to be hoped that a first edition of the book may be ready for circulation within the next six months or so.

After luncheon, the Conference re-assembled for the purpose of considering the question of co-operation. A representative had been sent by the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, in the person of Mr. Richmond Noble, to speak on the history of the co-operative movement in Ireland. After listening to his speech, the Conference moved and passed a resolution expressing the necessity for some attempt of the kind to be made in India.

Mr. Noble began his speech with a reference to Denmark, the original centre of co-operation in Europe. He next pointed out that when introducing the system into a new country, it was not to be transplanted direct from another. Those parts of Ireland, he said, in which the methods of Denmark had been most exactly reproduced, without further thought or local modification, had been precisely the districts in which the society had met with most failures. Every country had a national genius which must be studied and grasped before the principles of co-operation could be brought to bear on its people. As he spoke it struck some who heard, that in Bengal at any rate, the Zemindars would be the natural organising centres for the establishment of co-operative credit and the facilitating of the co-operative purchase of tools, seeds, manures and other requisites.

A very interesting point was the necessity of freedom from official guidance or interference in the work of co-operation. Co-operation was essentially rural and regional, and was only impeded and thwarted by the intrusion of elements imposed upon it from a remote centre, aloof from its interests. This form of organisation must proceed from below.

The marvellous education in community of interests, which the work imparted, was another point dwelt upon. Hatred and disputes between Catholic and Protestant were insensibly forgotten, where both were constantly seated in the same committee, to consider the interests of the butter they produced in common. The work was of a character to emphasise progressively those considerations which made for unity, and to minimise increasingly those which divided neighbours from each other.

The possibility of building up co-operative credit in villages, was emphasised, and a grave warning uttered against allowing village banks to be in official hands.

Finally, the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society was something of a missionary body, eager to show its methods and to extend the sphere of its principles everywhere. Indian students anxious to study the question, would receive every courtesy and assistance on application to the offices of the Society, 22 Linester Place, Dublin.

The speech was heard with great attention and a warm discussion followed. The applicability of the principles of co-operation, however, to Indian Agriculture and *Swadeshi* Industries, will have to be worked out in some concreteness, after careful study, before it is possible to offer anything very suggestive on the part of India.

The discussion of the day was that on Woman's Education, which followed the speech of Sister Nivedita, given after tea. It was quite evident that every man present felt that here was a question in which his own personal destiny was involved. The great subject of debate was whether the future education of Indian women ought to be more national or more English. There were not wanting those who boldly claimed that French, piano-playing, and foreign travel were the main requisites of an educated woman. Even where the ideal was thus mean, however, the nobility which assumes the right of woman to full self-development, was very evident. Several Mohammedans rose to show that there was nothing in the Quran which would militate against the education of woman. The most notable speech in many ways was that made by Mr. Sen of Leeds. On the whole, the sympathy of the meeting appeared to be with the contention that Woman's Education must never be denuded of the national element. It was quite

evident further that 'Woman and the People,—their Education!' was to be the cry of the new period now opening in India.

Asia and Representative Institutions.

The English press is greatly excited, by the news of the constitution granted to Turkey. This, taken together with the struggles of Persia, and the demands of Egypt, has succeeded in impressing Europe with the fact that the East is waking to the meaning of representative institutions. In this matter, further, Europe regards herself as the *guru* (teacher), however much she may regret the fact,—and Asia as the *sishya* (disciple).

Now in this, to our own thinking, there is a fundamental mistake. Europe has not been the creator, in Asia, of the idea of representative institutions. Readers of the *Modern Review* are by this time familiar with our contention that such institutions are native to the East. We are naturally, as a French visitor pointed out recently,* an exceedingly Parliamentary people. But what we *have* undoubtedly learnt from Europe is how to make Parliamentary procedure applicable to the affairs of a nation.

Our heritage and its application.

The same distinction may be drawn in many fields. Every one who is competent to judge, must acknowledge that amongst the Indian races there is no lack of courage. They have as much right as any people in the world to boast—

"We dare do all that may become a man, who dares do more, is none."

Mere courage, physical and moral, has always been theirs. What do s appear at the present moment on the horizon, as a sign of great import, is the tendency to apply this innate capacity for daring, to the idea of country. This is new amongst us. No more the defence of the private hearthstone or the temple threshold, but of the motherland. No more a call to one here and there, but to each and all, throughout the length and breadth of the land. This is the conception that is changing so rapidly the face of present and future. In the same way, it is far too fashionable amongst us to admit easily that India is disunited. What is probably much nearer the truth is, that she is really immensely and fundamentally united, only she has not hitherto known how to assert and apply this unity to affairs of the national interest. This lesson she is rapidly learning. There is no lack of love of home amongst us. Nothing can sever the link between an Indian family and its ancestral village, for instance. But the knack of making this affection tell, politically, is what we have caught from Europe. For want of this common sense we fell. Possessed of it, we rise. It cannot be stated too clearly or strongly that none of the essentials of nation-hood are lacking to our inheritance. None of them were left for Europe to create and give us. But their place and use in the assertion of efficiency and dignity, may have been unfamiliar to us.

Even this, however, comes only as a revival. In the Vishnu Purana, the king Hiranyakasipu takes the child Prahlad upon his knee, and begins to put to him the questions of his catechism. Was it a school book of the people, or a catechism for princes only? we wonder, as we read. "How must a king proceed against an alliance of enemies that far outnumbers him?" "He must divide up their interests, and defeat them, one by one," answers the child.

Here we are probably dealing with the Bengali intellect of the time of the Guptas. The editing of the Puranas, like the compiling of the Mahabharata, appears to have been the work of a sort of Imperial Commission on Popular Education. The Vishnu Purana, in particular, appears to have been a kind of primary school syllabus. A knowledge of the whole Mahabharata would be necessarily rare. The Vishnu Purana embodied a standard of culture which even the village Brahmin might be expected to represent. Thus the Mahabharata, in the hands of a few great scholars, travelling from village to village, at the bidding of great patrons, was a kind of University extension, while the Puranas represented local schools, or even colleges. Benares, Nuddea, Taxila, Nasick, and the royal abbeys, were true University seats of learning. And the Vedic classes held in the temples of the South, were Cathedral

* See Article "Gramya Bharat" (Rural India) in *Prabasi* for *Jyaishtha*, 1315 B.S.

Schools, or Clion-Schools, as we know them in Europe.

The stories told in the Vishnu Purana, where they can be compared with popular versions of the same tales, bear out this interpretation. The folk-rendering of the story of Dhruva, for example, is simple, dramatic, moving. It speaks straight to the heart, and is full of its own message. The same tale as told in the Vishnu Purana is simply a school-master's allegory of astronomical facts. It has become mnemonic, and is moralised as rigidly as an Æsop's Fable. The child is pointed on to the heart of the forest, by the seven rishis!

To this day, to discerning eyes, the Bengali retains all the marks of a people that has been imperial. No one who reads Gibbon's History of Rome attentively, can fail to see that for ages the hearth of empire slept as sound in her forgetfulness of her one-time glory, as ever did we of Pataliputra or Vikrampur. Where was the pride of the Roman name, when ignorant beggars and greedy priests were eating up the heritage of the Cæsars? But Rome has awakened, and so can Bengal. Modern Italy and Modern Greece, with all their hopes for the future, are largely the outcome of the study of their own past. Our history is no less glorious than theirs. Let us, like them, but turn to its pages, and we shall rise up from such reading to re-make the world.

Foreign and National Elements in Education.

The burning question amongst us with regard to Education, is of the relative positions in the ideal system of foreign and national elements. The theocratic, or strictly national education, is utterly inadequate to our present needs, unless it can be made to re-incorporate certain ideas of organisation and aggression, of offence and defence, which it must have included at one time, but which long ages of peace have caused to drop out of it. On the other hand, those persons who have been sacrificed in the name of reform, to the national need of experience, persons who have been born and brought up in an artificial environment, amongst foreign ideas and foreign manners, —their semblance of education lying in the glib use of the English language,—have in no case attained a result which could invite others to follow in their wake. English and European learning, would appear to be necessary to efficiency; but they do not seem to have the power by themselves of creating efficiency. They do not appear to be any substitute for it.

We must remember that most people never achieve more than a smattering of knowledge. Judging from the experience of Bengal, it would seem that when this smattering is foreign, the result is the death of every thing resembling education. The same phenomenon may be seen in Madras, amongst those 'low' castes who speak English, and, in matters of the mind, are born, live, and die, orphaned of human culture.

Where there is a strong national background, of language, habits, thought, and family association, even a prolonged excursion into the realm of foreign learning —such as we see in men of intellectual energy—does no harm, because there is enough, of childhood's memories and the ties of the heart, to bring the mind back to a conception of solidarity with home and race. But the same excursion, without any such fundamental and preliminary attachment, is dangerous to character. Nowhere could this receive better illustration than in the history of the last two or three generations amongst the Parsees. Men of the old school and of the last generation, men whose mothers had been orthodox, and whose infantile associations were of a type now vanished, these men were persistently and generously Indian, and national; although their own lives might be European in outward form. Is the same true of the present generation of Parsees? What have they in their own past that represents to them *India*? What tie of the heart is there? How could we expect, then, that they could look *backwards*—as India probably appears to them—for the line of their advance? If we analyse the education of the men who have attained distinction in modern India, we shall find that their dip into Western learning has invariably had behind it a strong vernacular backing.

This is the case with Rammohun Roy, Vidyasagar, Vivekananda, Ranade, Bose, Tilak, Rajendra Lall Mitra, and a dozen others. It will happen occasionally that from Western learning, by sheer force of

intellect and thought, a man will find his true place in the world, and come back to re-create it. But when this happens, it is always to mourn his own lack of national tastes and associations which ought to have been instinctive and innate.

No, the foreign learning is excellent, even necessary, as a tool, but not as a master. With our mother's milk, we must imbibe the thoughts and affections of the national life. Only the blossom that is perfect can form the cradle of the perfect fruit.

The power and utility of "impracticable" ideals.

The following passage which occurs in Lord Acton's essay on Nationality will be read with interest at the present moment in India :—

"The pursuit of a remote and ideal object, which captivates the imagination by its splendour and the reason by its simplicity, evokes an energy which would not be inspired by a rational, possible end, limited by many antagonistic claims, and confined to what is reasonable, practicable, and just. One excess or exaggeration is the corrective of the other, and error promotes truth, where the masses are concerned, by counterbalancing a contrary error. The few have not strength to achieve great changes unaided; the many have not wisdom to be moved by truth unmixed. Where the disease is various, no particular definite remedy can meet the wants of all. Only the attraction of an abstract idea, or of an ideal state, can unite in a common action multitudes who seek a universal cure for many special evils, and a common restorative applicable to many different conditions. And hence false principles, which correspond with the bad as well as with the just aspirations of mankind, are a normal and necessary element in the social life of nations."

The British rulers of India would have us believe that India would never be free even in the remote future, and that a free and united India is a false and impracticable ideal: they are reluctant, therefore, to part with an iota of power. But an India ruled for ever autocratically by an alien people is an impossible ideal. If it be an error to hope for a free India, it at least corrects the more pernicious error of the British bureaucrat, and evokes a civic energy which no other ideal is able to do.

Varied careers needed for our young men.

Professor S. S. P. V. Ramana Saraswati A.M., F.T.S., Head Master, National School, Rajahmundry, writes as follows :—

It is desirable that our young men should take to varied walks of life, as there is work enough for all in the various technical activities of the country. The present educational system has only tended to manufacture a huge army of clerks who have nothing to turn to for a livelihood. Even the most beneficent Government in the world cannot provide berths for all the thousands of clerks that are being manufactured year after year in India. The best thing our young men can do for themselves no less than for their country, is to specialise in some industrial, commercial, or other technical subjects like Engineering, Medical Science, etc. Now that there is a growing desire all over the land to revive decaying industries and start new industries also, there is ample scope and wide field for our young men who have a good grounding of general education and a good superstructure of technical education built on that foundation. Our school aims at developing the capacities of our boys in all the various directions that are of interest in human life. The physical, literary, technical, and moral and religious sides of life are all duly attended to and every precaution is anxiously taken to prevent one-sided development. It is intended that every boy who passes out of the school should have some manual or other business training which will stand him in good stead in after-life. Industrial and Commercial Education is the only high-road to the regeneration of India, and it is only in such schools as ours that we can hope to sow the seeds of that happy harvest of the future. Wide is the field of work and ample the scope for industrial activity in India, but the labourers are yet very few,—an infinitesimal fraction, alas! of the number needed for the uplifting of our sacred motherland. Education of a truly liberal, and national character which combines literary, scientific, physical, industrial, commercial, ethical, and spiritual development, is the only panacea for all the evils India is groaning under; or in other words, it is the only means whereby our beloved motherland can be brought once more to take her rightful place which she used to occupy of yore in the scale of nations and which, with all her splendid resources (physical, material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual) she is so well fitted to occupy.

"Hymn to Athene Nikephoros.*

(DEDICATED TO MY FRIEND, CYRIL WATERS.)

"What tale of wrong is this
The sea tells Salamis,
And the shamed wind wails to Thermopylae?
Is this her voice, whose word
Once Navarino heard
Exultant, England's bidding Greece be free?

"Let one soul see the light,
One heart be strong to fight,
And, lo, this Tyranny is overthrown!
Hate dare not lift her hand
Against Man's Mother-Land,
Whom not her children only call their own!

"Man will not long be free,
If he endure to see
His brother bound, nor leap to break the chain;
If Man suffer Man's Wrong
Unmoved, he will not long
Keep the base peace he buys with shame in vain!

"They live who dare to die,
Who see no star too high,
No light too far for Hope to struggle to—
Yea, no dreams anywhere
So sweet, and pure, and fair
But that the Faith of Man can make them true!

PAKENHAM BEATTY."

History repeats itself.

The following extract from Sir John Kaye's History of the Sepoy Mutiny, vol. I, (Longmans, Green and Co., 1898) page 262, reads like a passage from the letter of the Calcutta Correspondent of one of the leading London liberal dailies of the present day. The writer was speeking of the views of the new school of Anglo-Indian politicians as reflected in the Anglo-Indian Press of 1856, the year before the Mutiny:

"To suggest that in an Asiatic race there might be a spirit of independence and a love of country, the manifestations of which were honourable in themselves, however inconvenient to us, was commonly to evoke, as the very mildest result, the imputation of being "Anti-British," whilst sometimes the "true British feeling" asserted itself in a less refined choice of epithets, and those who ventured to sympathise in any way with the people of the East were at once denounced as "white niggers." Yet among these very men, so intolerant of anything approaching the assertion of a spirit of liberty by an Asiatic people, there were some who could well appreciate and sympathise with the aspirations of European bondsmen, and could regard with admiration the struggles of the Italian, the Switzer, or the Pole to liberate himself, by a sanguinary contest, from the yoke of the usurper. *But the sight of the dark skin sealed up their sympathies.* They contended not merely that the love of country, that the spirit of liberty as cherished by European races, is in India wholly unknown, but that Asiatic nations, and especially the nations of India, have no right to judge what is best for themselves; have no right to revolt against the beneficence of a more civilised race of white men, who would think and act for them, and deprive them, for their own good, of all their most cherished rights and their most valued possessions."

How little has the Anglo-Indian attitude changed since then! No wonder that there are so many people in India now-a-days who despair of reform, if it is to be the outcome of a natural change in the hearts of our Anglo-Indian rulers due to the general advance of civilisation and of the principles of justice and humanitarianism.

'Stake in the Country.'

A great deal has been said recently by the sciolists and canting politicians—particularly of Anglo-India—of men with a 'stake in the country.' It has been proclaimed by those in authority that in introducing constitutional reforms the so-called men with a stake in the country must receive the lion's share of such privileges as will be conferred. Who may be these blameless men? We know the meaning of the Government. They intended that the men of broad acres —who are at the same time wisearces as a class—should be 'associated' with the Government of the country to a larger extent than the educated, independent middle class, to which belong the large numbers of the Indian reform party. But are the notables really the men with the largest stake in the country? This was not at any rate what Lord Acton thought. On the other hand, he felt strongly that the stake in the country argument really applied with fullest force to the poor, for while political error means mere discomfort to the rich, it means to the poor the loss of all that makes life noble and even of life itself. As he said in one of his already published letters:—

'The men who pay wages ought not to be the political masters of those who earn them, for laws should be adapted to those who have the heaviest stake in the country, for whom misgovernment means not mortified pride or stinted luxury, but want and pain and degradation, and risk to their own lives and to their children's souls.'

It could have occurred to none outside the bureaucracy—beneficed and unbeneficed—except, of course, when they had to pass tenancy legislation to protect the peasantry against greedy zeminders, and grand motherly Court of Wards legislation to protect the

* Athene that bringeth victory.

zeminders against themselves—that these can be the representatives, guardians or spokesmen of the mass of the agricultural population. So long as the ryots and the artisans and the labourers themselves are not educated enough to organise themselves and stand up for their rights like the labour men in Western countries, their spokesmen and champions can be found among the educated, independent middle class alone. And unless these men are accorded their rightful place of predominance in the councils of the country, no reform can be regarded seriously. We are told that the Simla proposals of last year are to be modified almost beyond recognition. In the formulation of the new proposals, will the cardinal point we have thought it necessary to emphasise be borne carefully in mind?

The Health of Bengal under John Company.

In our last number in the note on "The health of three provinces," we showed "that before the sixties of the last century, Bengal was not so unhealthy and malarious as now." We also said:

"It may be that when Bengal was spoken of as the paradise of India, the reference was mainly to the fertility of her soil and the stream of wealth that flowed into the province in exchange for her numerous and excellent manufactures. But a fertile soil and raw materials for manufacture alone cannot make a country wealthy. Man must co-operate with nature with his industry and skill. It does not require much intelligence to understand that a sickly people, such as present-day Bengalis are for the most part, could not have made Bengal the paradise of India that it was in the days of the Mughal Emperors."

There are in fact clear historical proofs to show that even in the early days of the East India Company's rule many places in Bengal were considered as health-resorts. Thus in Long's *Selections from the unpublished Records of Government*, p. 310, Kasimbazar is mentioned as a sanitarium. There the following sentences are quoted from the Calcutta Select Committee Proceedings of March 17, 1763:—

"Mr. McGuire sends in a letter requesting our permission to go to Kossimbazar for the recovery of his health. Application granted."

In a foot-note Mr. Long records with reference to his own times:—

"Kasimbazar, like many other places in Bengal, is now far from being a place for the recovery of health; the old factories are overrun with jungle."

It is curious to read the following in the Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal for the year 1907 about the neighbouring town of Murshidabad:—

"Amongst towns Murshidabad was the greatest sufferer, the mortality amounting to 46.08: in fact this is the third year in succession that this town has been most fever-stricken. The Civil Surgeon is strongly of opinion that the newly constructed Murshidabad Branch of the Eastern Bengal State Railway has affected the public health. He says that the Railway Engineering authorities have been guilty as elsewhere of taking absolutely no means of draining the pits and hollows by the side of the embankment, and that he is convinced that in such a malarious neighbourhood, specially as that of Murshidabad town, this has led to increased unhealthiness and should be remedied," p. 18.

Baba Kabir.

The picture of Baba Kabir printed in this number is a fancy sketch, copied from an old picture-album *(murakka)* in the Bankipur Khuda Bakhsh Library. Kabir was a weaver by profession and is represented in the picture as engaged in weaving. The painter makes him out as a worshipper of Krishna, who was according to Hindu ideas an incarnation of Divine Love. He is, therefore, made to wear in the picture the *Krishna-Chuda*, a crest or plume (generally of peacock feathers) which according to Hindu tradition Krishna wore. Krishna's favourite bird the peacock is also painted in a corner sportively erecting and displaying its tail feathers. Whilst as an indication of the *Vaishnava* virtue of *ahimsa* (*lit.*, disinclination to kill) a cat, the natural enemy of birds, is seen playing with the peacock. Bees are seen drinking honey from flowers in the tree, perhaps to symbolise the *bhakta*'s drinking of the nectar of Divine Love. The Saint sits with his eyes closed, his heart full of the ecstatic enjoyment of Divine Love and Beauty. To his left a *bhakta* sits playing on a tabor or some other musical instrument used in devotional music. To the right sits a Mussalman prince, a disciple of Kabir. For the saint was a harmoniser of Islam and Hinduism, and when he died his followers of both sects claimed the right to perform his funeral rites according to the tenets of their respective faiths. Behind the prince sits an attendant with a fan or fly-flapper made of peacock's feathers.

No doubt, the bees are much too big and there may be other technical defects. But in spite of them the picture must be considered

a fine specimen of mediæval Indian art untouched by Western influence.

Anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy.

Seventy-five years ago on the 27th of September Bristol witnessed the death of Raja Rammohun Roy, the greatest Indian of modern times. With perhaps the exception of the recent movement for the industrial regeneration of the country, Rammohun Roy laid the foundation of all the principal modern movements for the elevation of our people. In one of his works he holds up to his countrymen the prospect of a possibly independent India and of India the Enlightener of Asia. He believed that the people of India "have the same capability of improvement as any other civilized people." He did not believe that Asiatics were naturally an inferior race. In the course of one of his numerous religious controversies, "A Christian" having indulged in a tirade about persons being "degraded by Asiatic effeminacy," the Raja reminded him that almost all the ancient prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, nay, even Jesus Christ himself, were Asiatics. Mr. William Adam, a Baptist Missionary, whose association with Rammohun Roy led him to adopt Unitarian opinions, bears the following testimony to his love of liberty:—

"He would be free or not be at all...Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought....This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive jealousy of the slightest approach to an encroachment on his mental freedom was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

It is only meet that his countrymen should celebrate the anniversary of his death all over India every year.

In view of the progress recently made by Japan and the probable political emancipation of Persia and China, it may seem improbable that India should be the enlightener of Asia. But we must bear in mind that in this world thought rules supreme; and no nation in Asia has yet arisen to dispute India's paramount position in the realms of thought. In that region what her position was in the past many yet again be hers in the future. We are confident that it will be so.

The estimate of the Raja's personality by his biographer, the late Miss Sophia Dobson Collett, an English woman and a trinitarian Christian, may not be accepted in its entirety by Indians, but is on the whole pretty accurate. It has been quoted before, but will bear quotation once more.

"Rammohun stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, Theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment.

"He embodies the new spirit which arises from the compulsory mixture of races and faiths and civilizations,—he embodies its freedom of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its pure and sifted ethics, along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past, and prudent, even timid, disinclination towards revolt. But in the life of Rammohun we see what we hope yet to have shown us in the progress of India, that the secret of the whole movement is religious. Amid all his wanderings Rammohun was saved by his faith.....He was a genuine outgrowth of the old Hindu stock; in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with unwonted forcing power, but still a true scion of the old stock. The Rajah was no merely occidentalized oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European. Just as little was he, if we may use the term without offence, a spiritual Eurasian. If we follow the right line of his development we shall find that he leads the way from the orientalism of the past, not to, but through Western culture, towards a civilization which is neither Western nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both. He preserves continuity throughout, by virtue of his religion, which again supplied the motive force of his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained as well as widened and impelled, was religion.

"Rammohun thus presents a most instructive and inspiring study for the New India of which he is the type and pioneer. He offers to the new democracy of the West a scarcely less valuable index of what our greatest Eastern dependency may yet become under the imperial sway of the British commonalty. There can be little doubt that, whatever future the destinies may have in store for India, that future will be largely shaped by the life and work of Rammohun Roy. And not the future of India alone. We stand on the eve of an unprecedented intermingling of East and West. The European and Asiatic streams of human development, which have often tinged each other before, are now approaching a confluence which bids fair to form the one ocean-river of the collective progress of mankind. In the presence of that greater Eastern question,—with its infinite ramifications, industrial, political, moral and religious,—the international problems of the passing hour, even the gravest of them, seem dwarfed into parochial pettiness. The nearing dawn of these unmeasured possibilities only

throws into clearer prominence the figure of the man whose life-story we have told. He was, if not the prophetic type, at least the precursive hint, of the change that is to come."

Rammohun Roy was all that he was, because he did not knock at the door of the West as an intellectual and spiritual foundling or orphan or beggar. He was an oriental *first*, who had made his own the best that Hindu and Islamic culture could give him. He then extended the hospitality of his soul to the best that Western culture had in its store. The saying that to him who has, more shall be given, was literally fulfilled in his case. The West can give us its best only if we can meet it on equal terms,—to give as well as to receive.

The late Mr. A. M. Bose.

On the 20th of the last month, the anniversary of the death of Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, meetings were held in Calcutta and Mymensingh to show respect to his memory. We could wish they had been held all over India,—at any rate all over Bengal. For India could call him her own. And, Europeanised in costume though he was, there was never a soul more truly Indian in its innate modesty and dignity, and in its purity and reverence and poverty of spirit. Even to casual observers the essentially spiritual foundation of his character was quite apparent. The organic unity of different kinds of progressive endeavour was very well illustrated in his life. There was no sphere of national activity,—religious, moral, educational, social, political, economical, or industrial,—in which he did not take a prominent part. In his last days, when he lay bed-ridden, the Bengal Partition went like a dagger to his sensitive patriotic heart. He felt the insult to his people in every fibre of his being. The result was those anonymous letters to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which none but he could write. We must bear in mind that he advocated the boycott of British goods, —he in the making of whose personality hatred entered as little as in that of any other man that we know. So when some Anglo-Indians tell us that boycott must be given up, because it is a method of hatred, we reply,—"not necessarily, for Ananda Mohan Bose advocated it." And after all, if it must imply hatred, we would rather hate with Ananda Mohan than love with the typical Anglo-Indian.

The 7th of August.

The Swadeshi-boycott celebration on the 7th of August, the day on which three years ago the Swadeshi-boycott movement was inaugurated in Bengal, was as enthusiastic this year as in previous years. Mr. A. H. Ghaznavi, a landholder of East Bengal belonging to an old and highly respected family, a Swadeshi merchant and a man of culture, presided over the Calcutta meeting. His speech showed conclusively the good that the movement has done to Hindu and Mussalman alike, particularly to the latter.

Anglo-Indian journalists have begun to preach *economic* love to us, as they think that boycott means *economic* hatred. As from the days of John Company, Britishers have lavished *economic* love on India, they are certainly the best persons to preach such love. Our only complaint is that there has been too much of it already.

If a man loves what is good for him, he must necessarily not love what is injurious to him. There is hatred in boycott only to this extent. There may be more in the hearts of some persons. But that is accidental.

Cow-dung is good as a manure, but not good to keep in the drawing-room table. Dirt is matter in the wrong place. Manchester cloth is good in Manchester, good for naked savages, but not good for us. At the same time if Manchester prints good books on scientific and technical subjects, we shall gladly buy and read them.

Khudiram Bose.

Poor Khudiram! Government has lawfully hunged him. Journalists and others have denounced him and his accomplice Prafulla Chaki. We, too, condemn murderous deeds, we, too, deplore the murder of the two innocent English women. But we cannot easily dismiss the memory of these two boys. We feel that in spite of their being the authors of a wicked crime, both Government and people should take a warning and a lesson from their lives. These young men, and possibly there are others like them, did not act from selfish personal motives, they had nothing to gain by what they did; and they showed that in gaining their *not-*

personal object, they were indifferent to the question of life and death. The question for both Government and the people to consider is whether legitimate and righteous scope cannot be given to the daring and other qualities possessed by such young men. For after all punishment is not even a partial solution for undesirable tendencies. Remedial measures must be adopted. No Government, no people can afford to waste potentially useful human material.

The loss of these young lives is inexpressibly sad. The only consoling feature in the whole affair is the proof that it affords that there is still in the country indifference to death, though in this particular case the demonstration took a decidedly wrong turn. There is more need in India to-day of *living* for the motherland, than of dying for her. But he alone can truly and nobly live for her who is prepared at a moment's notice to lose his life and all for her.

The Case of Durga Chandra Sanyal.

It was until lately understood that we lived in an age of scepticism. But the conviction of Durga Chandra Sanyal in the Darjeeling Mail Assault Case by two High Court Judges must make people revise their belief. For the Judges could belief that an old Brahman lawyer of 63, an author, had boarded a railway train at night far from his home to commit a murderous assault on two comparatively young Englishmen, either without any motive or for cummitting theft! Now therefore following the example of the Honourable and learned Judges we need not feel any hesitation in believing anything.

Grave failures of justice in criminal cases between Europeans and Indians have never been rare. But the failure of justice in this case has been rather extraordinary.

People waited to see how for the highest court of justice in Bengal would uphold, or rather not interfere with, the exercise by an Indian of his human right of self-defence against European assailants. And the unexpected has not happened.

Prosecutions for Sedition.

Prosecutions for sedition still multiply. There is an idea abroad among the British people that even if "reforms" are to be introduced, Indians must first be somehow *samjhaw*-ed that the British people have not been frightened, so that the "reforms" may be taken to be a pure act of favour, mercy, grace, patronage, or whatever you like,—anything in fact but a concession to agitation or terrorism. Prosecutions for sedition seem to be an offspring of this idea. They show the might of the British Raj, and the helplessness of even the greatest agitators, like Tilak, G. Subramania Iyer and others.

Bombay has been fairly roused. Madras was half roused. Now the prosecution of such a respected leader as G. Subramania Iyer will apply the finishing touch to the nationalising work of the bureaucrat in Madras.

Foreigners who are curious about Indian affairs, reading of these numerous sedition-trials, may think that many of the most patriotic and intelligent Indians, some of India's foremost men, must have gone mad, or they must have suddenly fallen in love with jail life, being tired of the sweets of free home life secured by *pax Britannica*; for surely it cannot be that the infallible British people can have given any cause for discontent! In fact, Indians ought to consider it a privilege to be governed by the British. Or is it that, unlike every other country, in India things happen without any cause whatever,—people there being seditious, because it is the prevailing fashion? It is really inexplicable why Indians are discontented. Prosecute their leaders, therefore, until they become contented.

The ways of notables and bureaucrats.

The ways of bureaucrats are curious. They will do things without consulting even the notables. But when as the result of their policy they are landed in difficulties, they call upon these notables to lull the storm. Anglo-Indian journalists even threaten these notables with the deprivation of their "honours." It is just like those African savages who beat their idols when the latter do not grant their prayers for rain, &c. No Indian citizen was consulted, we are sure, before Mr. Tilak was prosecuted. But when the prosecution was followed by disorders, the leading men of Bombay were blamed for not preventing or stopping them! As if these "natural" leaders had any power to do so.

It is even expected in some quarters that we shall do the work of honorary spies,

detectives and informers. In other words, while the bureaucrat will keep all power and privilege and the lion's share of the pelf to himself, we are to do all his dirty work. Is that the ideal of British Indian citizenship?

Meanwhile various notabilities and non-entities are issuing manifestoes to the Government and appeals to the people. The manifestoes are useful to Government, as it helps in maintaining the flow of European capital into India. But the appeals, however well meant, are useless. For those who can "kindle" patriotic enthusiasm, can alone "restrain" the excesses, if any, of that enthusiasm.

Indians Abroad.

Our brethren in South Africa are heroically and sturdily maintaining their struggle for human rights against great odds. Gentlemen of high position are voluntarily taking to hawking goods without licence, to place themselves on an equal level with their poorer brethren, and are going to jail in consequence. We are proud of them. Go on brave souls! An honourable life alone is worth living.

To think that uneducated Indian hawkers are going to jail in defence of civic rights, is a great inspiration. There is a lesson in it for home-keeping educated Indians.

A harrowing account of the miseries to which Indian laborers are subjected in Mauritius has been published. Men of all castes, it is said, are there compelled to carry nightsoil to manure the fields, and are subjected to other indignities and hardships. The matter requires prompt investigation.

Mr. J. P. Gangooly.

We congratulate our young countryman Mr. J. P. Gangooly on his winning the Viceroy's prize at the Simla Arts Exhibition. This is the highest prize awarded at the Exhibition. The subject of Mr. Gangooly's picture was "A monsoon sunset." Mr. Gangooly possesses artistic talent of a high order. His pictures of mists and moonlight, mists and dawn and sunset are masterpieces of their kind. The pity is they are so difficult to reproduce that we have not yet been able to give our readers any idea of them.

A word on Mr. Greenly's Article.

While recognising the friendly spirit in which Mr. Greenly has written in our current number about the future of India, we feel that we may be allowed to offer a few remarks by way of comment.

(1). From time immemorial down to the early days of John Company Indians were a very wealthy commercial people. Nevertheless they evolved spirituality of a high type. Whether the Indian genius would be able to make spirituality and modern commercialism co-exist, cannot be definitely predicted. But we have confidence in its power. (2). India maintains her own army. If she were free to stop all drain of wealth from her shores, and free to develop her material resources without hindrance from abroad, she would certainly be able to maintain even a larger and more efficient army, and an efficient navy of her own too, sufficient for the purpose of defence by land and sea, without causing hardship even to her poorer inhabitants. Indians are not inferior to any other race in courage and military capacity. They were expert shipbuilders and brave, skilful and enterprising sailors, and can be so still, if allowed to be so. (3). Even to realise again her own old self and develop it in the right line, and thereby give the world what she alone is able to give, India needs to be free. (4). If a nation feels that it depends on another for the defence of even its own hearths and homes, spirituality, that finest flower of manhood, can never blossom in its midst.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Speeches of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., with a portrait. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras. Crown 8vo. 1100 pages, cloth gilt Rs. 3.

This is the first collection of Mr. Gokhale's speeches and may claim to be fairly exhaustive, no important pronouncement of his having been omitted. The book contains four parts and an appendix. The first part includes all his utterances in the Supreme Legislative Council and in the Bombay Legislative Council; the second, all his Congress speeches, including his presidential address at Benares; the third, speeches in appreciation of Hume, Naoroji, Ranade, Mehta and Bonnerjee; the fourth, miscellaneous speeches delivered in England and India. The appendix contains the full text of his evidence both in chief and in cross-examination before the Welby Commission and various papers. These cover nearly a quarter of a century of a most strenuous, selfless and active public life and embrace a wide range of the topics that have engaged and are still engaging the attention of the public. Full of instruction on every point and breathing in every line the moral fervour which is Mr. Gokhale's supreme characteristic, this volume, it is hoped, will command wide popularity.

Indian Opinion Diary, 1908. 6d. Published by the International Printing Press, Phœnix, Natal.

As this Diary gives information regarding the laws affecting Asiatics in the Transvaal, in Natal, at the Cape and in the Orange River Colony, and the rules regarding the registration of firms and licence-dues, &c., it is not without interest and value even to Indians living outside South Africa.

For Passive Resisters: A short review, with a number of Selections, of the Essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" by David Thoreau. Reprinted from "Indian Opinion," 26th October, 1907. International Printing Press, Phœnix, Natal. 3d.

This small booklet furnishes highly stimulating reading. It should be read by all who are or would like to be passive resisters.

The Indian Nation Builders, Vol. I, pp. 252. Ganesh and Co, Madras. Price Re. 1.

This book, the publishers say, is the first of a series which they intend to bring out from time to time. They "have been guided by no sense of gradation in the meritoriousness of the services rendered to the National Cause" by the Nation-builders. This volume contains the life, portrait and a speech of Mahadev Govind Ranade, Ananda Mohan Bose, Surendranath Banerjee (three speeches), G. Subramania Aiyar, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir P. M. Mehta, G. K. Gokhale, the Gaekwar of Baroda, Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bepin Chandra Pal, and Abdul Rasul. This list is enough to show that the volume is cheap for its price and contains reading matter of much importance.

Report of the Second Indian Industrial Conference, held at Calcutta on the 29th and 31st December, 1906. Calcutta. Printed at the Mazumdar Press. 1907. Price Rs. 2. Postage Extra. Pp. xliv, 432 and cv. To be had at the Industrial Conference Office, Amraoti.

This is a very valuable production and has been got up with great care and arranged and indexed methodically. The introduction gives the reader a general idea of the contents of the volume. The "Summary of Proposals" is very useful. No journalist, no public man, no Indian patriot can afford to be without a copy of this book. The future of India depends to a great extent on the industrial development of the country. Those who wish to take active part in this profitable and patriotic work, either as capitalists, or as captains of industry, or as learners of industrial processes, should make it a point to become acquainted with the contents of this volume.

Directory of Indian Goods and Industries. Second Edition. All rights reserved. 1907. Price Rs. 1-8. Postage Extra. The Indian Industrial Conference Office, Amraoti.

It is still true, though not to so great an extent as formerly that the buyer and the dealer do not know, where *Swadeshi* goods of a particular description can be had. This volume, therefore, must be welcome to all *Swadeshists*. We are glad to note that the different classes of goods have been alphabetically arranged.

The Indian Industrial Guide: being a hand-book of ready reference, containing various suggestive information and practical hints concerning trade, commerce, industries, agriculture, &c. By Dakshina R. Ghose, B.A., *of the Provincial Civil Service (E.B. and A.,) with an introduction by the Hon. Mr. J. C. Ghosh, Secretary to the Association for the Advancement of the Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians. Calcutta. S. K. Lahiri & Co. 54, College Street. 1907. Rs. 5.*

This work does not profess in any way to be an exhaustive compilation. It is a suggestive and handy compendium, which will create an interest in the economic and commercial aspects of various raw materials and furnish a clue to the reader as to how he can best employ his money and labour.

The auother has worked hard for 5 years to bring together the information contained in this eminently practical and useful publication. We are glad to note that he has not failed to add an alphabetically arranged index. It were much to be wished that the paging had been continuous throughout. The separate paging of the different parts makes the work of reference rather difficult.

The Deeper Meaning of the Struggle. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Printed and sold by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy at the Essex House Press in the Norman Chapel at Broad Campden, Gloucestershire, England.

This is a booklet of 26 pages; but its power must not be judged by its size. It consists of three short papers, (1) "The deeper meaning of the struggle," (2) "Mata Bharata" (which appeared in the *Modern Review* for April, 1907), and "India: A Nation."

The struggle is between Indians and Englishmen. Its deeper meaning is explained in the following words:—

"It is part of a wider one, the conflict between the ideals of Imperialism and the ideals of Nationalism. Between these two ideals the world has now to choose, and with the choice of England in particular, we are now concerned. Upon that choice depends the salvation of much that is absolutely essential to the future greatness of civilisation and the richness of the world's culture. For Imperialism involves the subordination of many nationalities to one; a subordination not merely political, but also economic and mental. Nationalism is inseparable from the idea of Internationalism, recognising the rights and worth of other nations to be even as one's own. For England we cannot speak; but for ourselves, the ideal is that of nationalism and internationalism. We feel that loyalty for us consists in loyalty to the idea of an Indian nation, politically, economically, and mentally free; that is, we believe in India for the Indians; but if we do so, it is not merely because we want our own India for ourselves, but because we believe that every nation has its own part to play in the long tale of human progress, and that nations which are not free to develope their own individuality and own character, are also unable to make the contribution to the sum of human culture which the world has a right to expect of them.

"It is not yet an ingrained and ineradicable hatred of England that inspires our efforts. There is not yet in us the bitterness that is in Ireland. If England would help and trust us (as we have too much reason to fear that she will not) there might yet be time for us to love and reverence her name, both now and in the days to come when we and she are truly free to love and reverence each other; free alike from the domination of others, and from dominating others. For it seems to us that the master is not truly freer than the slave, that England herself is not free so long as the burden of a great dominion hangs about her shoulders.* So long as England's ideal is set upon an achievement of dominion over others, she can be neither free nor truly great."

The nation that recognized the freedom of the individual man and set the slave free (though, it may be, mainly for economical reasons), must yet recognise that nations and peoples ought also to be helped to become free.

"The world has progressed from the idea of individual slavery to that of individual freedom; it has become an instinct to believe that men are equal at least to this degree, that every man must be regarded as an end in himself; but progress is only now being made from the idea of national slavery (Empire) to that of national freedom (Inter-Nationalism). We have to learn that nations no less than men are ends in themselves; we have yet to fully realise that a nation can no more ultimately justify the ownership of other nations, than a man can justify the ownership of other men.

"Let us not forget that in setting this ideal of Nationalism before us, we are not merely striving for a right, but accepting a duty that is binding on us, that of self-realisation to the utmost for the sake of others. India's ancient contribution to the civilisation of the world does not and can never justify her children in believing that her work is done. There is work yet for her to do, which if not done by her, will remain for ever undone. We may not shirk our part in the reorganisation of life, which is needed to make life tolerable under changed conditions. It is for us to show that industrial production can be organised on Socialistic lines without converting the whole world into groups of state-owned factories. It is for us to show that great and lovely cities can be built again, and things of beauty made in them, without the pollution of the air by smoke or the poisoning of the river by chemicals; for us to show that man can be the master, not the slave of the mechanism he himself has created.

"It is for us to proclaim that wisdom is greater than knowledge; for us to make clear anew that art is something more than manual dexterity, or the mere imitation of natural forms. It is for us to investigate the psychical and supersensual faculties anew in the light of the discoveries of physical science and to show that science and faith may be reconciled on a higher plane than any reached as yet. It is for us to intellectualise and spiritualise the religious conceptions of the West, and to show that the true meaning of religious tolerance is not the refraining from persecution, but the real belief that different religions need not be mutually exclusive, the conviction that they are all equally roads, suited to the varying capacities of those that tread them, and leading to one end."

"Think of our duty from another point of view; is not the ancient virtue of hospitality binding on us? Yet now the shame of hospitality refused is ours; how many have come to India, reverencing her past, ready to learn of her still, and have been sent empty away! The student of social economy finds a highly organised society in the process of disintegration without any of the serious and constructive effort required for its re-organisation under changed conditions; the student of architecture finds a tradition living still, but scorned by a people devoted to the imitation of their rulers, building copies of English palaces and French villas in the very presence of men who still know how to build, and under the shadow of buildings as noble as any that the world has seen. The student of fine art is shown inferior imitations of the latest European 'styles,' where he should find some new and living revelation; the decorative artist sees the traditional craftsmen of India thrown out of employment by the mechanical vulgarities of Birmingham and Manchester without the least effort made to preserve for future generations the accumulated skill and cunning of centuries of the manufacture of materials and wares which have commanded the admiration of the world. The

* "I cannot help 'thinking with Herbert Spencer,'" said Lafcadio Hearn, "that we are going to lose our liberties for the very same reasons that impel us to attack the liberties of weaker peoples." The transition is not difficult, from punishment without trial in India, to the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act* in England.

musician of other lands hears little but the gramophone or the harmonium in India; the man of religion finds the crudest materialism replacing a deep-rooted faith; the lover of freedom beholds a people who can be imprisoned or deported for indefinite periods without trial, and too divided amongst themselves to offer adequate resistance to this lawlessness; in a word, every man seeking to widen his own outlook, sees but his own face distorted in an Indian mirror.

"It is from this inhospitableness, this cowardice, that the call of the Motherland must waken us. We are conscious that the best in us is sleeping still; but when the sleeper wakes, who knoweth what shall come of it? One thing at least we are certain of, that the awakening must be no waking in a prison cell, but that of a free man, "full of good hopes, of steady purpose, perfect strength."* It is for this that we are stirred, for this that we shall suffer; and this is the deeper meaning of the struggle."

In the concluding paper the writer says:—

"Two essentials of nationality there are,—a geographical unity, and a common historic evolution or culture. These two India possesses superabundantly, beside many lesser unities which strengthen the historic tradition."

and shows that India possesses these two essentials.

"The diverse peoples of India are like the parts of some magic puzzle, seemingly impossible to fit together, but falling easily into place when once the key is known; and the key is that realization of the fact that the parts do fit together, which we call national self-consciousness. I am often reminded of the Cairene girl's lute, in the tale of Miriam and Ali Nur al-Din. It was kept in a "green satin bag with slings of gold." She took the bag, "and opening it, shook it, whereupon there fell thereout two-and-thirty pieces of wood, which she fitted one into other, male into female, and female into male till they became a polished lute of Indian workmanship. Then she uncovered her wrists and laying the lute in her lap, bent over it with the bending of mother over babe, and swept the strings with her finger-tips; whereupon it moaned and resounded and after its olden home yearned; and it remembered the waters that gave it drink and the earth whence it sprang and wherein it grew and it minded the carpenters who cut it and the polishers who polished it and the merchants who made it their merchandise and the ships that shipped it: and it cried and called aloud and moaned and groaned; and it was as if she asked it of all these things and it answered her with the tongue of the case." Just such an instrument is India, composed of many parts seemingly irreconcilable, but in reality each one cunningly designed towards a common end; so too, when these parts are set together and attuned, will India tell of the earth from which she sprang, the waters that gave her drink, and the Shapers that have shaped her being; nor will she be then the idle singer of an empty day, but the giver of hope to all, when hope will most avail, and most be needed.

"It may be suggested that I have spoken so far only of Hindus and Hindu culture; and if so it is because Hindus form the main part of the population of India, and Hindu culture the main part of Indian culture: but the quotation just made from Arabian literature leads on to the consideration of the great part which Muhammadans, and Persian-Arabian culture have played in the historic evolution of India as we know it to-day. It would hardly be possible to think of an India in which no great Mughal had ruled, no Taj been built, or to which Persian art and literature were wholly foreign. Few great Indian rulers have displayed the genius for statesmanship which Akbar had, a greater religious toleration than he. On the very morrow of conquest he was able to dispose of what is now called the Hindu-Muhammadan difficulty very much more successfully than it is now met in Bengal; for he knew that there could be no real diversity of interest between Hindu and Muhammadan, and treated them with an impartiality which we suspect to be greater than that experienced in Bengal to-day. It was not his interest to divide and rule. Like most Eastern rulers (who can never be foreigners in the same way that a western ruler must be) he identified himself with his kingdom, and had no interests that clashed with its interests. This has been always a characteristic of an invader's or usurper's rule in India, that the ruler has not attempted to remain in his own distant country and rule the conquered country from afar, farming it like an absentee landlord, but has identified himself with it."

The extracts we have given will show the virile power of the pamphlet.

The story of my deportation. By Lala Lajpat Rai. Printed and published by Jaswantrai, M.A., *at the Panjabee Press, Lahore. 1908. pp. 243.*

"In Exile because I have loved Righteousness and hated iniquity" is the appropriate motto which this book bears on the title-page. There are portaits of Lala Lajpat Rai and of his father Munshi Radhakrishan.

The author says "it is a plain narrative of my life in exile and makes no pretensions to literary merit." When he says further that "it does not contain anything of permanent value" he is right in the main, though not quite so. For the glimpses given herein of the methods of the British Government, of the Burmese character and the problem of the preservation of that interesting race, and of the character of the writer himself, possess, we think more than passing interest.

Besides the Introduction the book contains nine chapters and two appendices. The nine chapters are entitled, Before the arrest, The arrest and the deportation, The First Two Days at Mandalay, The House, &c., Watch and Restraint, General Treatment, How I occupied myself, State of mind during Confinement, and Odds and Ends. The Appendices contain Regulation III of 1818 and Lala Lajpat Rai's last letter to the *Punjabee*, dated 9th May, 1907, on the situation in the Panjab.

What the author says of Pro-Indian Englishmen in England gives the reader some idea of his political faith. He says:—

"It is true that these gentlemen are not able to make any practical impression upon the affairs of the Government of India, but the service which they render to the cause of humanity is by no means to be despised. Their efforts help in the evolution of a sympathetic European public opinion which is a source of great encouragement to struggling humanity. We are living in an age where complete isolation is impossible. The affairs of the different nations are so

* Taittiriyopanishad,

intertwined, dependent and inter-dependent upon one another that the affairs of one part of the world cannot fail to arouse the interest of the other. The sympathetic interest of the other great nations thus becomes a valuable asset to every nationality struggling for independence. Under the circumstances although I share the opinion of a large number of my countrymen that our political salvation is not likely to be achieved by begging for it at the bar of the British public, yet I sincerely think that the raising of Indian debates in the House of Commons has its own uses and the gentlemen who raise them are entitled to our gratitude. If there are any amongst my countrymen who expect that any group of members of the House of Commons can get them a Charter of political liberty, they are, I am bound to say, mistaken. It is not in their power to do so, but even if it were they would do nothing which would be opposed to the interests of their own country. An Englishman is nothing if not a patriot. But then there are patriots and patriots. There are some who think that the highest patriotism does not require the trampling under foot of less powerful nationalities. In their opinion Jingo Imperialism involves a loss of moral virtues which degrades a people and eventually prepares the ground for the subversion of those liberal principles which alone can be the basis of a democratic state."

His advice to his countrymen at the present crisis is worthy of attention.

"Weigh the situation coolly and calmly. Do not over-estimate your capacities, nor underestimate your difficulties; make an exact estimate of both and then proceed with a determination and firmness worthy of *men*." It is true there can be no gains without incurring risks. But nations, circumstanced like ours, are not made or saved by dare-devil methods or by a boldness which does not count upon the likely losses and risks. The road is uphill and infested with dangers. The number of pioneers who have to go forward and clear the ground as sappers and miners is few and far between. Any uncalled for and unnecessary sacrifice of life and energy is a crime greater and more heinous than any, of which any one can be guilty in his individual interests. Indians who have consecrated their lives to the service of their country are no longer their own masters and have no right to throw away their lives like mad men. By doing so we cut the very ground-roots of the tree over which we have sought an asylum. It may be *heroic* to die under an impulse of patriotic duty but it is nobler to resist the temptation and live a life of renunciation and sacrifice. Life must precede death. To die nobly one must first learn to live nobly. Noble is the death which towers the edifice of a well-lived life, a life lived for principle, for the motherland and for humanity. One does at times feel that perhaps the sons of India care more for life and the comforts of life than for honor. They were not so in olden times. Their present callousness to honor is a proof of their degradation, but this makes it all the more necessary that those in whom the consciousness of a duty towards their country and towards a life of honour has awakened, ought to try to live as long as they can, consistently with their ideals of honorable life. An honorable death is no doubt better than a dishonorable life, but an honorably lived life is infinitely superior to a death under a short-bred impulse. The number of those who can and are willing to die for their country or to live for it is exceedingly limited. It is a pure waste of valuable material to allow their ranks to be thinned by recklessness."

Coming to the state of things in Upper India he observes:—

"Knowing Upper India as I do, I must say that the conditions of life prevailing there require the services of a large number of capable and devoted public men whose sole or first care should be their country, before the political consciousness of the people can reach the level it occupies in the better educated and better developed provinces. The responsibilities of public life, in Upper India, require a clearer and a bolder conception. This, however, is not to be gained by the irresponsible talk of undisciplined enthusiasm, much less by violent methods. The man is unfit to be a leader who is not capable of taking a dispassionate view of things in times of excitement when passions have been roused up to a high pitch. But a coward is he whose calculations of personal interest and personal safety do not let him take a higher and broader view of life when the right moment comes. Real wisdom lies in doing the right thing at the right time. Real courage consists in not flying from the consequences of one's acts when the latter overtake him. Bravado is not manliness, nor rashness patriotism. There should be no halting or faint-heartedness after a thing has been well thought out, but doing things merely under spasmodic impulse, without devoting the necessary thought to their *pros* and *cons* is neither politic nor wise. Having passed the period of tutelage we are no longer children to be led by the nose by others. It remains to us to throw aside the youthful overconfidence and the no less youthful discouragement of nonage. We are grown men, and must play the man

strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield,

cherishing the good that falls in our way, and bearing the evil, in and around us, with stout hearts set on diminishing it. So far, we all may strive in one faith towards one hope:

It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
. . . . but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note may yet be done."

The first chapter makes it clear that the people were right in guessing that the rowdyism in Rawalpindi and Lahore which brought trouble on the Pindi lawyers (since acquitted) was the work of the secret Police in plain clothes.

The light that the book throws on the Lala's feelings towards the different members of his family cannot but heighten one's respect for him. We have space to refer only to one point. Nothing has endeared him to us and increased our regard for him so much as the references in the book to his widowed daughter.

"Of my children the only one for whom I cared much and whose thought sometimes disturbed me was my widowed daughter."

"I am glad you have managed to secure the services of Pundit Rikhi Raj, to teach your sister. I attach very great importance to it. I had made up my mind in this matter as soon as Jai Chand (my son-in-law), died but I kept it to myself, with a view to let the freshness of sorrow disappear a little, before acting upon it. A good education will go a great way in softening the constant pang of widowhood for this

unfortunate girl. Always keep her well supplied with good books, papers, and magazines, etc. After Jai Chand's death the idea had been constantly present to my mind and on the occasion of my last visit to Allahabad I made it a point to bring two or three good books for her."

"Please also see that Pyare Lal supplies everything that is necessary in the way of clothing etc., to dear Parbati and her son. I remember her the most in my exile. Her picture is constantly present to my eyes. At times I feel that I committed a sin in giving her over to a man who was suspected of not possessing a robust health. Poor girl! I feel for her very kindly and deeply. Please be very kind to her and give her my very best love. You will be doing a great favour to me by being as kind to her as you possibly can. If my tears can relieve any part of her misery she has plenty of them. She is the only child of my soul for whom I have ever wept. My brothers will have amply repaid me for anything, that ever I did for them, if they are kind and considerate to my widowed daughter. It is my earnest desire that no amount of expenditure and trouble be spared to make up for the deficiency of her education and enable her to drown her misery in reading books. I feel as if I never discharged my duties to her properly."

A gentleman having assured Lajpat Rai in a letter of "the good will of the thoughtful men of the community towards my sons," in reply to a letter addressed by the Lala to a friend asking him to help his son in finding out an occupation for him, the Lala wrote to his friend :—

"I will hate my sons if I see them taking any advantage of this sentiment. I will see them earn their livelihood by their own exertions and without anybody's special help.

"I have, it is true, asked Lala Chandu Lal to do something for Piyare Lal, because we had long ago settled a scheme about this. By my personal relations with Chandu Lal I have claims upon him, quite independent of the sentiment above referred to. You acted quite indiscreetly in showing that letter to others. Please do not take it ill. It was a purely private and personal communication and I will beg of you not to mention the matter to anyone else in future. My sons are fairly educated to earn their livelihood. Then they are all unmarried and can rough out a bit, if necessary, so I have no anxiety on their behalf at all."

Also to his son Pyare Lal :—

"In my opinion you have three alternatives, but before stating them I want to impress upon you the desirability of standing on your own legs. There is nothing like it in the world. Depending upon others, expecting favours, or obligations from others does not pay in the long run. My own sentiments are, to be under obligations to no one. A man who can earn his own living without any one's help, however humble that living may be, is the noblest person in my estimation. To earn a bare *dal roti* by your own exertions, independent of any one's favour or obligations, gives a moral strength which will stand by you the whole of your life. I do not really want you to put yourself under any obligation to any of my friends. I do not want any one to say that he helped my children out of regard for me."

We are soory we have no space left to make more extracts. The book furnishes interesting reading and amply repays perusal. It disproves the correctness of the rumour spread by Anglo-Indians and other interested persons that Lala Lajpat Rai was kept in Mandalay in comfort suited to his position in life.

To Colonise England—a plea for a Policy. By C. F. G. Masterman, M. P., W. B. Hodgson and others. London. T. Fisher Unwin. 2-6 net.

"National health, according to Froude, is in exact ratio to the proportion of the people having a direct interest in the soil.

Tried by this test, Great Britain in spite of its thousand millions of over-sea trade in 1906, is not only not the most healthy of European countries: it is the "tainted wether of the flock." There is no other country in which so small a proportion of the people have a direct interest in the soil. There is no country in which the land and the people are so completely divorced. In 1851 nearly two millions of persons were engaged in agricultural pursuits in Great Britain. In the interval the total population has doubled; but the number of people engaged in the land has decreased by more than half. Nor does the decay of rural England show any signs of being checked. The latest returns issued by the Board of Agriculture on this subject show that in the twenty years 1881-1901 the number of people engaged on the soil of Great Britain declined by nearly 300,000. Here are the figures which tell how the agricultural labourer is vanishing :—

	1881.	1891.	1901.	Decrease.
England...	802,288	716,609	561,136	241,152
Wales	45,665	42,525	34,566	11,099
Scotland...	135,966	107,412	93,590	42,376

It will be seen that the decline was more rapid in the second decade than in the first, and that if the same rate of decrease is continued for thirty years more there will be no labourers left on the land.

The tremendous fact that emerges from these figures is that we have become a wholly town-bred population and that the stream of wholesome country blood which has served in the past to vitalise the cities is nearly dried up at the source. The story of the nineteenth century in England is the story of the depopulation of the country and the congestion of the towns."

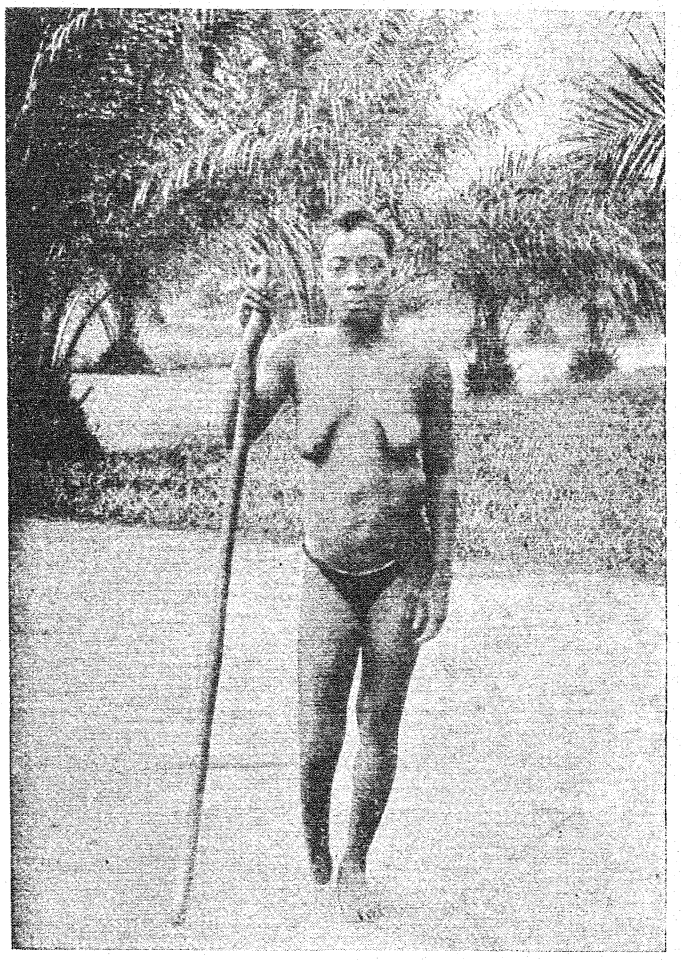
So run the first four paragraphs of the introduction to this remarkable book.

England has forgotten that the modern state must be based upon the concurrent development of field and factory. She has forgotten that the security of a nation depends, not only on the number of its factory chimneys, but far more on the number of its people directly interested in the soil. The result is that in forty years, while the population has grown enormously the number of people fed by the produce of Great Britain has gone down by fifteen millions. So that to-day England, *free* England, *depends* for her very existence on other countries. Yet British agriculture has not broken down because the progress of industry has peopled the land too thickly for cultivation.

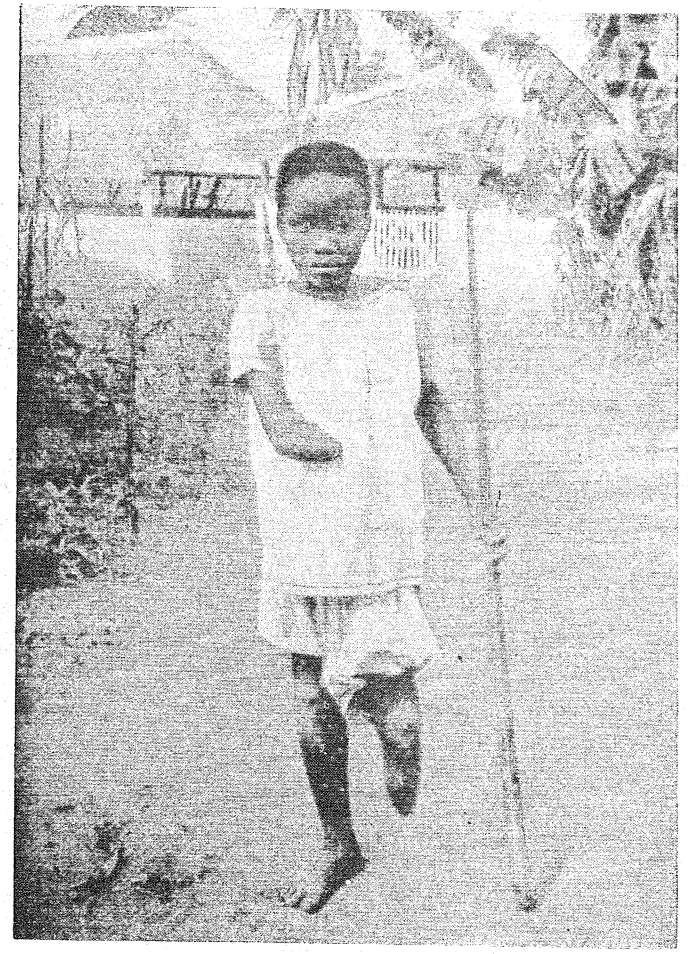
"Belgium has a population of over 500 to the square mile; Great Britain a population of 360 to the square mile. Belgium exports manufactured goods to the extent of £9 per head of the population; the United Kingdom exports manufactured goods to a considerably less value per head of the population. Yet Belgium not only supplies its own dense population with food but has a million's worth left for export, while this country is fed with butter from Denmark, Finland,



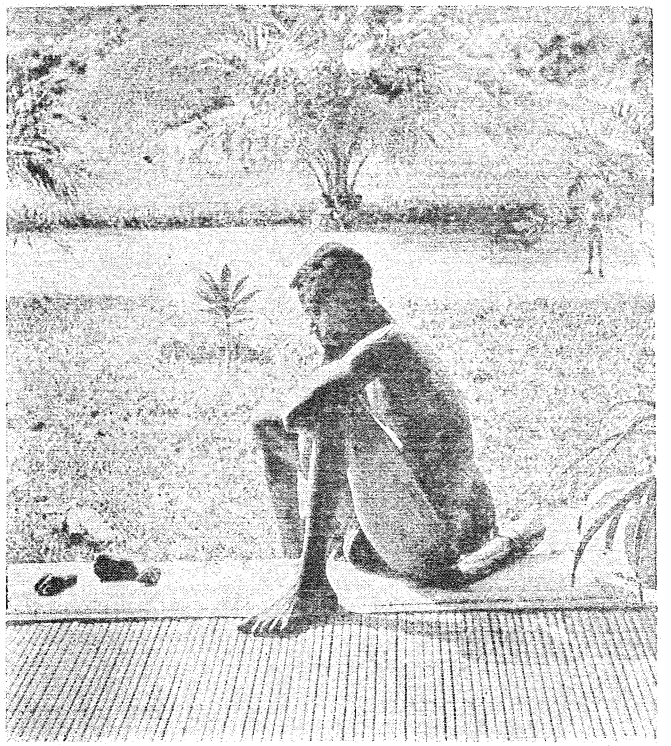
SOME OF THE MEN AND BOYS IN THE CONGO WHOSE HANDS WERE CUT OFF FOR NOT BRINGING ENOUGH RUBBER.



A CONGO WOMAN WHOSE FOOT WAS CUT OFF FOR NOT BRINGING ENOUGH RUBBER.



A Congo boy whose hand and foot was cut off for not bringing sufficient rubber.



"Evidence of British Missionaries."
Nsala, of Wala, with the hand and foot of his five-year-old little girl—all that remained of a feast by cannibal "sentries."

Siberia; eggs from Russia and the Balkan States, Flemish potatoes, French salads, Canadian apples, and New Zealand mutton. Meanwhile the country around our cities is a green solitude."

The remedy suggested is a return to the land. How this is to be effected has been described in detail in the book.

Our miseries are beyond compare in any civilised land. Yet the description of the squalid, damp, wind-swept, leaky, over-crowded and dark huts in which some British villagers live, has excited our pity.

King Leopold's Soliloquy: a Satire By Mark Twain. With illustrations. T. Fisher Unwin. 1s. net.

In this book Mark Twain exposes the crimes committed by King Leopold of the Belgians for collecting rubber in the Congo "Free" State. He is made to say correctly enough:—

'My critics go shuddering around, brooding over the reduction of that Congo population from 25,000,000 to 15,000,000 in the twenty years of my administration; then they burst out and call me "the King with ten million murders on his soul."'

His is a crime which, in its motives, and its cumulative effects, has never been surpased in infamy and horror.

We shall give several extracts from this book, and reproduce some of the illustrations. Comments are not needed. We have only one question to ask. We are familiar with the phrases "Bulgarian atrocities," "Armenian atrocities," &c., coined by Christian Europeans to brand with infamy a non-Christian Sovereign and his people. Why has there not been a *similar* outcry against Leopold and the Europeans who have been his associates and tools in his devilry?

"On the findings of the Commission of Inquiry every Executive Official on the Congo, and the Secretaries—as they are termed—of the Brussels Staff, stood convicted of conducting for many years a vast system of criminal oppression the like of which the world has never seen. Yet they have all been retained in office!" By a stroke of the pen King Leopold could undo to-morrow that which, by a stroke of the pen, he did fourteen years ago; he could restore to the natives their rights in land, and in the produce of the soil; he could restore to them their rights as human beings, to the elementary rights of man; could make of them what they were before he gripped them with the iron hand of slavery. But he is obdurate, implacable. He riots in his power, tramples treaties under foot, defies civilised opinion, scorns the murmurings gathering round about his throne, laughs openly at the timidities of international diplomacy. A sinister figure, and an amazing one to contemplate at the opening of the twentieth century—a re-incarnation it would seem almost, of the worst elements of mediævalism."

"May-be the appearance of this monstrous Congo evil in its midst is intended as a supreme test of the *real* hold which Christianity has to-day upon modern society in the wider sense of the term. If so, modern society is not standing the test very well. By a singular irony it is considering on the one hand whether a limit should at length be placed upon its self-created agencies of destruction. While on the other it displays an almost perfect equanimity at the spectacle of a revival of ancient slavery in a form rendered more abominable and destructive,—thanks to those very agencies."

"The second point is that King Leopold has ever posed as a philanthropist, a benefactor to the Church, a pillar of the Christian faith, a generous donor to Arts and Sciences. Has he not proclaimed for twenty years as the cardinal feature of his African enterprise a desire to promote the "moral and material regeneration" of the Congo native? Has he not erected a magnificent private chapel in his palace grounds, and made substantial donations to certain religious Orders? Has he not subscribed to the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, and called down upon his head the blessings of the Almighty for so doing? Has he not built monuments in Belgian cities, and subscribed to geographical research? Does he not contend that the vast and unpublished revenues which he draws from the unutterable misery of masses of Black men are devoted to "Art and Letters"?

"————!!————!! If I had them by the throat! [*Hastily kisses the crucifix, and mumbles.*] In these twenty years I have spent millions to keep the Press of the two hemispheres quiet, and still these leaks keep on occurring. I have spent other millions on religion and art, and what do I get for it? Nothing. Not a compliment. These generosities are studiedly ignored, in print. In print I get nothing but slanders—and slanders again—and still slanders, and slanders on top of slanders! Grant them true, what of it? They are slanders all the same, when uttered against a king."

"They tell how I levy incredibly burdensome taxes upon the natives—taxes which are a pure theft; taxes which they must satisfy by gathering rubber under hard and constantly harder conditions, and by raising and furnishing food supplies gratis—and it all comes out that, when they fall short of their tasks through hunger, sickness, despair, and ceaseless and exhausting labour without rest, and forsake their homes and flee to the woods to escape punishment, my black soldiers, drawn from unfriendly tribes, and instigated and directed by my Belgians, hunt them down and butcher them and burn their villages—reserving some of the girls. They tell it all: how I am wiping a nation of friendless creatures out of existence by every form of murder, for my private pocket's sake, and how every shilling I get costs a rape, a mutilation or a life."

"They remark that 'if the innocent blood shed in the Congo State by King Leopold were put in buckets and the buckets placed side by side, the line would stretch 2,000 miles; if the skeletons of his ten millions of starved and butchered dead could rise up and march in single file, it would take them seven months and four days to pass a given point; if compacted together in a body, they would occupy more ground than St. Louis covers, World's Fair and all; if they should all clap their bony hands at once, the grisly crash would be heard at a distance of——" Damnation, it makes me tired!"

"They hold up the stumps of their arms and lament because their hands have been chopped off as punishment for not bringing in enough rubber, and as proof to be laid before my officers that the required punishment was well and truly carried out. One of these missionaries saw eighty-one of these hands drying over a fire for transmission to my officials—and of course he must go and set it down and print it."

"The Bulgarian atrocities might be considered as mildness itself when compared with what was done here."

"A. 'The white man told their soldiers: "You only kill *women*; you cannot kill men. You must prove that you kill men." So then the soldiers when they killed us' [here he stopped and hesitated and then pointing to .... he said:) 'then they ... and took them to the white men, who said: "It is true, you have killed *men*."'

"He and I walked out on the plain just near the camp. There were three dead bodies with the flesh carved off from the waist down.

"'Why are they carved so, only leaving the bones?' I asked.

"'My people ate them,' he answered promptly. He then explained, 'The men who have young children do not eat people, but all the rest ate them.' On the left was a big man, shot in the back and without a head. (All these corpses were nude.)

"'Where is the man's head?' I asked.

"'Oh, they made a bowl of the forehead to rub up tobacco and diamba in.'"

"Oh, yes, they call me a "record." They remark that twice in a generation, in India, the Great Famine destroys 2,000,000 out of a population of 320,000,000, and the whole world holds up its hands in pity and horror; then they fall to wondering where the world would find room for its emotions if I had a chance to trade places with the Great Famine for twenty years! The idea fires their fancy, and they go on and imagine the Famine coming in state at the end of the twenty years and prostrating itself before me, saying: "Teach me, Lord, I perceive that I am but an apprentice." And next they imagine Death coming, with his scythe and hour-glass, and begging me to marry his daughter and reorganise his plant and run the business."

"Government starved a woman's children to death and killed her sons."

"Friends came to ransom a captured girl; but sentry refused, saying the white man wanted her because she was young."

"The crucifying of sixty women!"*

GUJARATI.

Shamalsha no Vivah: Published by the Gujarat Oriental Book Depot, Ahmedabad. Paper bound: pp. 28. Price 0-2-0. (1908).

These are selections printed with some explanatory notes from a poem of Haridas, a Lad Bania of Baroda, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century, and who was a well-known disciple of the great poet Premanand. The poem narrates an episode in the life of the celebrated *Bhakta*-poet Narsinh Mehta, whose poverty was proverbial, and who in the celebration of the marriage of his son, Shamalsha, was assisted by the Lord of his heart, Krishna. All this is well-known history in Gujarati literature. To our mind the publication has a special claim to being mentioned here, on account of the special line that this Book Depot has marked out for itself. This publication is the second of a series which is being brought out somewhat on the model of the cheap, popular classics, such as selections from Byron, Cowper, Shelley and other great English poets, at 2*d.* and 3*d.* printed by Routledge, Macmillan and other great publishing houses. We find such a thing done for Persian literature, too, when we see cheap editions of Sa'adi, Hafiz, and other poets, for sale in Indian and Persian bazars Some such effort was necessary to popularise our poets by means of cheap publications, and the depot has supplied the want.

Striyono Sathi i. e., Gunthan Kala, the Art of Knitting, by Alibai Hoshangji Gazdar. Printed at the Cherag Printing Press. Bombay. Illustrated. Pp. 180. Cloth bound. (1908).

The authoress has chosen her models from various English works on Knitting; and has illustrated her instructions with drawings and pictures to guide the hand of the beginner. It is remarkable as a production in Gujarati coming from the pen of a Parsi lady. We say remarkable, because in spite of the efforts in several directions in the community to part from all the moorings which bind them to this country, its language, its dress, its customs, works like this show that it is difficult to do away with the heritage of centuries and that Gujarati will have to serve as their mother-tongue for some time to come.

Tarikhe Zuhur-o-Zaval-e-Dowlat-e-Parsiyan or the history of the Rise and Fall of the Parsi Empire by Jamshedji Palanji Kapadia. Printed at the Bombay Samachar Press: Bombay. Vol. I. Part I pp. 824. h; vol. II Part I. pp. 900 *Cloth bound (1906).*

This is another production in Gujarati from the pen of a Parsi The name of the author, an old veteran of seventy years, is a name to conjure with on all matters respecting ancient Persian history. A fine Zend and Persian scholar, he has been following very keenly the researches and writings of Burnouf, Lassen, and Rawlinson. Cuneiform inscriptions, and the flood of light thrown by researches in Archoeology, Philology, and other sciences, have all helped Mr. Kapadia to produce a work in Gujarati, unique of its kind, stupendous in proportion, interesting and instructives to scholars, and even ordinary readers, and in all matters on a par with works of European savants. The volumes under review are but a fragment, they take us from the dim ages of the past into the light of history up to the death of Darius the Great, son of Hystaspes, B. C. 496. The history is intended to be carried up to the time of the subversion of the Persian Empire by the Arabs in the Seventh Century. We wish the author long life and energy enough to complete this self-imposed labour of love.

* Confessions of the Agents of the Mongalla or *Anversoise* Trust in 1901.—*E. D. M.*

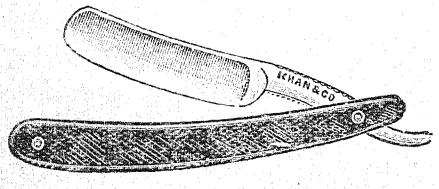
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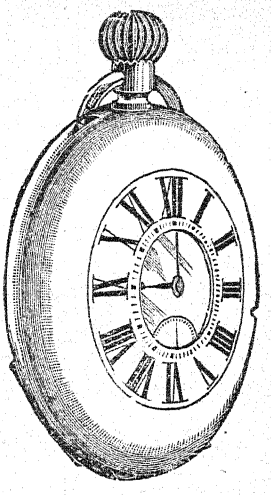
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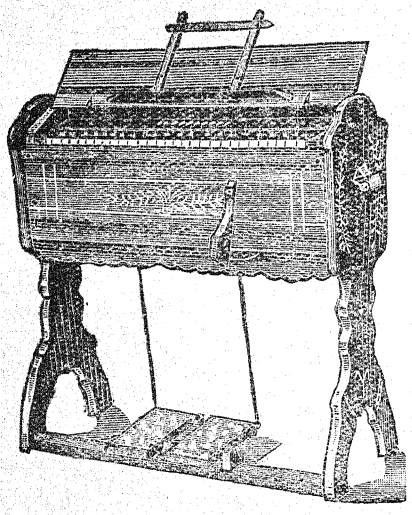
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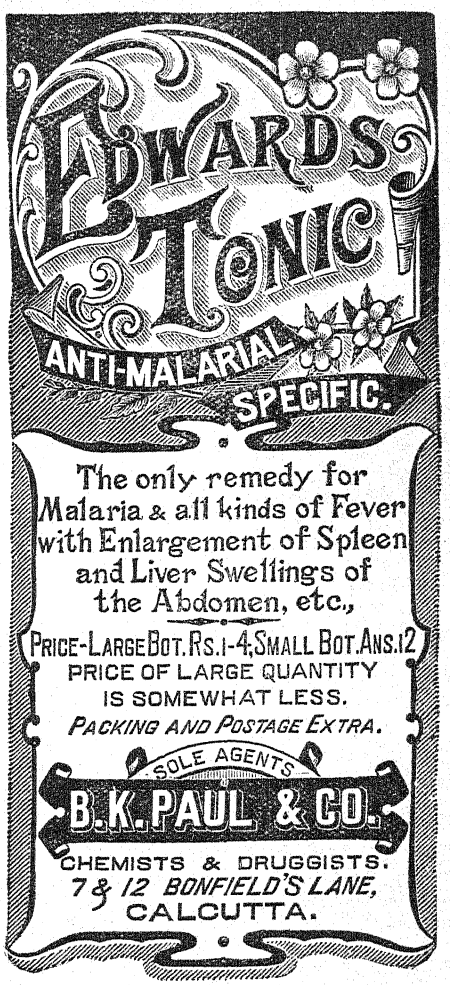
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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta).—

The "Modern Review," which has removed its office from Allahabad to Calcutta, continues to maintain its easy first place in the ranks of Indian periodicals. What with the excellence of its plates and portraits, it brims, month after month, with the most interesting and entertaining articles. The place of honor, in the August issue, is given to an article by Lady Isabel Margesson headed "Liberty *vs.* Authority in Education." There is an article entitled "The Stiffening of Congress" by that well-known friend of India, Mr. John Hopps, Editor of the "Coming Day." We believe the headings of a few other articles would show how very interesting are the contents of the present number:—"The Monopolies of the East India Company;" "Indians in the Far East," "Evolution, not revolution in Russia," "The Bhotias: the People of the Eastern Borderland of Kumaon," "The Arts and Industries of Sind," "The Place of the Kindergarten in Indian Schools," "Nationality and its Basis." There are 15 illustrations, including the portrait of Mr. Tilak.

The Bengalee (Calcutta).—

Punctually on the 1st August the *Modern Review* was issued. But punctuality is not its only virtue. We have been so interested in the number that we have read it right through; and our readers will find that it is fascinating to a degree. We have no hesitation in saying that it is one of the best Reviews published in India or elsewhere. We hope it will meet with the public support which it so largely deserves.

The Gujarati (Bombay).—

Though only in the second year of its existence, the *Modern Review* has out-distanced most of the other monthlies in point of the eminently readable matter it contains unfailingly in every number and the excellence of its art specimens. It is, moreover, a splendid example to many other publications in the wonderful punctuality with which it makes its appearance from month to month. The August number is before us, and there are several informing and instructive articles in it. The opening paper by the Lady Isabel Margesson on 'Liberty *vs.* Authority in Education' is very suggestive and ought to be read by Indian parents as well as teachers. The article on 'the Monopolies of the East India Company,' and several similar articles that appeared in previous numbers, are based on original sources and give the reader an idea of the iniquitous system of monopolies adopted by the East India Company, which was one of the principal causes of the ruin of our industries and trade. We hope we shall not be misunderstood when we say that, highly as we value the immense pains taken by the writer of these articles in digging into the uninviting and massive tomes of blue-books, their value would be enhanced if he adopted a more judicial attitude and were less bitter in tone in discussing the subject. As they stand, the frankly anti-British bias which is exhibited at almost every second line rather detracts from the worth of the production. It is doubtless useful to study economic history but it is scarcely profitable to reopen old sores especially at this juncture. The Rev. John Page Hopps, a high-minded friend of India and of freedom to whom our countrymen must be grateful for his hope-inspiring messages, writes on 'The Stiffening of the Congress.' He wants the Congress to do something instead of contenting itself with the passing of resolutions. The advice is a familiar one, and we could wish that the reverend gentleman had told us what it was that the Congress should 'do.' It is a political assembly with certain defined functions, and these it has excellently discharged. We have perused the article with the care that is due to the author, but must confess that it is disappointing. There are no less than thirteen other articles, all more or less worth reading, besides a number of 'Notes' and well executed illustrations, which are a special feature of the *Modern Review*. It is a wonder how Babu Ramananda Chatterjee manages to make it pay for the unusually low subscription of Rs. 6 year. He has given the inner story of his literary enterprise in the same number. It shows how these ventures in India mean self-sacrifice, anxiety and even loss. We may assure our readers that the *Modern Review* richly deserves generous support and we hope it will secure wider appreciation and patronage from the intelligent public.

India (London).—

With its July number, the "Modern Review," of Calcutta enters upon its fourth volume. The high standard indicated in its opening number had been well maintained, and not the least among its merits is the scrupulous punctuality with which it makes its appearance on the first of every month. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the editor, is to be congratulated upon the admirable periodical he offers to the Indian public for a yearly subscription of Rs. 6 (eight shillings). Its paper and type are excellent, its contents are from the pen of the best-known publicists in India, and its illustrations are always a remarkable feature in each issue.

The Indian Daily Telegraph (Lucknow).—

The *Modern Review* for August provides the reader with a very wide choice of subjects.

Indian Education (Edited by Prof. J. Nelson Fraser, M.A., Oxon).—

The Modern Review begins its fourth volume with the July issue. The issue contains 88 pp. of reading

matter, the English of which throughout is excellent, while the printing is admirably accurate. The illustrations are also liberal and excellent, and without wishing to make a comparison ungenerous to other good magazines in India we certainly think the *Modern Review* has good claims to be considered the most remarkable literary enterprise in the country.

The Indian Messenger (Calcutta).—

As usual, the present number of this valuable journal is full of interesting articles and beautiful illustrations. The editor's notes, by no means the least interesting feature of the journal, are as thoughtful and ably written as ever....The article we have referred to is by Lady Isabel Margesson, a daughter of Lord Hobart and a cousin of Lady Ripon. It forms one of the chapters of a book which the writer is preparing to bring out. It will embody her experiences as a mother absorbed in the upbringing of her children. The article is a most suggestive one, scattering, in a rather diffused manner, thoughts which, when put together systematically and developed into practical principles, will form a new and valuable science of education. The editor of the *Modern Review* seems to share our scepticism as to any important step being taken by the Government towards granting self-government to the people of this country notwithstanding all the pleasant promises contained in Lord Morley's and Mr. Buchanan's recent speeches. On this we quote below a little paragraph from the *Modern Review* characterised alike by wit and wisdom. Our contemporary's parody of Tennyson and the Fourth Gospel will be found to be specially clever.

The Indian Mirror (Calcutta).—

Taking all in all, the "Modern Review," edited by Babu Ramananda Chatterji, has well-nigh established its claim to be the premier Magazine published in India. The punctuality of its appearance is one of its best recommendations, and its general get-up is admirable. The contributions are learned, varied, useful and instructive. We congratulate the Editor on his having secured the help of some well-known English and American writers, besides that of a number of renowned Indian scholars. The nice illustrations that adorn its pages month after month are altogether a novel and most interesting feature of the *Review*. We often wonder how could the Editor serve up such delicious treats to his readers for such an insignificant charge as Rs. 6 per annum. The monthly Notes, penned by the Editor on current topics, are very interesting reading, and though we may not agree with him in all his views and sentiments, we must frankly admit that he often has the knack of saying right things on most subjects in his usually forcible and trenchant style. The August number of the *Review*, which is lying on our table, fully maintains the high standard of its excellence, and affords not only amusement and instruction, but also food for serious reflection. We wish the Editor hearty success in his venture.

The Oriental Review (Bombay).—

We welcome month by month this regular and inspiring magazine, which has come to be our companion. It comes every month charged with a mission and a message of its own, and during the short period of its career has become one of the assets of the Indian nation, towards its higher development and regeneration. It writes always from a national point of view and is marked with an independence of tone which is very refreshing in these days of servile dependence on one or the other of so many parties. The August number is full of rich and varied matter like its predecessors. The place of honour is given to "Liberty *versus* Authority in Education" by the Lady Isabel Margesson, after which comes "The Monopolies of the East India Company," which gives the reader an idea of the iniquitous system of monopolies adopted by the East India Company which was one of the principal causes of the ruin of our industries and trade. Mr. Saint Nihal Sing, whose articles on Indian students in foreign lands are so refreshing, writes this month on Indians in the Far East. It is certainly inspiriting to read of the enterprise, resource, virility, patriotism and religious toleration of Indians in the Far East. After a variety of other articles the editor gives his notes, which are one of the most interesting parts of the magazine. Any one who wishes to be in touch with *the Movement*, as we may well call the movement going on in the country for progress and reform, ought to resort to the glowing pages of the *Modern Review*, especially to the brilliant notes of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, its able and versatile editor.

The Phœnix (Karachi).—

With commendable punctuality, the *Modern Review* for August is laid on our table. As usual, its contents are of charming variety and of absorbing interest. The *Review* opens with an instructive article—"Liberty *vs.* Authority in Education"—from the facile pen of Lady Isabel Margesson, a daughter of Lord Hobart, and a cousin of Lady Ripon. She is now preparing to bring out a book on her experiences as a mother absorbed in the up-bringing of her children.

The article entitled the "Monopolies of the East India Company" is based upon original research and conveys to the reader an idea of the iniquitous system of monopolies adopted by the East India Company, which was one of the main causes of the ruin of our arts, industries and trade. The lesson that is taught to us in the concluding paragraph should be borne in mind by all of us.

"Indians in the Far East" is another commendable article. In this article, Saint Nihal Sing informs us about the doings of our countrymen who are abroad. We are glad to learn from the article that enterprise, resource, virility, patriotism and religious toleration are the salient features of the Indian settlement in the Far East.

Professor J. Nelson Fraser delightfully depicts the charms of the Nilgiris and describes some of the curious customs of the Todas. *En passant*, he discusses the question as to whether the Todas can be called Hindus, and suggests that probably Hinduism is of indigenous growth.

"Evolution, not revolution in Russia" is an attrative article, which would be a revelation to those simpletons who think that modern Russia is nothing but a blood-stained battlefield where the sway of the Anarchist and the Revolutionary Terrorist reigns supreme. No doubt, terrorism and repression are prevalent there. But side by side with the revolution there goes on peaceful

evolution undertaken by a band of patriots. Mr. John Page Hopps, Editor of the *Coming Day* gives the Indian public some suggestions as to what the Indian National Congress ought to do now. He tells us the methods which would be appreciated by John Bull. We hope that his valuable advice would not fall on deaf ears.

The contribution of our friend, Mr. Kundanmal Manghirsing, Editor, *Sind Journal*, upon the "Arts and Industries of Sind" deserves more than a passing notice. It is, no doubt, an able paper and suggests what may be done to revive and preserve the moribund art and industry of our Province. There are other articles of absorbing interest, editorial contributions being particularly the result of considerable thought, research and labour.

Subodha Patrika (Bombay).—

The *Modern Review* for August is out punctually on the 1st of the month. This number like its predecessors is attractive from every point of view. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh who has already laid his countrymen under a deep debt of gratitude to him by his able and informing contributions on educational subjects to Indian monthlies, contributes a very informing article to this number on "Indians in the Far East" by which he means Japan, China, Korea, and the Strait Settlements. As it is well to know how we live in other countries, we extract the following paragraphs from Mr. Singh's contribution.

The United India and Native States (Madras).—

Even if we had forgotten that a new month had come in, the receipt of a new number of the *Modern Review* reminded us that we had entered on the 1st August. The Magazine is punctual in its arrival and the contents show that it is not made up of scrappy articles. The first article in the current number is from the pen of Lady Isabel Margesson who writes on Liberty *vs.* Authority in Education. The article is so helpful that we wish we could quote from it. But it is one to be read as a whole. The Monopolies of the East India Company is based on the original sources. Rider Haggard continues The Yellow God. Professor J. Nelson Fraser writes a charming description of the Nilgiris and describes some of the curious customs of the Todas. Under Indians in the Far East, Mr. Saint Nihal Singh furnishes information regarding some of our countrymen abroad. In Evolution, not Revolution in Russia, the writer shows that Russia is not a blood-stained battle-field where anarchism largely does its work as many people imagine. There is peaceful evolution going on. The illustrated Article on the Bhotias; The people of the Eastern Borderland of Kumaun, is both interesting and entertaining. The photograph accompanying the article was, we are told, specially taken for the Magazine. Mr. John Page Hopps, a well-known Journalist and sympathetic English Politician writing on the Stiffening of the Congress offers some suggestions as to what the National Congress should do now. That the Pacific may in the near future become the battle ground of the East and the West, with the Japanese and the Yankees as the chief combatants, is the apprehension of many. Mr. Satis Chandra Basu considers the probabilities of such a thing happening and shows in an article on The Arrival of the American Fleet in the Pacific Waters and its Historic Significance why India should be interested in the question. Babu Mahananda Gupta, B.A., late Collector of Calcutta, shows in an illustrated paper, that the doctrine of the Divine Triad is not peculiar or original to Christianity; but prevailed in ancient times all over Asia, and is probably of Indian origin. The question of maintaining the fertility of the soil is of foremost importance in Agriculture. Mr. R. N. Tagore of the University of Illinois, writing on Legumes as Nitrogen gatherers, gives the history of the experiments carried on by Western scientists to ascertain how peas, beans and other leguminous plants gather nitrogen from the atmosphere and increase the fertility of the soil. The concluding paragraph gives the conclusion of scientists on the subject. Sister Nivedita has an article on the Place of the Kindergarten in Indian Schools. Mr. B. C. Muzumdar, who has been invited to read a paper at the Third International Congress of the History of Religions, which meets in Oxford next month, criticises Dr. Grierson in certain remarks he has made in the Language Chapter in the Imperial Gazetteer of India. Nationality and its Basis was a paper read at the London Indian Union by Mr. B. K. Das which the editor has thought it worth while to republish. There are 15 illustrations, including reproductions of Raphael's St. Catharine, Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar's "The Killing of Tadaka" (in two colours), and portraits of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and of Mr. Banwari Lal Varma, an Indian traveller. It is a wonder to us how Mr. Chatterji is able to supply such nutritious food for the small charge he makes.

The West Coast Spectator (Calicut).—

The place of honour in the "Modern Review" for August which, as usual, made its appearance punctually on the 1st instant, is given to the article "Liberty *vs.* Authority in Education" by the Lady Isabel Margesson, which shows how parents may retain the confidence of their children even when the latter are grown up. This is followed by the "Monopolies of the East India Company." The writer gives the reader in forcible and clear language an idea of the system of monopelies adopted by the East India Company, and which was mainly rasponsible for the throttling of our industries and commerce. Rider Haggard continues his story the "Yellow God." In his article "Ootacamund, the Todas and some reflections" Professor Fraser gives an interesting sketch of the hill tribe and the charms of the Nilgiris. This is followed by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's illustrated article "Indians in the Far East" in the course of which Mr. Singh gives useful information regarding the pursuits and life of Indians abroad. The writer of "Evolution not revolution in Russia" explodes the common belief regarding Russia that it is a land of assassins, bombs and conspiracies, and points out that the work of peaceful evolution under the direction of patriotic men is progressing in the land of the Czars. The article is illustrated. The most noteworthy article in the current number seems to us to be that on "The Stiffening of Congress" by Mr. John Page Hopps, Editor of the *Coming Day*. Mr. Hopps has some valuable suggestions for Congressmen, chief among them being that the Congress should cease to ask and begin to act. This would not

only be good training for the people, but will "also be precisely what John Bull would understand." Mr. Hopps advocates the establishment of Arbitration Courts, and evidently wants the Indians to give up the "Mendicant policy" and to evolve their own destiny unaided. In "The Arts and Industries of Sind" Mr. Kundumul Manghirsing gives a readable account of the arts aod industries of his province. Among other articles of Interest may be mentioned the "Doctrine of the Divine Triad in Ancient Asia," by Babu Mahananda Gupta, B.A.. the "Place of Kindergarten in Indian schools," and the "Aryan Languages in the Imperial Gazetteer of India" which is intended by the writer, Mr. B. C. Muzumdar, to show the errors made by Dr. Grierson in his article on Languages in the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The "Notes and Reviews" by the Editor display much keenness of thought, breadth of vision and independence. Among the "Notes" are included an appreciative sketch of the Mangalore depressed Classes Mission and Mr. Ranga Rao's labours in the cause of the backward classes, and a trenchant criticism of Judge Pinhey's judgment in the Tinnevelly cases. Mr. Chatterjee's reflections on the ups and downs of Indian newspaper enterprise, which we print elsewhere, deserve to be read by all. There are 15 illustrations in the current number, including reproductions of Raphael's St. Catharine, Mr, Dhurandhar's "Killing of Tadaka" and an excellent portrait of Mr. Tilak. Altogether, the number before us more than fully maintains the Review's reputation as the premier Indian magazine; and it is with shame and regret we hear that the support given to such a high class monthly by our educated countrymen is not at all encouraging.

The World and New Despensation (Calcutta,)—

Punctuality almost religiously practised and carried to excess seems to be the characteristic of the *Modern Review* of which the August number reached us on the evening of the 31st July. Mr. Saint Nihal Sing contributes in it a vigorous article on "Indians in the Far East" from which the following observations full of inspiration for all Indians are quoted.....

The *Modern Review* has been so well received by the entire Indian Press that it might seem superfluous to add another word of praise to what we have already said about it. But when by its own merits it compels admiration again and again and renews our interest in itself there is no harm in our saying so. The punctuality with which it comes out and which has become proverbial now seems to be the least of its virtues. For the August number which, as we have already said, by its over-punctuality, carried the practice of that virtue to excess, has in it articles and illustrations some of which might be worth preserving. The articles are, generally speaking, up-to date. But that is not their only quality. They are illuminating, stimulating, interesting. We quoted, in our last issue, from one of the articles. We quote from another in this. As regards the illustrations, though we do not appreciate all of them, we know that a few will be considered treasures by those who care for noble pictures. "St. Catharine" in the present number is one of these. That divine look arrests the attention and compels reverence. To meet with a representation like that at the threshold of one's acquaintance with the contents of the Review is a privilege the value of which cannot be put into words. Indeed if pitted against each other the simple service which a picture like that does outweighs in value all the information and instruction which the writings contain. While these have their use, that has its beauty. And "a thing of beauty" being "a joy for ever" the introduction of such productions of art as Raphael's "St. Catharine" immensely enhances the value of the Magazine. Indeed, all things considered, the last number of the *Modern Review* only increases our admiration for the ability of its editor in particular and our hopes in the possibilities in the Bengali character in general.

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A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

OCTOBER, 1908

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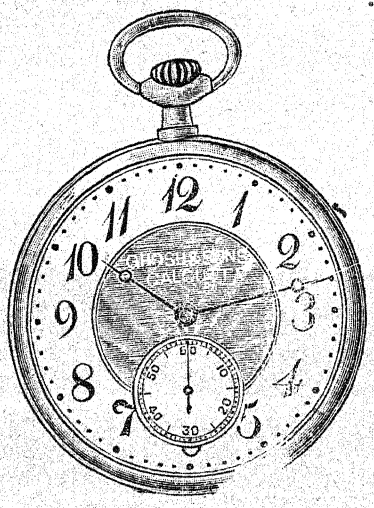
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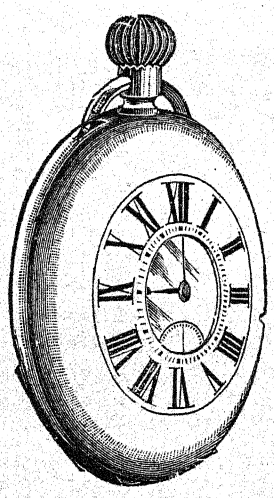
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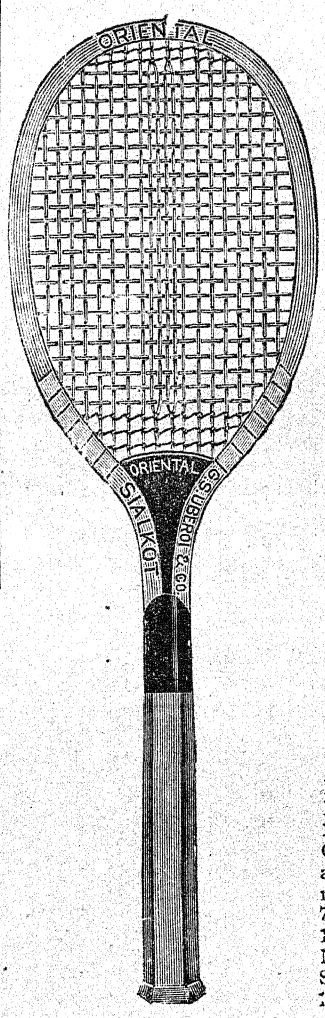
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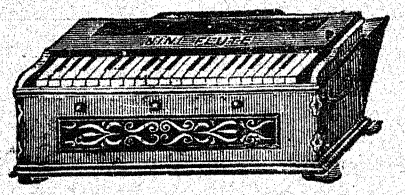
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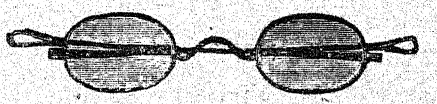
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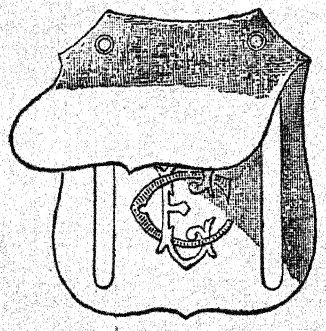


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THE MODERN REVIEW

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WHOLE
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INDIAN ART AT THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS

A paper, entitled "The influence of Greek on Indian Art," read by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy at the 15th Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, held in Copenhagen last August, will be of great interest to students of Indian art, as it is the first attempt yet made by an Indian scholar to dispute the views of European archæologists as to the extent and significance of Hellenic influence on Indian art.

Dr. Coomaraswamy said that, when, in the study of Sinhalese decorative art, he first met with certain peculiar types of ornament, forcibly recalling early Mediterranean forms, he had assumed the common view as to the extent, permanence and importance of the influence of Greek on Indian art, and endeavoured to explain the presence of these decorative forms in Ceylon on those lines. At that time he accepted such statements as those of Grünwedel* that the ideal type of Buddha was created for India by foreigners. He had also assumed that decorative forms such as the continuous branch, palmette, honeysuckle, etc., being known in the Mediterranean area long before their earliest occurrence in India, must have originated where they were first found, and travelled thence to India.

He had since seen reason to doubt the somewhat simple solutions of the difficulties thus provided, and to believe that the influence of Greek on Indian art, however extensive at a certain period, was ultimately neither very profound nor very important. It was the concentration of attention upon the effeminate and artistically unimportant work of the Gandhara school that had given undue prominence to the Greek influence. A certain prejudice had led European investigators to think of Classic Greece naturally as the source of all art, and to suppose that the influence of Classic Art must have been as permanently important in the East as in the West. At the same time, it was not generally realised by Western scholars, who were often not artists, that Eastern Art, whether Indian, or Chinese, had a value and significance not less than that of the Western Art of any time. Indian art so far had been studied only by archæologists, but it was not archæologists, but artists or students of art rather than of archæology, who were best qualified to judge of the significance of works of art, considered as art, and to unravel the influences apparent in them. No artist familiar with the true genius of Indian art could suppose that the work of the Gandhara school was the real foundation of Indian figure sculpture, or that

* Buddhist Art in India, p. 68.

Indian art could have been founded on such a decadent Greeko-Roman basis.

So far from foreigners having given to India the ideal of Buddha, the Gandhara scultures should perhaps be regarded as the work of late Greeko-Roman craftsmen striving in vain to interpret Indian ideals. The sculptures themselves show how little of value in art the Western world had at that time to offer to the East. History repeated itself: the result of foreign influence on Indian art during the first few centuries of the Christian era, was not, perhaps, of any more value than the influence of Western art on Indian at the present day.

The zenith of Greek art was in the fifth century B. C. if not earlier; the zenith of Indian art, in times certainly later than the third century A.D. The sequence of cause and effect would be hard to trace; it was not of the decadence of the one, that the achievement of the other was born.

The question, however, depended essentially upon religious and philosophical considerations. The philosophies of Greek and Indian art were poles apart. Greek art had in it no touch of mysticism. The gods were but grand and beautiful men; sometimes, in the case of many Apollos, it is uncertain even whether the representation is a god or an athlete. Indian art is essentially transcendental: it was not concerned with the representation of perfect men, but with the intimation of Divinity. Beside the recognition of this fact, the question of just how far Classic influence can be traced in the outward detail of Indian art, became of little moment.

The point was not that Classic influence was absent, but that it was itself decadent, and at best un-Indian, and that nearly all that was good in later Indian art was there in spite of it. Of course if it were said, as Mr. Vincent Smith said in the last edition of the Imperial Gazetteer of India, that, "after A.D. 300 Indian sculpture properly so-called hardly deserves to be reckoned as art," the whole question was begged. But no artist familiar with the Indian art of all periods would for a moment accept such a statement, the sculpture dealt with by Mr. Havell—whose "Indian Sculpture and Painting" was the only important work on Indian art, considered as art, rather than as material for the archæologist—was all of a much later date. It may rather be doubted whether any of the most beautiful or important Indian sculpture can be certainly assigned to a date earlier than 300 A.D. It would be truer to say that not until the direct effects of the foreign influence had been forgotten, could the truly Indian schools of sculpture have arisen.

Dr. Coomaraswamy went on to give references in old Buddhist literature to show that India possessed its own schools of sculpture long before the Gandhara period; he referred also to the early use of impermanent materials, which must not be overlooked in considering the origin of Indian artistic ideals.

With regard to decorative forms in Indian art which had been attributed to early Hellenic influence, it should be remembered that in early times the Mediterranean was so much an integral part of the oriental world, that it was easier and truer to explain resemblances by common origin than by borrowings. The reason of the resemblances might be sought, Sister Nivedita had said, in the existence of "a common early Asiatic Art, which has left its uttermost ripple marks alike on the shores of Hellas, the extreme west of Ireland, Etruria, Phœnicia, Egypt, India and China." The real home of this art may have been in Mesopotamia. It owed much to Egyptian influence.

The decorative art of the Greeks was so different in spirit from Indian, that it could have given little to it; they regarded very little any aspect of nature except man himself; they had no conception of ideal art in relation to any but the human form; whereas the Indian love of nature, and sense of unity with it, led the Indian artist to cover surfaces with all sorts of idealized vegetable forms, as well as animal. The idealistic rendering of trees at Baráhat reached a perfection which the Greeks never at any time attained.

In conclusion, Dr. Coomaraswamy said that a consideration of the fundamental difference in the spirit and aims of Classic Greek and true Indian art, made it necessary to reconsider the question of the extent and nature of Greek influence on Indian art. Early India did not, alone in all the world, lack all knowledge of the arts; the period of strong Greeko-Roman influence

was not of great artistic importance; and it was not until this influence had partly faded, that the really great achievement of Indian art was attained.

Mr. E. B. Havell, late Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, congratulated Dr. Coomaraswamy on being one of the first Indians of modern times to understand the significance of Indian art and to come forward as its interpreter. Indians, he said, must generally be the best interpreters of their own art, provided that they had sufficient artistic discrimination to study it from the Indian point of view; but hitherto they had been content to accept without question the views of European critics. Speaking as an artist, and not as an archæologist, he ventured to think that Europe had altogether misjudged the position of India among the great art schools of the world, because it had not yet understood the philosophy of Indian art and how it differed from the art philosophy of Europe. Though there had been a great advance in the appreciation of Indian literature, European artists for the most part were still as ignorant of Indian art as European men of letters were of Indian literature before the translation of Sakuntala. Orientalists had applied the art philosophy of Greece and Italy to the elucidation of Indian art, and European artists had at present little conception of any philosophy outside the range of their own art.

The question which Dr. Coomaraswamy had raised was a very important one for the right understanding of Indian art. It was a direct challenge to the interpretation of Indian art history put forward by professor Grunwedel, whose "Buddhist Art in India" was the recognised text-book for Indian archæologists. He was bound to say that having himself attempted, as Dr. Coomaraswamy had done, to divest himself of European prejudices and to study Indian art from an Indian point of view, he found himself in the same camp.

He would even go further than Dr. Coomaraswamy, and suggest that if the history of Gandharan sculpture were properly understood, we should speak not of the influence of Greek or Græco-Roman art on Indian art, but of the influence of Indian art upon Græco-Roman art. For what he saw in Gandharan sculpture was not the foreign, Græco-Roman craftsmen creating an ideal for India art to imitate, as Professor Grunwedel had said, but the influence of Indian philosophy gradually transforming and Indianising Græco-Roman art. The true Indian ideal of Divinity was not expressed at all in the earliest Gandharan sculpture. The early Gandharan Buddha, as conceived by the Græco-Roman sculptors, was simply a god of the Græco-Roman pantheon posing uncomfortably as an Indian Yogi. The later Gandharan sculpture, it was true, contained the germ of the Indian ideal, but that was only after the Græco-Roman craftsmanship had become more or less Indianised by Indian thought or when the infusion of Brahmanical ideas into Buddhism had begun to create the ideal of Buddha as a divine being, with a superhuman transcendental body.

It was in fact, not Greek influence, or Græco-Roman influence, but Brahmanical ideas in Buddhism and the teaching of the art schools attached to the great Universities of Northern India which created the Indian artistic ideal of Buddha. Most European critics had disparaged Indian sculptors for what they called their ignorance of the anatomy of the human body. They had not realised that Indian sculptors in their ideal of Divinity were not attempting to reproduce a human body but to represent what they conceived to be the spiritual body. An artist should not be depreciated for not succeeding in doing what he does not attempt to do, or for not doing what he deliberately tries to avoid.

It was, of course, evident that certain distinctive Hellenistic forms and traditions of craftsmanship might be traced in Indian sculpture and painting; but was it not true of every great school of artistic thought, both in Europe and in Asia, that it continually used foreign suggestions only to adapt them to its own way of thinking? Art critics would always fall into profound error if they confused this assimilation of foreign forms and foreign technique with artistic inspiration—or the intellectual force which is the motive power of artistic expression, and this, he feared, was what many archæologists had done in their interpretation of Indian art. It would be a useful corrective to this tendency, if instead of pursuing to its utmost limits their search

for Hellenic types in Asiatic art, they would look nearer home and consider the vastly more numerous evidences of Asiatic craftsmanship which abound in European art. We should then probably, gain a much clearer insight into the history of the arts of medieval Europe than we have at present.

Mr. Havell considered it a great artistic error to place the zenith of Indian sculpture at the third century A.D., as both Fergusson and Professor Grünwedel had done. This estimate would make the Amaravati sculptures the greatest achievement of Indian art, and place Indian sculpture at a decidedly low level compared with the masterpieces of Europe. But in his opinion the Amaravati sculptures, though often much superior to Gandharan art, were yet far below the best sculptures of Elephanta and Ellora, which archæologists attributed to the eighth century A.D. Certainly they were far inferior to the splendid Buddhist and Hindu sculpture of Borobudur in Java, which is true Indian art of a much later date than Amaravati. At Amaravati, moreover, the true Indian ideal is not yet perfected: it is still in process of evolution. The Hellenic influence, such as it is, is more pronounced than in any other great group of Indian sculptures, but it is certainly not the dominant note, even at Amaravati.

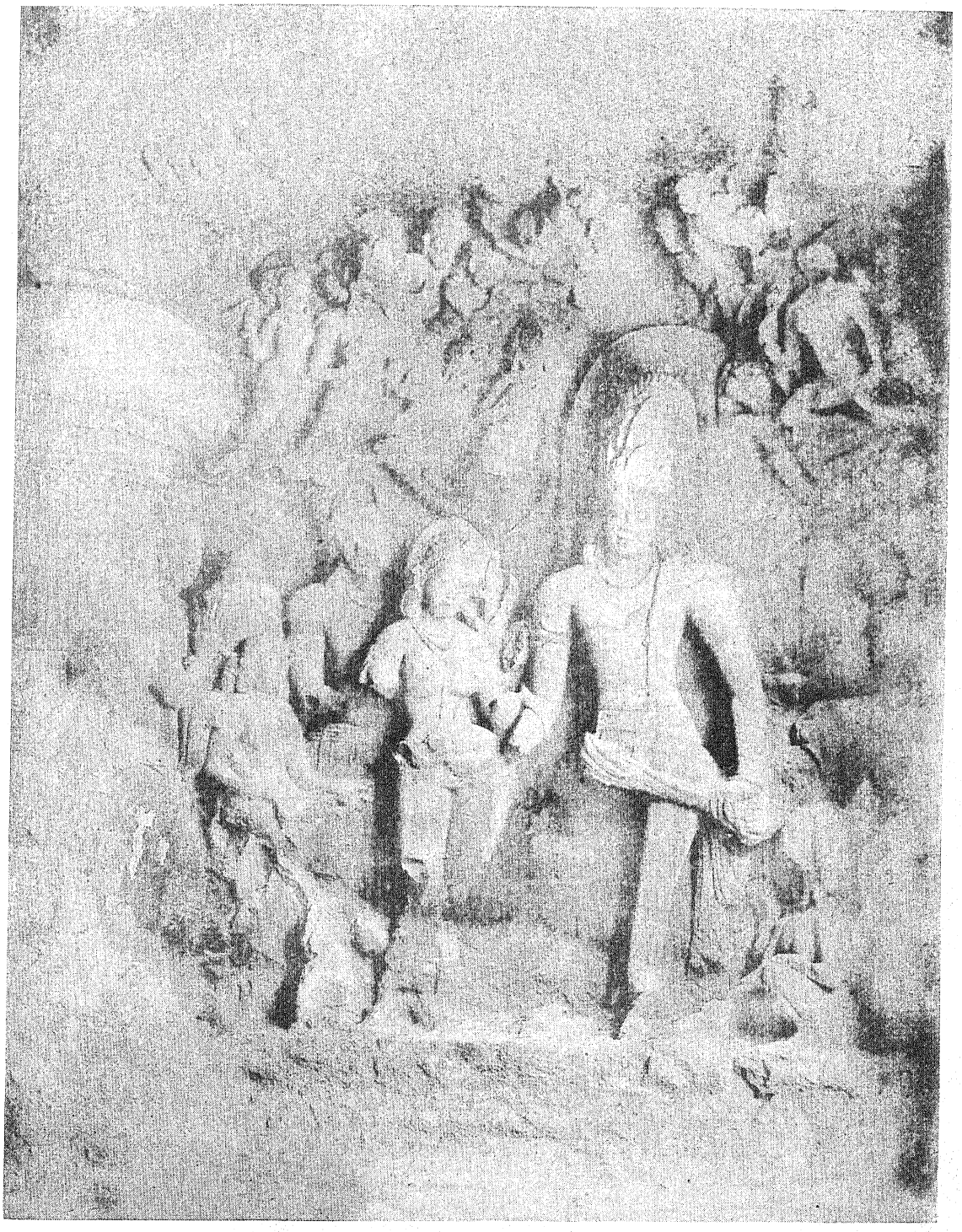
The key to the understanding of the Indian artistic ideal was not to be found in the investigation of Hellenic influence. Indian artists were never so impressed, as Europeans are, by the superiority of the Hellenic ideal as to wish to imitate it. On the contrary, whenever Græco-Roman, or other foreign craftsmen, came their way, Indians made use of them only to convert the Hellenic ideal into one which Indian philosophy created for them—that ideal of a body purer and finer than common mortal clay, freed from worldly passions and desires.

There was one point in Dr. Coomaraswamy's excellent paper to which Mr. Havell said he would take exception. Dr. Coomaraswamy spoke of the idealisation of tree and plant forms at Barábat. Mr. Havell could not see in Asokan sculpture any traces of true Indian idealism, which was absolutely different from the idealism of Greek art. He would describe the sculpture of Barábat and also that of Sanchi as belonging to the early naturalistic school of Indian art. What Dr. Coomaraswamy called the idealisation of the trees at Barábat he would rather describe as a generalisation or conventionalism of form, dictated as much by technical considerations as by a desire to idealise. That was not specially characteristic of Indian art. Indian idealism in sculpture and painting belonged to a much later period. He could not see any distinct evidence of it before the first century of the Christian era, or about the time when the Mahâyâna doctrine of Buddhism began to prevail in the philosophical schools of Northern India.

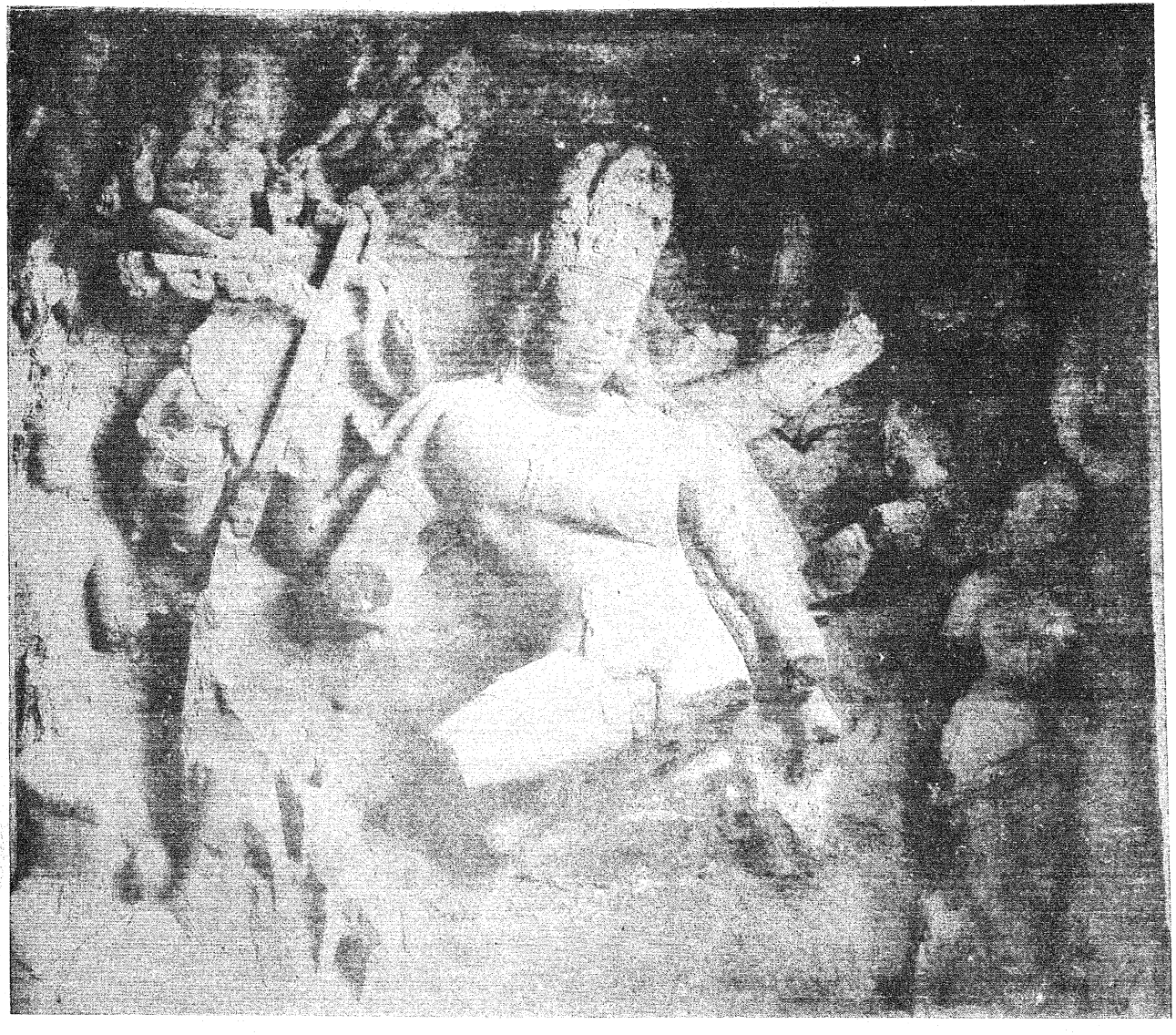
He would not pretend to be able to weigh the literary evidence bearing on the history of Indian art. As an artist he preferred to let art speak for itself. But of this he felt sure that when the great works of Indian art were better known and understood artistic opinion in Europe would place a far higher value upon the achievements of Indian sculptors and painters than that which is now put upon them by archæologists. To him the study of Indian sculpture and painting had been an opening into a new world of artistic thought full of a most wonderful charm. Indian sculpture had reached to higher imaginative flights than any other in the world.

Artists in Europe had now few opportunities of realising this, for there did not yet exist in Europe or in Asia a single Museum in which the great masterpieces of Indian art were at all adequately represented. Perhaps not until some enthusiastic art lover, like Her Jacobsen, whose splendid galleries the members of the Congress had seen in Copenhagen, came forward to endow the study of Oriental art in the same munificent manner, would Europe realise the greatness of Indian art, or what European art owed to Oriental artists and craftsmen.

E. B. H.



THE MARRIAGE OF SHIVA AND PARVATI. ELEPHANTA CAVES.



ARDHANARISWARA, OR SHIVA AND PARVATI IN ONE FORM. [illegible] PRABHANTA.

ELEPHANTA, THE SYNTHESIS OF HINDUISM

AT a great moment in the history of India, the caves of Elephanta were carved out of the living rock. A moment of synthesis, it was, that ages had prepared; a moment of promise that would take millenniums to fulfil. The idea that we now call Hinduism had just arrived at theological maturity. The process of re-differentiation had not yet begun. The caves of Elephanta mark perhaps its greatest historic moment. In all religious sects, the conflict of opinion is determined more by the facts of history and geography than by opposing convictions. What then were the sources, geographic and historic, of the elements that make up Elephanta?

The caves themselves were meant to be a cathedral. So much is apparent, on the face of things. Traces of palace, fortifications, and capital city, must certainly be discoverable in their immediate neighbourhood. On another island, several miles away, is the Abbey of Kenheri, with its *chaitya* hall, and its hundred and eight monastic cells, each two of which have their own water-supply; its bathing tanks, and refectory or chapter floors, on the mountain top. Kenheri was a university: Elephanta was a cathedral: and both were appanages of some royal seat.

How splendid is the approach, through pillars, to the great reredos in three panels that takes up the whole back wall of the vast cell! And in the porch, as we enter this central chamber, how impressive are the carvings to right and left! On the left, in low relief, is a picture representing Siva, seated in meditation. The posture is that of Buddha, and it requires a few minutes of close examination, to make sure of the distinction. The leopard-skin, the serpents, and the *jata*, however, are clear enough. There is no real ground for confusion. On our right is another low relief of Durga, throwing herself into the universe, in GOD-intoxication. Behind her the very air is vocal, with saints and angels chanting her praises. The whole is like a verse from *Chandi*. And we hold our breath in astonishment, as we look and *listen*, for here is a freedom of treatment never surpassed in art, combined with a message like that of mediæval Catholicism. The artist here uttered himself as securely as the Greek. It was only in the thing said that he was so different. And for a translation of that into terms European, it needs that we should grope our way back to Giotto and Fra Angelico, and the early painters of missals.

Our astonishment is with us still, as we penetrate the shadows, and find our way amongst the grey stone pillars, to that point from which we can best see the great central Trimurti of the reredos. How softly, how tenderly, it gleams out of the obscurity! Shadows wrought on shadows, silver-grey against the scarcely deeper darkness, this, in truth, is the very Immanence of God in human life. On its right is the sculptured panel, representing the universe according to the Saivite idea. Siva and Parbati ride together on the bull, and again—as in the carving of Durga, in the porch—the heavens behind them are like a chorus of song. On the left of the Trimurti, finally, is the portrayal of the world of the Vaishnavite. Vishnu, the Preserver, has for Consort Lakshmi, the Divine Grace, and the whole universe seems to hail Him as God. It is the heads of Brahma, Siva, and Vishnu, grouped together in one great image, that make up the Trimurti which fills the central recess, between these panels.

A ledge, for offerings, runs along below this series of pictures. The altar itself, where actual consecration took place, is seen to the spectator's right, in the form of a little canopy-like shrine or Siva-Chapel, which once doubtless held the four-headed Mahadev that may today be seen outside the caves, and now contains the ordinary image of Siva, as placed there at some later date. We may assume that

lights and offerings dedicated here, were afterwards carried in procession, and finally placed before the various divisions of the great reredos. The pillared hall held the congregation, and stands for the same thing as the nave in a Christian church, or the courtyard, in a modern temple like Dakkhineswar.

So much for the main cave. The plan of the entablature is carried out, however, in the architecture, and there are wings—consisting of cells built round courtyards enclosing tanks—to right and left of the great central chamber. And here, the carved animals and other ornaments that support short flights of stairs, and terraces, are all eloquent of a great art period, and a conception of life at once splendid and refined.

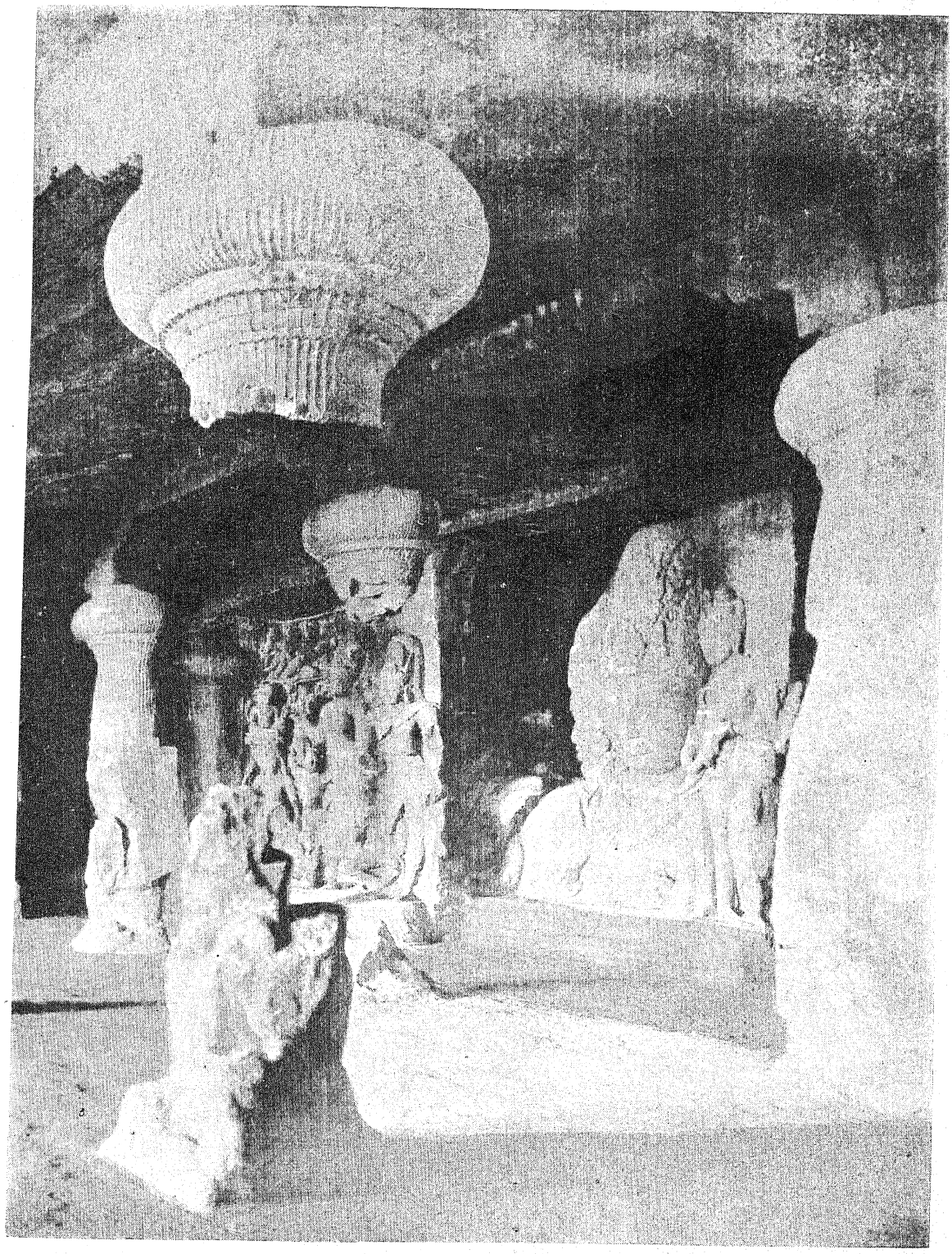
Elephanta, then, perpetuates the Synthesis of Hinduism. How royal was the heart that could portray no part of his people's faith,—even though it held his personal conviction and worship—without the whole! Not Saivite alone, but Saivite, Vaishnavite, and the still remembered worshipper of Brahma, go to make up the Aryan congregation. All alike, it is felt, must be represented. Nay, when we recall the older Kenheri, we feel that not the churches alone, but also the monastic orders, outside all churches; not society only, but also the super-social organisation, denying rank, and all that distinguishes society, had a place here. In the architectural remains within a certain area of the Bay of Bombay, we have a perfect microcosm of the Indian thought and belief of a particular period. The question that presses for determination is, what was that period.

The first point to be noticed is the presence of Brahmá, in this Synthesis of Hinduism. In the Mahabharata, similarly, we are constantly startled by the mention of Brahmá. He is there called the grandsire, the creator, and sometimes the ordainer, with face turned on every side. This last attribute is perhaps derived from some old mysticism, which gave the Romans Janus,—from which our own January—and found expression amongst the Hindus in the four-headed image, and the weapon with four heads called Brahmá's head, as mentioned in the Ramayana. While constantly referred to in the Mahabharata, however, Brahmá is nowhere there invested with new functions. He does not appear as a growing concept of the divine. He plays rather the part of one receding from actuality, who must constantly be memorialised. In the Puranic stories of Krishna, similarly, no one goes to Brahmá with any prayer or austerity, as they do to Siva. He is no dynamic factor in the life of men. Yet He *is* the Creator, beyond all argument, and is in a position to impose on Krishna the test of divinity. He requires to be satisfied whether the young Hero is or is not an incarnation of Vishnu.

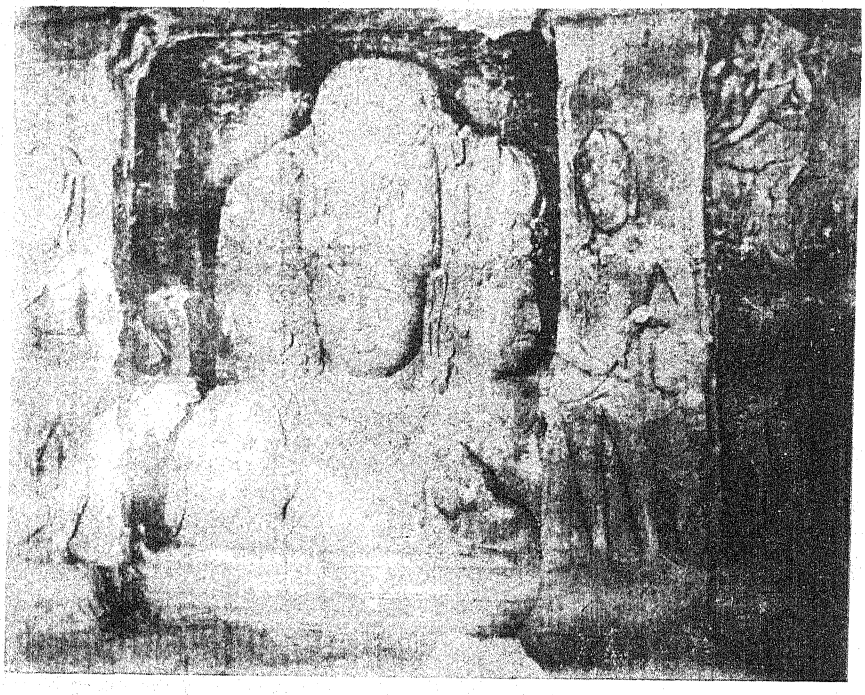
In this quaint story, of a practical joke played by the Creator, there are volumes of history. To begin with, Brahmá is chief and eldest of Hindu post-vedic deities. His position needs no proving. It is accepted by all. Nor does Brahmá himself, in the Puranas, require to be convinced that Vishnu is the equal of Himself. Krishna, as the presentment of Vishnu, is new to Him, but Vishnu Himself He takes for granted. At the same time, while indisputably supreme, Brahmá is by no means a spiritual reality. That place, as other stories and the whole of the Mahabharata show, is filled by Siva, with whom are associated all those philosophical ideas nowadays described as vedantic. And yet, if the story of Krishna had been written in the twentieth century, Brahmá would have had no place in it at all. Partially forgotten as He was then, He is wholly forgotten now. From this evidence then, we may infer that the personality of Brahmá was the first, and that of Siva, the next, to be developed as concepts of Supreme Deity.

Thus there was a period in Hinduism, when the name of Brahmá the creator was held in reverence,—having dominated the theology of a preceding age—and used in conjunction with those of Siva and Vishnu, to make the specification of deity complete. Hinduism, at that time, deliberately preached God as the Three-in-One, the Unity-in-Trinity. This theological idea we find expressed in its purity in the Caves of Elephanta, and perhaps slightly later, in the Ramayana of Valmiki.

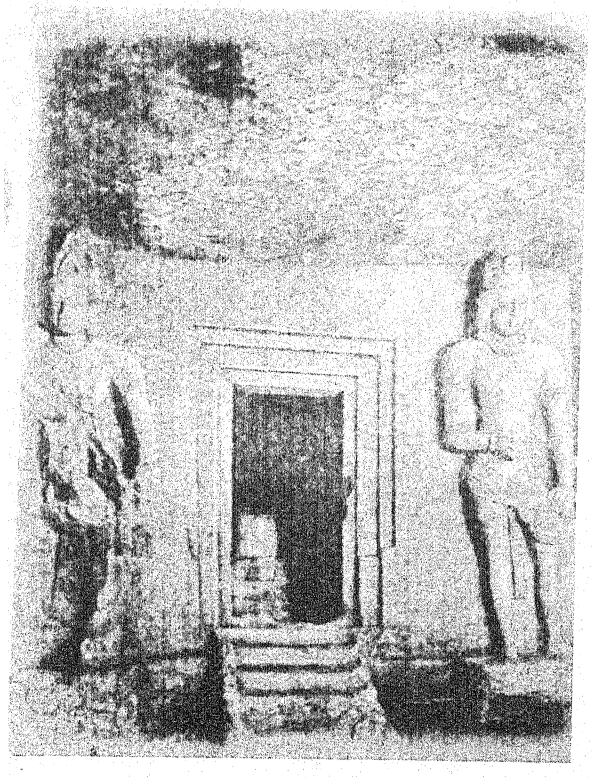
The poet Kalidasa, also, writing both the *Kumara-sambhaba* and the *Raghuvamsa*, would appear to have been under the inspiration of this Hindu idea of the Trinity.



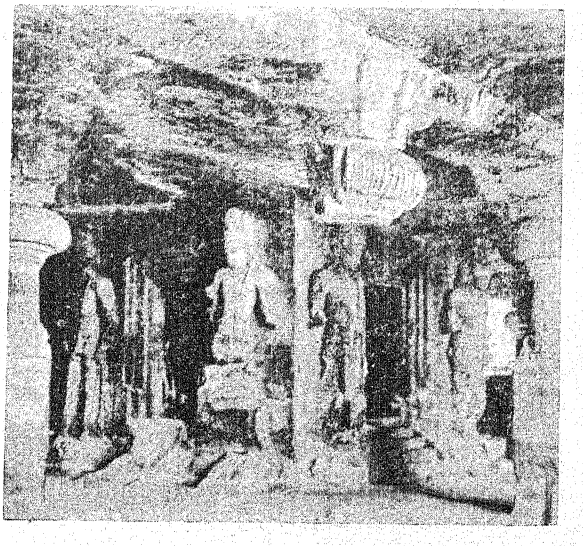
INTERIOR OF ELEPHANTA CAVES SHOWING TRIMURTI.



THE TRIMURTI, ELEPHANTA CAVES.



LINGA SHRINE, ELEPHANTA. A SECOND VIEW.



LINGA SHRINE, ELEPHANTA. A THIRD VIEW.

He shared the desire of the power that carved Elephanta, to represent the synthesis of Hinduism by doing something to concretise both its popular aspects.

But the form under which Vishnu appears in Elephanta is purely theological. It is Lakshmi-Narayana, the idea that to this day is more familiar to the West and South of India than to Bengal. This theological concept—or "divine incarnation," as it is called—was fully formulated, before the Ramayana was written, and is referred to there, much oftener than in the Mahabharata; though that also was meant to prove the identity of a certain Hero with Vishnu. Sita-Rama are from the very beginning argued as the bodying-forth of Lakshmi-Narayana in human form. Krishna, in the later epic, seems to be consciously a second attempt to paint the mercy of God in incarnation.

The ideas that succeed, in India, are always firm-based on the national past. Thus that idealism of the motherland which is to-day the growing force intellectually, can go back, for foundation, to the story of Uma, wedded in austerity to the great God. Similarly, it would be very interesting to see worked out, by some Indian scholar, the root-sources in Vedic literature, of these conceptions of Siva and Vishnu. One can hardly resist the conclusion that each was elaborated independently, in its own region. But it would also appear that both alike represent aspects of God which had been impressed on the popular imagination by the personality of Buddha.

Is such a theory shocking to the Hindu mind? What if it were found to explain all the facts, better than any other? May it not well be, after all, that Hinduism is no creature of a hoary antiquity, rigid and immovable, fixed in stony preconceptions; but, instead of this, young, plastic, creative, tingling with life and vigour, her characteristics carrying their history with them, her errors mere maladies of childhood, to be speedily outgrown?

If this be so, we shall have to think of the Mother-Church as the expression of a people who, between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D., were intensely modern and alive. Indian civilisation has educated its children from the beginning to the supreme function of realising ideas. And ideas grew and succeeded each other, taking on new forms with amazing rapidity, in the period immediately before and after the Christian era. The impression that the chief formative impulse here was the life and character of Buddha, is extremely difficult to resist. On one side the stern monastic, on the other, the very projection into humanity of the Infinite Compassion,—the Blessed One was both of these. His character was the world's proof that God was at once Preserver of His children, and Destroyer of their Ignorance, even while He was but a name for the Supreme Itself. Hence in men's dreams of Siva, we see their effort thenceforth to realise the one, while Narayana is their personification of the other, of these attributes.

Just as Buddha may have been the radiant centre, whence diverged the popular religions, so Benares may have been the spot where the idea of Siva was first conceived and elaborated. Many causes may have contributed to this. The Deer Park, seven miles away, must have been a monastic university before the time of Buddha. Its undisputed pre-eminence is shown, by the fact that he made his way to it, immediately on attaining enlightenment, because it was there that his theory, or discovery, must be published to the world. From this we can see that the monk, although a little apart, must always have been an impressive figure in Benares, which was itself, at this particular period, mainly a commercial and industrial centre, associated with a great Brahminic hearth, of Vedic memory.

After the time of Buddha, while his name still reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the land, Benares would doubtless become a place of pilgrimage, rendered doubly sacred by his memory and by its Vedic altar. The growing opinion that the Deity could take no delight in slaughter must have killed the sacrifices, and the Brahmins of Benares would take to cherishing a system of theology in which the great God was represented as remote, solitary, and meditative. The right of all classes to interest themselves in religious philosophy was indisputable, in face of the work done by the Buddhist Orders, and Vedantic theories and explanations were given freely to all comers, and by them

carried back over the country to their distant homes.

We may suppose, meanwhile, that the memorial stupas continued to be placed in the sacred city, as at other scenes of Buddhist memory, by pious pilgrims. Little by little, the stupas changed their shape. At first plain, or simply ornamented, they came to have the four Buddhas on them, looking North, South, East, and West. Some were then made, by a natural transition, with four large heads, instead of four seated figures. According to the Brahmins, the God of the Aryans was Brahmá, the personal aspect of Brahman. According to the thought of the world at that period, again, God, or Brahmá, was "the Ordainer, with face turned on every side." Hence the four-headed stupa was first, perhaps, regarded as the image of Brahmá. But it could not long be so taken. The new conception of God was growing, and presently, with the post in the middle, it came to be regarded as Mahadeva, and then as Siva. From this time dates that notion of Siva which prompts His salutation as having "five faces."

There was a good deal of hesitation, at this period. Any one who has seen the bathing-ghat at Baragaon, between Behar and Rajgir, will be in a position to judge in how many different directions the emblem of Siva might have been evolved. The four-headed stupa for instance, was sometimes made to refer to Parbati. Finally, however,—with the perfecting of the theological idea of Maheswara,—the modified stupa was taken as Siva. This particular phase must have occurred, just as the Rajputs began to settle in Rajputana, and this accounts for the prevalence of the four-headed Siva in that country. The family-God of the royal line of Oodeypore is said to be a four-headed Mahadeva. In Benares, again, there may be more, but there is certainly one, temple, in the Tamil quarter, behind the monastery of Kedar Nath, where a Siva of the period in question is worshipped to this day. When first erected, this temple was doubtless on a level with the street. Owing to the accumulation of *debris* in the interim, however, it is now some eight or ten steps down. This fact alone gives us some notion of the age of the building.

The image of Mahadeva has gone through many further phases of simplification since the day we speak of, but this Siva of Benares, and the other of Elephanta belong to a single historic period, and the small four-headed stupa outside the Caves, is one of their most precious relics.

Hinduism throbs with the geography and history of India. How futile is the idea that the land had to wait for a railway-system, in order to realise her own unity! In every image of Siva speaks the voice of pre-Gupta Benares. In that complex conception of Krishna which blends in one the Holy Child of Brindaban, the Hero of the Gita, and the Builder of Dwarka we celebrate the vision of the royal house of Pataliputra. In the Ramayana, we unravel the earlier dream of Kosala. And here in Elephanta, on the extreme West, we are confronted with a rendering of the great synthesis that comes after the formulation of Siva, and a moment before the writing of the Ramayana. Whence did Elephanta take her Lakshmi-Narayana? And what must have been the solidarity of the country, when the dream dreamt in Benares finds expression here 1000 miles away, or the Vishnu carven here, is to be sung, in a decade or two, as Rama, in far-away Ayodhya of Kosala!

Wherever we turn, we are met by the same phenomenon, of the marvellous and effective unity of pre-mediæval India. That Narayana who is constantly worshipped in Madras, is the same whose images were wrought in Behar, so long ago as the fifth century. A single style of architecture characterises a single period, from Bhubaneshwar to Cheetore. Every child knows the names of the seven sacred rivers, and the perfect *tirtha*, for every province of India, has taken a man, these many centuries, to the Himalayas, to Dwarka, to Cape Comorin, and to Puri.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

THE WEALTH OF IND, 1650

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.

WHEN Milton wrote the above lines, could he have been thinking of India under Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj and the Peacock Throne? For, the finest example of eastern royal magnificence was afforded by that King's Court. The contemporary history of Abdul Hamid Lahori enables us to estimate accurately the wealth of the Mughal Emperor in 1648. A Rupee of that time was worth 2*s.* 3*d.*, but its purchasing power was about seven times that of to-day.

The **revenue** was 20 *krores* of Rupees (22½ million pounds), of which the newly acquired provinces,—Daulatabad, Telingana, and Baglana,—yielded 1½ *krores*. The Crown-lands supplied the Emperor's privy purse with three *krores* of Rupees (3½ million pounds sterling).

In the first twenty years of his reign, Shah Jahan spent 9½ *krores* of Rupees in rewards and gifts,—about 4½ *krores* in cash and 5 *krores* in kind. His **buildings** absorbed more than 2½ *krores*, as the following List will show:

At Agra—	
The Pearl Mosque and the palaces, and gardens in the fort	60 Lakhs
The Taj Mahal	50 ,,
At Delhi—	
Palaces	50 ,,
Jumma Masjid	10 ,,
New wall round Delhi	4 ,,
The *Idgah* outside Delhi	½ ,,
At Lahore—	
Palaces, gardens, and canal ...	50 ,,
At Kabul—	
Mosque, palace, fort, and city-wall ...	12 ,,
In Kashmir—	
Royal buildings and gardens ...	8 ,,
At Qandhar, &c.—	
Forts of Qandhar, Bust, and Zamindawar	8 ,,
At Ajmir, &c.—	
Ajmir, Ahmadabad, &c.	12 ,,
At Mukhlispur—	
Imperial palaces	6 Lakhs
Crown Prince Dara Shikoh's palace ...	2 ,,
	272⅓ ,,
	=£3,065,625

The Imperial **jewellery** was worth 5 *krores* of Rupees, besides two *krores*' worth given away to the princes and others. Of the former, the Emperor wore on his head, neck, arms, and waist fully two *krores*' worth; these were kept in the *harem* in charge of the women servants, while the remainder (worth 3 *krores*) was deposited in the outer apartments under the custody of the slaves.

His rosary contained 5 rubies and 30 pearls, and was valued at 8 *lakhs*. There were two other rosaries of 125 large round rubies worthy of kings; between every pair of beads was a coloured *yaqut* (topaz?) The midmost bead in each rosary weighed 32 *ratis* (=28 carats) and cost Rs. 40,000, and the price of the two strings taken together reached 20 *lakhs*. They had been mostly collected by Akbar.

Only second-rate jewels were, however, put in the Emperor's rosary (the first named one.) All the largest and finest rubies were reserved for his *sarpech* (aigrette or jewel worn on the turban). This ornament was tied to his crown on the anniversary of the coronation: it had 5 large rubies and 24 pearls set on it;—of these the largest ruby in the centre weighed 288 *ratis* (=252 carats) and was valued at two *lakhs* of Rupees, though in the market it would have been considered cheap at 4 *lakhs*. The total price of the *sarpech* was 12 *lakhs*. On the 11th November 1644 a big pear-like pearl costing Rs. 40,000 and weighing 43 *surkhs* (=124 gr. Troy?) was added to it. The largest ruby (or diamond?) in the Imperial treasury was about 430 *ratis* (=378 carats) in weight and worth two *lakhs*, but it had not the flawless lustre of the central gem of the *sarpech*. Yet another ruby, shaped like

a pear, and weighing 47 *ratis* (=41 carats) only, cost half a *lakh*.

On the 12th March, 1635, Shah Jahan sat for the first time on the newly finished **Peacock Throne.** "Many gems had been collected by three generations of Emperors,—Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan. Of what use were they if the people could not gaze at them?" asks the court annalist, Abdul Hamid Lahori. So, all the jewels in the outer palace (worth 2 *krores*) were ordered to be shown to the Emperor, and out of them he chose the very best, valued at 86 *lakhs*. With one *lakh tolahs* (=3255℔ Troy) of pure gold, equivalent to 14 *lakhs* of Rupees, the artisans of the Imperial goldsmith department under the superintendence of Bebadal Khan, constructed a throne $3\frac{1}{4}$ yds. long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards broad, and 5 yards high, and studded it with these jewels. The inner roof was enamelled and had only a few stones set here and there; but the outside was covered with rubies, *yaquts*, and other gems. Twelve pillars of emerald supported this roof. Above it were placed two figures of peacocks ornamented with jewels, and between them a tree set with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls.

Three jewelled steps led up to the Emperor's seat, which was surrounded on eleven sides with jewelled planks serving as railings; (the twelfth was open, being in front of the Emperor and just above the steps).

Of these eleven rails the most splendid was the middle one, on which the Emperor rested his arm in reclining. It cost 10 *lakhs* of Rupees, its central ruby alone being worth one *lakh*. This ruby had been presented by Shah Abbas, the Persian King, to Jahangir, and had inscribed on it the names of Timur, Mir Shahrukh, Mirza Ulugh Beg, Shah Abbas, Jahangir the son of Akbar, and Shah Jahan! Inside the throne, a poem by Haji Muhammad Jan Qudsi, in 20 couplets, was inscribed in letters of enamel, the last three words (*Aurang-i-shahanshah-i-adil*) giving the date of its construction. Apart from the salary of the craftsmen, the materials alone of the throne cost one *krore* of Rupees.

Such vast treasures would naturally tempt spoilers from far-off lands, and required a strong force to safeguard them. Accordingly, we find that the Imperial **army** in 1648 comprised—

200,000	cavalry,
8,000	*mansabdars* (commanders),
7,000	*ahadis* (guardsmen) and mounted musketeers,
40,000	*foot musketeers and artillerymen,
in addition to	
185,000	cavalry under the princes and nobles.
TOTAL ... 440,000	

These did not include the local militia, posted in the *parganahs* and commanded by the *faujdars*, *kroris* (District Collectors,) and *amlas*,—who must have numbered several *lakhs* more. In a letter written just before his captivity Shah Jahan describes himself as the lord of 900,000 troopers. The total armed strength of the empire, then, approached one million of men, though it did not include all India.†

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* Of these 10,000 accompanied the Emperor and the remaining 30,000 were quartered in the various *Subahs*.

† Authorities, for Revenue (Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, II. 711-714), Buildings (*Ibid* and Waris's *Padishahnamah*, Khuda Bakhsh MS., 101*b*, 116*a*, 122*b*,) Jewellery (Abdul Hamid, II. 391-393) Peacock Throne, (*Ibid* I B. 77-81) Army (*Ibid*. II. 715)

APHORISMS BEARING ON WOMAN'S EDUCATION.

Every national scheme of education must be based on the national heroic literature. Because the ideals of a people are embodied in the national heroes. And only by the realisation of their own ideals can they be enabled to do justice to the ideals of others.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

Western learning is doubtless necessary to the Indian woman. But it should always form a post-graduate course.

RICHMOND NOBLE.

When men come home de-nationalised, their mothers can re-nationalise them. But when the women-folk are de-nationalised, who is to save the nation?

ARUNACHALAM.

THE YELLOW GOD

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By
H. Rider Haggard,
Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FEAST OF LITTLE BONSA.

IT was the night of full moon, and of the great feast of the return of Little Bonsa. Alan sat in his chamber waiting to be summoned to take part in the ceremony and listening the while to that *Wow! Wow! Wow!* of the death drums, whereof Jeeki had once spoken in England which could be clearly heard even above the perpetual boom of the cataract tumbling down its cliff behind the town. By now he had recovered from the fatigues of his journey, and his health was good, but the same could not be said of his spirits, for never in his life had he felt more downhearted, not even when he was sickening for the blackwater fever, or lay in bondage in the City, expecting every morning to wake up and find his reputation blasted. He was a prisoner in this dreadful, gloomy place, where he must live like a second Man in the Iron Mask, without recreation or exercise other than he could find in the walled garden where grew the black cedar trees, and, so far as he could see, a prisoner without hope of escape.

Moreover, he could no longer disguise from himself the truth; Jeeki was right. The Asika had fallen in love with him, or at any rate made up her mind that he should be her next husband. He hated the sight of the woman and her sinuous, evil beauty, but to be free of her was impossible, and to offend her death. All day long she kept him about her, and from his sleep he would wake up, and as on the night of his arrival, distinguish her leaning over him, studying his face by the light of the faintly-burning lamps, as a snake studies the bird it is about to strike. He dared not stir or give the slightest sign that he saw her. Nor, indeed, did he always see her, for he kept his eyes closely shut. But even in his heaviest slumber some warning sense told him of her presence, and then above Jeeki's snores (for on these occasions Jeeki always snored his loudest) he would hear a soft footfall, as, cat-like, she crept towards him, or the sweep of her spangled robe, or the tinkling of the scales of her golden breastplate. For a long while she would stand there, examining him greedily, and even the few little belongings that remained to him, and then with a hungry sigh glide away and vanish in the shadows. How she came or how she vanished Alan could not discover. Clearly she did not use the door, and he could find no other entrance tothe room. Indeed, at times he thought that he must be suffering from delusion, but Jeeki shook his great head and did not agree with him.

"She there right enough," he said. "She walk over me as though I log, and I smell stuff she put on her hair, but I think she come and go by magic. Asika do that if she please."

"Then I wish she would teach me the secret, Jeeki. I should soon be out of Asikaland, I can tell you."

All that day Alan had been in her company, answering questions about his past, the lands that he had visited, and especially the women that he had known. He had the tact to tell her that none of these were half so beautiful as she was, which was true in a sense, and pleased her very much, for in whatever respects she differed from them, in common with the rest of her sex, she loved a compliment. Emboldened by her good humour, he had ventured to suggest that, being rested and having restored Little Bonsa, he would be glad to return with her gifts to his own country. Next instant he was sorry, for as soon as she understood his meaning she grew almost white with rage.

"What!" she said, "you desire to leave me? Know, Vernoon, that I will see you

dead first, and myself also, for then we shall be born again together, and can never more be separated."

Nor was this all, for she burst into weeping, threw her arms about him, drew him to her, kissed him on the forehead, and then thrust him away, saying:

"Curses on this priests' law that makes us wait so long, and curses on that Mungana, who will not die and may not be killed. Well, he shall pay for it, and within two months, Vernoon, oh! within two months —" and she stretched out her arms with a gesture of infinite passion, then turned and left him.

"My!" said Jeeki afterwards, for he had watched all this scene open-mouthed, "my! but she mean business. Mrs. Jeeki never kiss me like that, nor any other female either. She dead nuts on you, Major. Very great compliment! 'Spect when you Mungana, she keep you alive a long time, four or five years perhaps, if no other white man come this way. Pity you can't take it on a bit, Major," he added insidiously, "because then she grow careless and make you chief, and we get chance scoop out that gold house and bolt with bally lot. Miss Barbara sensible woman. She see all that cash she not mind, she say, 'Bravo, old boy, quite right spoil Lady Potiphar in land of bondage, but Jeeki must have ten per cent., because he show you how do it.'"

Alan was so depressed, and, indeed, terrified by this demonstration on the part of his fearful hostess, that he could neither laugh at Jeeki nor swear at him. He only sat still and groaned, feeling that bad as things were they were bound to become worse.

Above the perpetual booming of the death drums rose a sound of wild music. The door burst open, and through it came a number of priests, their nearly naked bodies hideously painted, and on their heads the most devilish-looking masks. Some of them clashed cymbals some blew horns, and some beat little drums, all to time, which was given to them by a bandmaster with a golden rod. In front of them, with painted face and decked in his gorgeous apparel, walked the Mungana himself.

"They come to take us to Bonsa worship," explained Jeeki, "Cheer up, Major, very exciting business, no go to sleep there, as in English church. See god all time and no sermon."

Alan, who wore a linen robe over the remains of his European garments, and whose mask was already on his head, rose listlessly and bowed to the gorgeous Mungana, who, poor man, answered him with a stare of hate, knowing that this wanderer was destined to fill his place. Then they started, Jeeki accompanying them, and walked a long way through various halls and passages, bearing first to the left and then to the right again, till suddenly through some side door they emerged upon a marvellous scene. The first impressions that reached Alan's mind were those of a long stretch of water, very black and still, and not more than eighty feet in width. On the hither edge of this canal, seated upon a raised dais in the midst of a great open space of polished rock, was the Asika, or so he gathered from her gold breastplate and sparking garments, for her fierce and beautiful features were hid beneath an object familiar enough to him, the yellow, crystal-eyed mask of Little Bonsa. Arranged in companies about and behind her were hundreds of people, male and female, clad in hideous costumes to resemble demons, with masks to match. Some of these masks were semi-human, and some of them bore a likeness to the heads of animals, and had horns on them while their wearers were adorned with skins and tails. To describe them in their infinite variety would be impossible; indeed, the recollection that Alan carried away was one of a mediæval hell, as it is occasionally to be found portrayed upon "Doom pictures" in old churches.

On the further side of the water the entire Asiki people seemed to be gathered; at least, there were thousands of them seated upon a rising, rocky slope as in an amphitheatre, clad only in the ordinary castume of the West African native, and in some instances in linen cloaks. This great amphitheatre was surrounded by a high wall with gates, but in the moonlight he found it difficult to discern its exact limits.

Jeeki nudged Alan and pointed to the centre of the canal or pool. He looked and saw floating there a huge and hideous golden head, twenty times as large as life, perhaps, with great prominent eyes that glared up to the sky. Its appearance was quite unlike

anything else in the world, more loathsome, more horrible; man, fish, and animal, all seemed to have their part in it, human hair and teeth, fish-like eyes, and stout, bestial expression.

"Big Bonsa," whispered Jeeki. "Just the same as when I sweet little boy. He live there for thousand years."

Preceded by the Mungana, and followed by Jeeki and the priests, the band bringing up the rear, Alan was marched down a lane left open for him till he came to some steps leading to the dais, upon which, in addition to that occupied by the Asika, stood two empty chairs. These steps the Mungana motioned to him to mount, but when Jeeki tried to follow him he turned and struck him contemptuously in the face. At once the Asika, who was watching Vernon's approach through the eye-holes in the Little Bonsa mask, said fiercely:

"Who bade you strike the servant of my guest, O Mungana? Let him come also, that he may stand behind us and interpret."

Her wretched husband, who knew that this public slight was put upon him purposely, but did not dare to protest against it, bowed his head. Then all three of them climbed to the dais, the priests and the musicians remaining below

"Welcome, Vernoon,." said the Asika through the lips of the mask, which to Alan, notwithstanding the dreadful cruelty of its expression, looked less hateful than the lovely, tigrish face it hid. "Welcome, and be seated here on my left hand, since on my right you may not sit—as yet."

He bowed and took the chair to which she pointed, while her husband placed himself in the other chair upon her right, and Jeeki stood behind, his great shape towering above them all.

"This is a festival of my people, Vernoon," she went on, "such a festival as has not been seen for years, celebrated because Little Bonsa has come back to them."

"What is to happen?" he asked uneasily. "I have told you, Lady, that blood is *orunda* to me. I must not witness it."

"I know, be not afraid," she answered. "Sacrifice there must be, since it is the custom and we may not defraud the gods, but you shall not see the deed. Judge from this, Vernoon, how greatly I desire to please you."

Now Alan, looking about him, saw that immediately beneath the dais and between them and the edge of the water, were gathered his cannibal friends, the Ogula and Fahni, their chief, who had rowed him to Asiki-land, and with them the messengers whom they had sent on ahead. Also he saw that their arms were tied behind them, and that they were guarded by men dressed like devils and armed with spears.

"Ask Fahni why he and his people are bound, Jeeki," said Alan, "and why they have not returned to their own country."

Jeeki obeyed, putting the question in the Ogula language, whereon the poor men turned and began to implore Alan to save their lives, Fahni adding that he had been told they were to be killed that night.

"Why are these men to be slain?" asked Alan of the Asika.

"Because I have learned that they attacked you in their own country, Vernoon," she answered, "and would have killed you had it not been for Little Bonsa; it is therefore right that they should die as an offering to you."

"I refuse the offering since afterwards they dealt well with me. Set them free, and let them return to their own land, Asika."

"That cannot be," she replied coldly. "Here they are and here they remain. Still, their lives are yours to take or to spare, so keep them as your servants if you will," and bending down she issued a command which was instantly obeyed, for the men dressed like devils cut the bonds of the Ogula, and brought them round to the back of the dais, where they stood blessing Alan loudly in their own tongue.

Then the ceremonies began with a kind of infernal ballet. On the smooth space between them and the water's edge appeared male and female bands of dancers who emerged from the shadows. For the most part they were dressed up like animals, and imitated the cries of the beasts that they represented, although some of them wore no clothing whatsoever. To the sound of wild music of horns and drums these creatures danced a kind of insane quadrille, which seemed to suggest everything that is cruel aud vile upon the earth. They danced and danced there in the moonlight till the madness spread from them to the thousands who were gathered upon the further side of the water, for presently all of these began

to dance also. Nor did it stop there, since at length the Asika rose from her chair upon the dais, and joined in the performance with the Mungana, her husband. Even Jeeki began to prance and shout behind, so that at last Alan and the Ogula alone remained still and silent in the midst of a scene and a noise which might have been that of hell let loose.

Leaving go of her husband, the Asika bounded up to Alan, and tried to drag him from his chair, thrusting her gold mask against his mask. He refused to move, and after a while she left him and returned to the Mungana. Louder and louder brayed the music and beat the drums, wilder and wilder grew the shrieks. Individuals fell exhausted, and were thrown into the water, where they sank or floated away on the slow moving stream, as part of some inexplicable play that was being enacted.

Then suddenly the Asika stood still and threw up her arms, whereon all the thousands present stood still also. Again she threw up her arms, and they fell upon their faces and lay as though they were dead. A third time she threw up her arms and they rose and remained so silent that the only sound to be heard was that of their thick breathing. Then she spoke, or rather screamed, saying:

"Little Bonsa has come back again, bringing with her the white man whom she led away," and all the audience answered, "Little Bonsa has come back again. Once more we see her on the head of the Asika as our fathers did. Give her a sacrifice. Give her the white man."

"Nay," she screamed back, "the white man is mine. I name him as the next Mungana."

"Oho!" roared the audience, "Oho! she names him as the next Mungana. Goodbye, old Mungana! Greeting, new Mungana! When will be the marriage feast?"

"Tell us, Mungana, tell us," cried the Asika, patting her wretched husband on the cheek. "Tell us when you mean to die, as you are bound to do."

"On the night of the second full moon from now," he answered, with a terrible groan that seemed to be wrung out of his very heart, "on that night my soul shall be eaten up and my day done. But till then I am lord of the Asika, and if she forgets it, death shall be her portion, according to the ancient law."

"Yes, yes," shouted the multitude, "death shall be her portion, and her lover we will sacrifice. Die in honour, Mungana, as all those died that went before you."

"Thank Heaven!" muttered Alan to himself, "I am safe from that witch for the next two months," and through the eye-holes of his mask he contemplated her with loathing and alarm.

At the moment, indeed, she was not a pleasing spectacle, for in the heat and excitement of her mad dance she had cast off her gold breast-plate or stomacher, leaving herself naked except for her kirtle and the thin spangled robe upon her shoulders, over which streamed her black, disordered hair. Contrasting strangely in the silver moonlight with her glistening copper-coloured body, the mask of Little Bonsa on her head glared round with its fixed crystal eyes and fiendish smile as she turned her long neck from side to side. Seen thus, she scarcely looked human, and Alan's heart was filled with pity for the poor bedizened wretch she named her husband, who had just been forced to announce the date of his own suicide.

Soon, however, he forgot it, for a new act in the drama had begun. Two priests, clad in horns and tails, leapt on to the dais, and at a signal unlaced the mask of Little Bonsa. Now the Asika lifted it from her streaming face and held it on high, then she lowered it to the level of her breast, and holding it in both hands walked to the edge of the dais, whereon priests disguised as fiends began to leap at it, striving to reach it with their fingers and snatch it from her grasp. One by one they leapt with the most desperate energy, each man being allowed to make three attempts, and Alan noted that this novel jumping competition was watched with the deepest interest by all the audience, at the time he knew not why.

The first two were evidently elderly men, who failed to come anywhere near the mark. Their failure was received with shouts of derision. They sank exhausted to the ground, and from the motion of his body Alan could see that one of them was weeping, while the other remained sullenly silent. Then a younger man advanced, and at the third try almost grasped the fetish. Indeed, he would have grasped it had he

not met with foul play, for the Asika, seeing that he was about to succeed, lifted it an inch or two, so that he also missed, and with a groan joined the band of the defeated. Next appeared a fourth priest even more horribly arrayed than those who went before him, but Alan noticed that his mask was of the lightest, and that his garments consisted chiefly of paint, the main idea of his make-up being that of a skeleton. He was a thin, active fellow, and all the watching thousands greeted him with a shout. For a few seconds he stood back gazing at the mask as a wolf might at an unapproachable bone. Then suddenly he ran forward and sprang into the air. Such an amazing jump Alan had never seen before. So high was it, indeed, that his head came level with that of the fetish, which he snatched with both hands, tearing it from the Asika's grasp. Coming to the ground again with a thud, he began to caper to and fro, kissing the mask, while the audience shouted :

"Little Bonsa has chosen. What fate for the fallen ? Ask her, priest ?"

The man stopped his capering and held the mouth of Little Bonsa to his ear, nodding from time to time as though she were speaking to him and he heard what she said. Then he passed round the dais where Alan could not see him, and presently reappeared holding Little Bonsa in his right hand and in his left a great gold cup. A silence fell upon the place. He advanced to the first man who had jumped and offered him the cup. He turned his head away, but a thousand voices thundered "Drink !" Then he took it and drank, passing it to a companion in misfortune, who in turn drank also and gave it to the third priest, he who would have snatched the mask had not the Asika lifted it out of his reach.

This man drained it to the dregs, and with an exclamation of rage dashed the empty vessel into the face of the chosen priest with such fury that the man rolled upon the ground and for a while lay there stunned. Now he who had drunk first began to spring about in a ludicrous fashion, and presently was joined in his dance by the other two. So absurd were their motions and clownlike grimaces and tumblings, for they had dragged off their masks, that roars of brutal laughter rose from the audience in which the Asika joined.

At first Alan thought that the thing was a joke and that the men had merely been made mad drunk, till catching sight of their eyes in the moonlight, he perceived that they were in great pain, and turned indignantly to remonstrate with the Asika.

"Be silent, Vernoon," she said savagely, "blood is your *orunda*, and I respect it. Therefore, by decree of the god, these die of poison," and again she fell to laughing at the contortions of the victims.

Alan shut his eyes, and when at length, drawn by some fearful fascination, he opened them once more it was to see that the three poor creatures had thrown themselves into the water, where they rolled over and over like wounded porpoises, till presently they sank and vanished there.

This farce, for so they considered it, being ended, and the stage, so to speak, cleared, the audience having laughed itself hoarse, set itself to watch the proceedings of the newly chosen high-priest of Little Bonsa, who now had recovered from the blow dealt to him by one of the murdered men. With the help of some other priests he was engaged in binding the fetish on to a little raft of reeds. This done, he laid himself flat upon a broad plank which had been laid ready for him at the edge of the water, placing the mask in front of him, and with a few strokes of his feet, that hung over the sides of the plank, paddled himself out to the centre of the canal where the god called Big Bonsa floated, or was anchored. Having reached it he pushed the little raft off the plank into the water, and in some way that Alan could not see, made it fast to Big Bonsa, so that now the two of them floated one behind the other. Then while the people cheered, shouting out that husband and wife had come together again at last, he paddled his plank back to the water's edge, sat down, and waited.

Meanwhile, at some sign from the Asika all the scores of priests and priestesses who were dressed as devils had filed off to right and left, and vanished, presumably to cross the water by bridges or boats that were out of sight. At any rate now they began to appear upon its further side and to wind their way singly among the thousands of the Asiki people who were gathered upon the

rocky slope beyond in order to witness this fearsome entertainment. Alan observed that the spectators did not appear to appreciate the arrival amongst them of these priests, from whom they seemed to edge away. Indeed, many of them rose and tried to depart altogether, only to be driven back to their places by a double line of soldiers armed with spears, who now for the first time became visible, ringing in the audience. Also other soldiers, and with them bodies of men who looked like executioners, showed themselves upon the further brink of the water and then marched off, disappearing to left and right.

"What's the matter now?" Alan asked of Jeeki over his shoulder.

"All in blue funk," whispered Jeeki back, "joke done. Get to business now. Silly fools forget that when they laugh so much. Both Bonsas very hungry, and Asika want wipe out old scores. Presently you see."

Presently Alan did see, for at some preconcerted signal the devil priests, each of them, jumped with a yell at a person near to them, gripping him or her by the hair, whereon assistants rushed in and dragged them down to the bank of the canal. Here, to the number of a hundred or more, a wailing, struggling mass, they were confined in a pen like sheep. Then a bar was lifted and one of them allowed to escape, only to find himself in a kind of gangway which ran down into shallow water. Being forced along this he came to an open space of water exactly opposite to the floating fetishes, and there was kept awhile by men armed with spears. As nothing happened they lifted their spears and the man bolted up an incline and was lost among the thousands of spectators.

The next one, evidently a person of rank, was not so fortunate. Jumping into the pool off the gangway, he stood there like a sheep about to be washed, the water reaching up to his middle. Then Alan saw a terrible thing, for suddenly the horrid, golden head of Big Bonsa, towing Little Bonsa behind it, began to swim with a deliberate motion across the stream until, reaching the man, it seemed to rear itself up and poke him with its snout in the chest as a turtle might do. Then it sank again into the water and slowly floated back to its station, directed by some agency or power that Alan could not discover.

At the touch of the god the man screamed like a horse in pain or terror, and soldiers leaping on him with a savage shout, dragged him up another gangway opposite to that by which he had descended, whereon, to all appearance more dead than alive, he departed into the shadows. The horns and drums set up a bray of triumph, the Asika clapped her hands approvingly, the spectators cheered, and another victim was bundled down the gangway and submitted to the judgment of the Bonsas, which came at him like a hungry pike at a frog. Then followed more and more, some being chosen and some let go, till at last, growing weary, the priests directed the soldiers to drive the prisoners down in batches until the pen in the water was full as though with huddled sheep. If the horrible golden masks swam at them and touched one of their number, they were all dragged away; if these remained quiescent, they were let go.

So the thing went on, until at length Alan could bear no more of it.

"Lady," he said to the Asika, when she paused for a moment from her hand-clapping, "I am weary, I would sleep."

"What," she exclaimed, "do you wish to sleep on such a glorious night, when so many evil-doers are coming to their just doom? Well, well, go if you will; for then my promise is off me, and I can hasten this business and deal with the wicked before the people, according to our custom. Goodnight to you, Vernoon, to-morrow we will meet," and she called to some priests to lead him away, and with him the Ogula cannibals whom she had given to him as servants.

Alan went thankfully enough. As he plunged into one of the passages the sound of frightful yelling reached his ears, followed by loud, triumphant shouts.

"Now you gone they kill those who Bonsa smell out," said Jeeki. "Why you no wait and see? Very interesting sight."

"Hold your tongue," answered Alan savagely. "Did you think so years ago when you were put into that pen to be butchered?"

"No, Major," replied the nnabashed Jeeki, "not think at all then, too far gone. But see other people in there, and know it not you, *quite* different matter."

They reached their room. At the door of it Fahni and his followers were led off to some quarters near by, blessing Alan as they went because he had saved their lives.

"Jeeki," he said, when they were alone, "tell me what makes that hellish idol swim about in the water picking out some people and leaving others alone?"

"Major, I not know; no one know except head priests and Asika. Perhaps there man underneath, perhaps they pull string or perhaps fetish alive, and he do what he like. Please don't call him names, Major, or he remember and come after us one time, and that bad job," and Jeeki shivered visibly.

"Bosh!" answered Alan, but all the same he shivered also.

"Jeeki," he asked again, "what happens to those people whom the Bonsas smell out?"

"Case of good-bye, Major. Sometimes they chop off nut, sometimes they spiflicate in gold tub, sometimes priest-man make hole in what white doctor call diagram and shake hands with heart—all matter of taste, Major, just as Asika please. If she like victim chop off head; if she not like him—do worse things."

More than satisfied with this information, Alan went to bed. For hour after hour that night he lay tossing and turning, haunted by the recollection of the dreadful sights that he had seen and of the horrible Asika, beautiful and half-naked, glaring at him amorously through the crystal eyes of Little Bonsa. When at last he fell asleep it was to dream that he was alone in the water with the god, which pursued him as a shark pursues a shipwrecked sailor. Never did he experience a nightmare that was half so awful. Only one thing could be more awful—the reality itself.

(To be continued.)

AURANGZIB'S DAILY LIFE

I have already described in the September number how the Emperor Shah Jahan spent his time. Today I present to the reader an account of his successor Aurangzib's daily life at Delhi at the beginning of his reign, as supplied by the contemporary Persian history *Alamgirnamah*. Aurangzib was a strict Muhammadan, a veritable Puritan in the purple. Hence his life was marked by greater seriousness, religious devotion and aversion to amusement than his father's. He scorned delights and lived laborious days.

Aurangzib's Routine of work.

A.M.
5 ...Wakes—Morning Prayer—Devotional reading.
7-30...Justice in Private Chamber.
8-30...*Darsan*—Review—Elephant fights.
9-15...Public Durbar.
11 ...Private Audience.
11-50...Harem—Siesta.
P.M.
2 ...*Zuhar* Prayer.
2-30...Private Chamber—Study—Business—*Asar* Prayer—State affairs.
5-30...Evening salute in the Private Audience Hall—Sunset Prayer.
6-40...*Soiree* in the *Diwan-i-khas*.
7-40...Court dismissed—*'Isha* Prayer.
8 ...In the Harem—Religious meditation and reading—Sleep.

Morning Prayer.

Rising from his bed sometime before dawn, the Emperor performed his morning ablutions, went from the *harem* to the mosque attached to the Hall of Private Audience (*diwan-i-khas*), and sat there facing the west, waiting for the time of the Morning Prayer as indicated by the *Hadis* (or Muhammad's Traditions). After performing this religious rite, he read the *Quran* and the Prophet's *Traditions* till the breakfast hour, (say 7-30 A.M.).

Court of Justice in Chamber.

Then he went to his private chamber (*khilwatgah*), to which only a few confidential officers and his personal attendants were admitted, and sat on the throne dispensing justice, the first duty of a king. The superintendents of the law-courts pre-

sented to him all aggrieved persons, who had come either from the capital or from the far-off provinces to seek justice at its fountain head. Their plaints were reported, and then the Emperor personally examined them to find out the truth.

On the basis of the facts so ascertained, all cases coming under Canon Law were decided according to the *Quranic* injuctions. Common-law cases were tried according to the customary procedure and regulations of the Empire, evidently at the Emperor's own discretion. Needy and miserable plaintiffs were helped with money from the public treasury.

Darsan.

Next, he entered the bed-chamber and showed his face at one of its windows, called 'the window of *darsan*,' which over-looked the broad sandy beach of the Jumna. A vast and varied crowd filled this plain at the foot of the fort, in expectation of the Emperor's appearance. Here the army was often reviewed, and here too were paraded the retainers of the nobles who accompanied the Emperor when he rode out in procession to perform the Friday prayer in the vast Jumma Masjid of Delhi. Elephant-combats, the training of war elephants to charge cavalry without fear, and the parade of newly captured untamed elephants, took place in this plain, as was also the case under Shah Jahan.

Public Durbar.

After passing three quarters of an hour at the *darsan* window, the Emperor, at about 9-15 A.M., took his seat in the alcove overlooking the *Diwan-i-am*, and transacted public affairs of the same kind and in the very same way as Shah Jahan had done. This took nearly two hours.

Private Audience.

Some time before noon he withdrew to the *Diwan-i-khas*, and held a private or select audience, conducting confidential business and bestowing gifts till noon. Here were admitted a few nobles, clerks, servants, mace-bearers, the Imperial retinue, the special watchmen (*Khas-chawki*), many slaves, the standard-bearers and such other necessary persons only. At this audience his business and pleasure were identical with those of Shah Jahan, as described in the previous article. The despatches of the provincial viceroys and governors of towns were either read by the Emperor or reported in brief abstracts by the Grand *Wazir*. The Emperor's orders were taken, and their purport dictated by the Wazir to the secretaries (*munshis*) who drafted the replies. Many of these were looked over and revised by the Emperor; then they were copied out in fair and placed before His Majesty for being signed and sealed. Sometimes he wrote in his own hand the beginnings of the letters to the high grandees, either to do them greater honour or to make the order more urgent.

Harem.

It was now almost noon, and the Emperor retired to the *Harem* to take his well-earned rest. After eating his meal, he slept for an hour to refresh his body and spirits.

Prayer.

But shortly before the *Zuhar* prayer (about 2 P.M.) he was up again, washed himself, and waited in the palace mosque reciting God's names and telling his beads. This prayer was performed in company, as recommended by the Prophet. The congregation privileged to join the Emperor in his devotions, consisted of *ulema* (theologians), Syeds, Shaikhs, *faqirs*, and a few of His Majesty's close attendants and *khawases*.

In the Private Chamber.

Thereafter the Emperor went to his Private Chamber, situated between the *Harem* and the Hall of Private Audience (named the *Ghusal-khanah*), and engaged in works of piety, such as, reading the *Quran*, copying it, collating his transcript of it, hunting through Arabic jurisprudence for precedents in Canon Law, &c. Or His Majesty read the books and pamphlets of the pious men and saints of all ages. Then, urgent affairs of state forced themselves on his attention. The petitions of aggrieved parties rich enough to buy the mediation of the favourite courtiers, were now submitted. On some days, work being over, His Majesty visited the *Harem* again for an hour, heard the petitions of poor women, widows, and orphans, and satisfied them with money, lands, or ornaments.

By this the time for the *'Asar* prayer

(4 P.M.) arrived. It was performed in company in the mosque close to the Hall of Private Audience; afterwards the Emperor returned to his Private Chamber and spent the remaining short period in the work of administration.

Evening Salute and Prayer.

About half an hour before sunset, His Majesty visited the Hall of Private Audience and sat on the throne. A little work was done. The courtiers made their bows. The nobles and officers, who had sentry duty that night, presented themselves in full accoutrement, and were marshalled by the Mir Tuzuk and the sergeants according to their ranks on the two sides of the Imperial standard of cows' tails and balls. The chief men formed a line in front; the hind ranks were made up by the subordinates. The paymasters made them salute, according to the Imperial regulations.

The sun was now setting. Piercing the evening air came the loud cry,—

God is most great! God is most great! I testify that there is no deity except God and that Muhammad is His Apostle! Come to prayer! Come to prayer! Come to salvation!

It is the *muazzin* or crier of the mosque, chanting from the church-spire the call to prayer. What the *Angelus* is to the French peasantry, the *azan* is to the Muslim world. All work was at once suspended. The Emperor withdrew his mind from earthly affairs, and listened with great reverence to the call. At every pause in the crier's voice, he interjected, like a pious Mussalman, these responses:—

Yes, God is most great! I testify that there is no deity except God and that Muhammad is the Apostle of God! I have no power or strength except from God! What He willeth shall be, and what He willeth not shall not take place.

Then he rose from the throne, went to the mosque in full congregation and performed the evening prayer and certain non-obligatory extra rites of devotion (*viz.*, the *sunnah* and the *nafl*.) These acts of piety occupied more than half an hour.

Soiree in the Diwan-i-khas.

The *Diwan-i-khas* (or Hall of Private Audience) was lit up with camphorated candles and torches, and golden lanterns, making it rival the vault of the sky dotted with myriads of twinkling stars. The Emperor arrived here from the mosque and occupied the throne. The *Wazir* reported on all affairs of the revenue department, both general and particular, and got his orders. Other kinds of state business were also done. There was no music or dance, as Aurangzib had banished these mundane vanities from his Court in the 11th year of his reign (1668 A.D.) The assembly continued for more than an hour; and shortly before 8 P.M. the call to the *'Isha* prayer was heard; the court was dismissed.

The Emperor prayed in the adjoining mosque with only his close attendants and *Khawases*, and then retired to the *Harem*, but not to sleep. Several hours were here spent in prayer and religious meditation, before his tired frame sank into its necessary repose.

This daily routine was varied on three days of the week. On Friday, the Islamic Sabbath, no Court was held. **Wednesday** was sacred to justice, and no public durbar was then held, but the Emperor went straight from the *darsan* to the Private Audience Hall, thronged with the law officers, *Qazis*, *muftis*, scholars, theologians, (*ulema*), judges, and the prefect of police for the City. None else was admitted unless his presence was needed. The Emperor went on personally judging cases till noon.

On **Thursday** he gave his Court a half-holiday, as we get on Saturday in British India. The usual routine was followed up to noon; but there was no afternoon court, nor any assembly in the *Diwan-i-khas* at night. The whole evening was spent in prayer and sacred reading, and the world and its distractions were kept out.

If we may believe the Court historian, Aurangzib slept only three hours out of twenty-four.* It was a very strenuous life that this Emperor led. All work and no play gave to his court a cold, sombre and dreary aspect. He seems to have taken for his motto the following words of Louis XIV., whom he greatly resembled in his foreign policy, religious intolerance, love of centralised imperialism, and unbounded egotism and industry:—"One must work hard to reign, and it is ingratitude and presumption towards God, injustice and tyranny towards man, to wish to reign without hard work."

JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.

* The materials for this article have been taken from the *Alamgirnamah*, 1096—1106.

NATURE-METHODS IN EDUCATION

Kindergarten Games.

By a London Teacher.

ALL children's games are dramatic in character.

The child acts the life he sees around him, or the story that has struck him, with the instinctive desire to make it his own by experiment. The classical utterance of two thousand years ago on this subject is in all our minds—"Children sitting in the market-place, and calling one to another, 'We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you and ye have not wept.'" The wedding and the funeral had both been imitated, and to this day the children in our streets and nurseries repeat such ceremonies whenever they have a chance of observing them.

But some of the little dramas which result from this process have qualities of completeness and elasticity which makes them unusually delightful to the small players. And these will be singled out for frequent repetition, and tried to be passed on from one generation of children to another, crystalised by tradition, into "the game." In this way, as Mrs. Gomm puts forth in her charming volume of Village Games, it is extremely probable that our kissing-games are derived from prehistoric marriage-customs, and "Green Gravel" and others of like ilk, from the ancient burial.

Nothing is easier than to take advantage of this trait of child-nature, in order to introduce a new element of fun into the party or the home.

Trades and Industries are excellent subjects for play of this kind. Take the *Blacksmith* for instance. Most children have seen a smithy. Some grown up person therefore is easily understood when he proceeds to tell a story of a horse that wanted to take its master home in good time, but suddenly went lame.

The master discovered that a shoe had been cast.

So the poor creature had to be cheered on, till at last they reached a village, and in the village a forge. How delightful! The rider dismounted and called for the blacksmith. Then a new shoe was brought, the horse's foot lifted gently, to see if it would fit. It was too large. So the blacksmith put it into the furnace till it grew very hot and —?—"soft" sing the children, and then he took it out and laid it on the anvil (holding out the left fist clenched). Next he took the great hammer in the other hand (clenching the right fist), and swung it back over his shoulder, and down upon the shoe,—up, down, up, down,—till at last it was the right size and the right shape to nail on the horse's hoof.

"Now, children, here is the smithy fire in the middle, and we are a ring of blacksmiths. Swing your hammers and bring them down on your anvils—'Cling, clang, the hammer falls, and the sparks light up the walls.'" (Galling songs—Sinclair—published by Wilson.)

The children repeat the rhyme to a simple tune, suiting actions to words. Every now and then a new touch is added. The rider brings the lame horse up to the ring, and the smith takes the bellows to blow the fire up. But after each break of this kind comes the old refrain "Cling-clang, the hammer falls, and the sparks light up the walls."

Other trades—such as the Baker, the Builder, the Joiner—may be invented, or "The Mulberry Bush" might be adapted for a series of such illustrations.

Objects of common interest—like the windmill, fan, clock, ship and so on—make good central motives for their plays.

The main rules are to begin with a story and glide insensibly into action, always using some short easy verse or couplet to accompany the movement with song.

As the object is *fun*, the scientific aspect should not obtrude itself, so that only as much of the given game ought to be taken at once as the children will enjoy having.

Some songs of course bear this division better than others, and from this point of view, few can compare with Mrs. Grimston Chant's "Golden Boat."

The children sit on the floor, behind each other, as in a boat. They then bend forwards and backwards, imitating the act of rowing, and sing as they do so:—

"Here we float in our golden boat, Far away, Far away,
Here we float in our golden boat, Far away."

This is really the refrain—and the refrain only—but it is quite possible to take it alone, and amuse the children time after time by adding to it on separate occasions.

At the next stage they stop rowing, and move their hands up and down on the carpet as if dipping them in water.

"See how we splash and water dash,—
while in the air the sun shines fair—
Singing of birds and lowing herds, Far away,
Far away."
"Here we float &c. &c."

The steerman is represented by the tiniest standing at the head and waving a flag.

Before long, if there are enough to do it, there will be a demand for two boats, and the University Boat-Race will be some of the matter dramatised.

No child is too young to join in these amusements, and boys of ten and twelve do not like to be left out.

There is, however, another class of play, which adapts itself by more rapid graduations to the older members:—

The *Descriptive or Nature-Games*—

Names of trees, such as "Blackthorn" and the ashes of some myths are to be found scattered up and down amongst the games of English country-sides, but amongst the modern additions to the group one of the favourites is *The Pigeon House.*

(1) A ring of children, with hands joined and hanging loosely sings:—

"Our pigeon-house we open so"—raising the arms into arches.

(2) A number of little ones—who were huddled together with heads down and wings folded, as it were, in the middle of the circle,—now scatter and go away through the open arches, beating their wings and all singing—

"The pigeons all fly out to and fro.
They fly away, where'er they please,
To sunny fields and shady trees,
But————"

(3) The birds beginning to come home—at the second line take their first place—

"When they return to their home once more,
We hasten to close the pigeon-house door."

(4) Hands drop, the ring closes, and while all the children kneel and shut their eyes, symbolising sleep, the doves in the middle send up a very low—

"Roo-coo roo coo roo coo roo coo—
Roo coo roo coo roo coo roo coo."

That this is a success is proved beyond dispute when its repetition is eagerly demanded time after time. It is well, of course, to change the children who are "pigeons" each time, so as to give all a turn. Some mothers also demand from the little wanderers an account of something seen in their travels.

Another action-song of this kind is "The Farmer"—well known to most people—in which a march is taken, imitating the movements of sowing, reaping, thrashing and sifting.

Birds building their nests, hens with their chickens, the feeding of poultry, the shepherd with sheep and dog, fishes, snails, rabbits, frogs, trees, raindrops and streamlets, all afford opportunities for the invention of these delightful games. Or songs on these subjects may be adapted to the purpose.

One of Walter Crane's booklets—"The Baby's Opera"—contributes an excellent number in "A jolly fat frog lived in the river Seine O!"—

Miss Christina Rossetti's "Sing-Song" is full of charming examples,—such as "Boats sail on the rivers" and "A white hen sitting on white eggs there."

Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson is rich in suggestions, such as—"The sun is not abed when I at night upon my pillow lie,"—a poem easily worked up as an action-march.

But there is still another class of play which grows up spontaneously amongst children—and may be encouraged by their elders with the best results—"*The Historical and Legendary Game.*"

Various of our old Folklore friends—such as "The Rovers,"—"King William's and King George's men," and "Napoleon had an army"—belong to this class—but new creations will occur at any party where the mothers care to tell a story of Robin Hood and Fair Rosamund, or the Execution of

Charles I, or legends of William Tell or Joan of Arc.

And the children will take the whole business into their own hands, if the story be but well told.

Or, if the narration be felt as a task to be avoided, they may act out their fairy stories —"Cinderella" or "Beauty and the Beast" offer no difficulties which the hot imagination of childhood cannot overcome, with intense pleasure to itself, so long as it is stimulated to express its sense of the story not bound by elaborate dress and preparations, into a self-conscious effort to fill a position in a cast.

The examples given in this article are all taken from English life, scenery, history and legend. For Indian children Indian examples will not be very difficult to suggest.

GOLDEN BENGAL

'TIME was, not more distant than a century and a half ago, when Bengal was much more wealthy than was Britain.' So said the late William Digby in his book, *'Prosperous' British India.** To many people this statement will probably seem extravagant. Certainly in the Indian histories which are taught in our schools and colleges, we find nothing in support of such a proposition. An attempt will be made in this article to illustrate the above passage by authentic extracts from sources some of which were hitherto untapped.

A very brief retrospect of the century closing with the year 1750, made by a semi-official writer,† will give us an idea of the condition of Bengal in the period immediately preceding the consolidation of the Company's rule in that province.

"From the establishment of Aurangzebe on the imperial throne until the invasion of Nadir Shah, a period of eighty years, Bengal enjoyed profound peace without, and experienced only a few transient commotions internally. Under the Government of the two last legitimate Viceroys, Jaffer Khan *(alias* Murshid Kuli Khan) and Sujah Khan, who ruled in succession nearly forty years, the state of the country was eminently flourishing, and the taxes little felt, although the annual tribute remitted to Delhi was usually a crore of rupees; the Zemindars paying their land-tax directly into the treasury, without the intervention of local collectors on the part of the sovereign. Even after the usurpation of Ali Verdi Khan, the Zemindars were so opulent, as at one time to make him a donation of a crore of rupees, and another of fifty lakhs, towards defraying the extra expenses incurred in repelling the incursions of the Marhattas. Bengal had then few political relations to maintain, and was never exposed to invasion at any time except from the West; the military establishment was consequently inconsiderable, and the general arrangement of the civil administration remarkable for economy, simplicity and despatch."

The prosperity of Bengal was due to the perennial influx of the gold and silver of all the world for the purchase of her rich natural and artificial products. Says the historian Dr. Robertson:‡

"'In all ages, gold and silver, particularly the latter, have been the commodities exported with the greatest profit to India. In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries, either for the necessaries or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art. But when the communication with India was rendered so much more easy, that the demand for its commodities began to increase far beyond what had been formerly known, if Europe had not been supplied with the gold and silver which it was necessary to carry to the markets of the East from sources richer and more abundant than her own barren and impoverished mines, she must either have abandoned her trade with India altogether, or have continued it with manifest disadvantage.....But before the effects of this diminution could be effectively felt, America opened her mines...."

Again,‖

"...In all ages, the trade with India has been the same; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has been always

* London, 1901, p. 141.

† Walter Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, Second Edition, (London, 1828), Vol. I, p. 214.

‡ *A Historical Disquisition concerning India*, New Edition (London, 1817), p. 180.

‖ *Ibid*, p. 203.

considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns."

On the same subject, Dr. Robertson quotes* from the *Memoirs* of Khojah Abdul Karim, a Cashmerian of distinction, the following passage:

"Indostan has been frequently plundered by foreign invaders, and not one of its kings ever gained for it an acquisition of wealth; neither has the country many mines of gold and silver, and yet Indostan abounds in money and every other kind of wealth. The abundance of specie is undoubtedly owing to the large importation of gold and silver in the ships of Europe, and other nations, many of whom bring ready money in exchange for the manufactures and natural productions of the country. If this is not the cause of the prosperous state of Indostan, it must be owing to the peculiar blessing of God."

The following extract from another English writer† will show that Bengal enjoyed the greatest share of this general prosperity:

"Furnished almost with every necessary comfort and convenience, by their own ingenious industry, and the peculiar benignity of the climate in which they lived, they [the Hindus] had no relish for the productions of any other country, and even felt little curiosity about them. They therefore never engaged in any external trade, nor speculated on the advantages they might derive from being the carriers of their own commodities to those nations by whom they were so highly prized. The desire of wealth, however, is a passion too general and too powerful, not to have had a very forcible influence on so enlightened a people; and the gold and silver, with which the traders of other countries flocked to the markets of Hindustan to purchase those exquisite manufactures, and other valuable articles of merchandise that could be procured nowhere else, operated as a strong and constant stimulus to their strenuous ingenuity. And as the money which by this means flowed so plentifully into the country was never again remitted from it, either for commercial or other purposes; and as the trade carried on by the Portuguese had infected the people of Europe with an epidemical rage for Indian productions, at the same time that the precious metals brought from America so much increased the facility of obtaining them, the empire of Hindustan naturally became, in the course of the reign of Akbar, the general reservoir of all the specie of the world.... The great export trade of Hindustan invariably consisted in an interchange of merchandise and specie, and was never carried on by her own inhabitants, but immemorially by other nations: and her internal trade, nourished and invigorated by that specie, rendered her the most opulent country in the world.....Merchandise was conveyed from one province to another in large caravans drawn by oxen; and Tavernier relates, that these caravans were attended by so great a cavalcade, that a traveller, when he met them, was obliged to halt upon the road, and wait patiently until they passed, which frequently took up one or two days.... In Bengal, however, from being in every part intersected by navigable rivers, the inland trade was transported by water carriage, with much more expedition, and at a much less expense than by the caravans; and this great advantage, together with the extraordinary fecundity of the soil, produced by those rivers, and the superior industry of the inhabitants, rendered this province in all ages by far the most prosperous and wealthy in the whole country. It could not, therefore, escape the notice of the Portuguese merchants, who traded there to a considerable extent.... The Portuguese had also agents residing at Chittagong, a large and populous town, situated in the eastern frontiers of Bengal, near the great mouths of the rivers Ganges and Bramhaputra. This place was the principal mart on the eastern side of Hindustan; and here the traders of Tonquin, Cochin-China, Siam, Pegu, Ava, Aracan, and Assam, carried the gold and silver found in the mines of these countries, with which they bought the manufactures and many of the natural productions of Bengal."

The present prosperity of England is due solely to her manufactures, and the development of the manufacturing industry of Great Britain was made possible by the influx of specie which followed in the wake of the conquest of Bengal.

"Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous, for all the authorities agree that the "industrial revolution," the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760.....In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money..... Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together..... Possibly since the world began no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder, because for nearly fifty years Great Britain stood without a competitor.‡"

This last extract will explain what has become of the fabulous wealth of Bengal dwelt upon by the authors previously quoted.

The signs of prosperity were writ large on the general aspect of the cities. In 1503, Vertomannus described Bengalla (Dacca) as a place

"that in fruitfulness and plentifulness of all kinds may in manner contend with any city in the world. The region is so plentiful in all things, that there lacketh nothing that may serve to the necessary uses or pleasures of men, for there are, in manner, all sorts of beasts, and wholesome fruits, and plenty of corn,

* *Ibid*, p. 363.

† *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1801, pp. 13—16.

‡ *The Law of Civilisation and Decay*, by Brooks Adams, (London, 1900), Chapter XI, quoted by Digby, pp. 31—33.

spices also in all sorts. Likewise of bombasin and silks so exceeding great abundance, that in all these things I think there is none other region comparable to this."

The city of Bacla, in the purgannah of Chandradwip, was described by Fitch in 1586 thus:—

"The streets are large, and the houses very fair and high builded."

When Clive entered Murshidabad in 1757, he wrote of it:—

"This city is as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city."

The chief cause of this civic prosperity was of course the manufactures. Even at the close of the eighteenth century:—

"Rajsahi produced four-fifths of all the silk, raw or manufactured, used in or exported from Hindustan"* "The town of Cossimbazar has long been famous for its silk manufactures, and is noted for its stockings which are all wire-knitted, and esteemed the best in Bengal. The quantity of silk consumed here annually by the natives in carpets, satins and other stuffs is very great, and a large quantity of the raw article is also exported to Europe, and to almost every quarter of India, this being peculiarly a silk country, probably the next in the world to China."†

The neighbourhood of Murshidabad was the chief seat of the manufacture of woven silk, and *taffetas*, both flowered and plain. The East India Company had factories at Kumarkhali, Jungipur, Boaleah, Maldah, Radhanagar, Rungpur and Cossimbazar. The buildings at Jungipur were erected in 1773, and in 1803 nearly 3,000 persons were employed in that factory. The neighbourhood of Calcutta was noted for the manufacture of *chintzes*

"which appears to be an original art in India, invented long ago, and brought to a perfection not yet surpassed in Europe."‡

The manufactures of the district of Tippera are not so well known now.

"The coarse cotton goods of this district are known all over the world by the name of *baftas* and *cossaes*, and are an excellent, durable and substantial fabric, and are largely exported, both by the Company, and by private merchants."

‖Mention is made of three towns, Lucksmipur,¶ Jugdea,§ and Colinda,** in this district, where coarse cotton goods of an excellent durable quality were made, remarkable for the weight of the raw material they contained. But all other manufactures of Bengal pale into insignificance before the celebrated Dacca muslin. It was made of cotton which was entirely the produce of the district and was known as Phuti, Nurmah, and Bairaite. Two crops were raised, one in April and another in September. The plant was an annual one, and attained a height of about five feet. The Bhoga cotton, the produce of the Garrow and the Tippera hills, was employed in the manufacture of the coarser description of cloths. The best spinners were Hindu women from 18 to 30 years of age. The best cotton was grown in the elevated uplands in the northern division of the district, in Sonargaon, Capassia, Toke and Junglebari. The word 'Carpassium' which came into use at Rome in the time of Pliny, to denote all very fine kinds of cloth, took its origin, in all probability, from Capassia,†† the country from which all these muslins were exported. Tavernier speaks of the cossaes, muslins, the silk and cotton stuffs, and the flowered and embroidered fabrics of Dacca having been exported (prior to the time of his visit in 1666) to Provence, Italy, Languedoc, and Spain. Under the patronage of the Empress Nur Jehan, the Dacca muslins, aptly described as 'webs of woven wind,' 'running water' and 'morning dew,' acquired great celebrity. As late as 1839, an expert spinner could form a thread upwards of four miles in length from one rupee (180 grains) weight of cotton:—

"Yarn continues to be spun and muslins to be manufactured at Dacca" wrote Dr. Ure‡‡ in 1836, "to which European ingenuity can afford no parallel, such indeed as has led a competent judge to say it is beyond his conception, how this yarn, greatly finer than the highest number made in England, can be spun by the distaff and spindle, or woven afterwards by any machinery." "The cause of the perfection of the muslin manufacture of India," the same writer again observes, "must be sought for in the exquisitely fine organisation of the natives of the East. Their temperament realises every feature of that described under the title nervous by physiologists." "Next to

* Walter Hamilton, Vol. II, p. 449.

† *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 455. Dr. Buchanan's report of the manufactures of Northern Bengal has been summarised by Mr. Dutt in chapter XIII of his *Economic History* (London, 1902). I have therefore omitted all mention of the manufactures of the northern districts of Bengal.

‡ Walter Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 184.

‖ *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 661.

¶ *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 130.

§ *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 48.

** *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 437.

†† Cf. Sanskrit *Karpasa* = cotton.

‡‡ In his book on the *Cotton manufactures of Britain*.

spinning and weaving, the art of embroidering is most extensively practised here, especially by the Mussalmans, who display in the use of the needle, a dexterity fully equal to that exhibited by the Hindus in their labours at the spindle and the loom..... The flowering of muslin dresses is performed by a set of embroiderers called 'Chikandaz,' and the embroidering of muslins, scarfs and shawls with silk by workmen called 'Turdaz.' The latter description of work is highly esteemed in Europe, and is in a much more flourishing condition, than any other kind of manufacture here. The scarfs and shawls are imported from Calcutta, and are worked to order chiefly for transmission to England. This year about 1,000 have been manufactured, and a few, I believe, for her Majesty. But the principal branch of the art of embroidering, and the one that affords the most extensive employment to the inhabitants of the city, is the flowering of different kinds of cloth with the *Moonga* or *Tussur* silk. These fabrics, which are principally made of English twist, are called *Khasseidas*..... About 20,000 pieces of *Khasseidas* are annually worked here, and are sent to Persia, Egypt and Turkey, where they are chiefly used as turbans."*

In 1765, the value of the trade of the district of Dacca in muslins and *Khasseidas* amounted to two crores of rupees.

"In 1761 we find that the Company's investments at the Dacca factory amounted to about 22 lacks of rupees...In the years 1787 Mr. Day, the collector, estimated the trade of the district at one crore of rupees or 1¼ million pounds sterling, of which sum between 30 and 40 lacs of rupees were expended anually in the purchase of cloths for exportation to Europe. The total value of goods manufactured for European markets amounted in 1807 to rupees 8,61,818-8-5. In 1810 it was rupees 5,56,996, but in 1813 it did not exceed rupees 3,38,114-12-8. In 1817 the Commercial Residency was abolished, and from that time the exportation of cloth to Europe may be said to have ceased."†

What was the reason of this rapid decline? The story is pathetic enough, and will be briefly told from a recent work of an eminent Anglo-Indian historian.‡

"Very vehement, also, was the opposition of the silk, linen, and wool manufacturers of England to the Indian cottons and art-fabrics. They lamented the 'vain and immodest affectation' of foreign cloths, and demanded severe restrictions on the importation of silks and 'painted calicoes'.....The market was flooded with Indian goods. For sometime past a fierce clamour had been rising among the mercers of Cheapside and the weavers of Spitalfields to whom it seemed that the Companies were...'agreed to drive on to our ruin.' Pamphleteers of the day prophesied that the injury to home manufactures would 'produce empty purses, empty houses, empty towns, a small, poor, weak, and slender people.' Parliament was again and again petitioned to legislate against the importation of Indian silks....Parliament passed two Acts, which both obtained the Royal assent on the 11th of April [1700], prohibiting the wear of Indian wrought silks in England after the 27th September 1731, and laying heavy dues on their importation."

This was followed by several other legislative enactments, notably those of 1720 and 1813, all having the same end in view. The result has been thus described by one‖ who was an eye witness of the ruin of the celebrated Dacca Muslin Industry.

"In 1781 the weaving of muslins was commenced in Britain....From this time the foreign trade of Dacca began to be affected, and from the heavy duty of 75 per cent. which was afterwards imposed upon its staple, it declined, in proportion as the manufactures of Britain increased in value, until at length in the year 1817 it entirely ceased....The general prosperity of the place has still more seriously been affected by the importation of British yarn and cloths of late years. The first great importation of cotton twist in India took place in 1821, but it was not until 1828 that it began to be seriously felt in this district. Since that date it has almost superseded the country thread, and has thus deprived all classes of the inhabitants of an employment, which in a great measure afforded them the means of subsistence. Another serious loss has more lately been experienced by the inhabitants of the city, in the yearly decreasing demand for the embroidered cloths called *Khasseidas*. In 1835 *Khasseidas*, to the amount of 4 lacs of rupees, were sold in Calcutta; in 1836, the amount of sales was 2½ lacs; in 1837 1½ lac; and in 1838 only 1 lac. This decline is attributed to the changes of dress, that have been introduced by the Sultan of Constantinople and the Pasha of Egypt, into their armies of late years."

Even a cursory treatment of the economic condition of the people of Bengal under the East India Company would be incomplete without a reference to the great famine of 1769, of which Hunter wrote that

"It represents an aggregate of human suffering which no European nation has been called upon to contemplate within historic times."¶

But not even the famine could divert the officers of the Company by one hair's breadth from their policy of rigid exaction.

"In a year when thirty-five per cent. of the whole population and fifty per cent. of the cultivators perished, not five per cent. of the land tax was remitted, and ten per cent. was added to it in the ensuing year."§

The cheapness of food-grains will appear from the fact that in the year 1784, when a widespread famine prevailed in Eastern Bengal, rice sold at 17 seers a rupee. In 1801, in the Tippera and Sylhet districts,

* *Topography of Dacca*, by Dr. Taylor, 1839, pp. 176–77.

† Dr. Taylor, Pp. 190-91.

‡ Sir William Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. II. (London, 1900), Chap. VIII, pp. 302-3, and Chapter IX, pp. 368-9.

‖ Dr. Taylor, pp. 307-8.

¶ *Annals of Rural Bengal*, (London, 1868), p. 34.

§ *Ibid*, p. 39.

rice was procurable at 320 seers per rupee. In 1837 the highest class of domestic servants used to earn wages ranging between Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2 a month.

Shipbuilding is another great industry which used to flourish in Bengal. We read in Bolts :*

"The Indians of Bengal formerly carried on a considerable trade by sea, and had some sort of maritime power, as we read in many parts of Purchas's Collection [of voyages]; particularly in the year 1607, an account is given of a fleet from the king of Bengal having invaded the Maladive islands."

Hamilton says that in the sixteenth century small vessels used to be floated at the Satgaon river near Hughli.† About the year 1565, the Venetian traveller Cæsar Frederick wrote of Sandwip that such was the abundance of materials for shipbuilding in that part of the country that the Sultan of Constantinople found it cheaper to have his vessels built there than at Alexandria. As Islamabad, the capital of Chittagong, ships of large dimensions and considerable burthen used to be constructed in large numbers, both of imported timber and of that indigenous to the district.‡

"Shipbuilding has long been the most profitable occupation here [Dacca], the teak forests being at no great distance. The builder in 1818 was a Hindu, who constructed all his ships on one model, which was too short for the breadth, thereby rendering them uneasy in a head sea. On the other hand it is admitted they wear well, stow well, and before the wind sail most furiously."‖

The history of the Nowarrah fleet of Dacca is interesting. The fleet was established in the time of Akbar, and originally consisted of upwards of 3,000 vessels. The revenue of certain villages was assigned for the support of the fleet, and originally amounted to rupees 7,12,502-13-0 per annum. Islam Khan employed the fleet successfully against the Assamese, as well as the Portuguese under Sebastian Gonzales, who had a fleet of 80 well-armed vessels. Shah Jahan captured the Nowarrah from the Viceroy Ibrahim Khan, and subsequently Saistha Khan subjugated the Raja of Aracan, and his son brought the province of Chittagong under the Mogul sway, with the aid of this fleet. In the next century Raja Rajbullav, as Peshkar of the Nowarrah mehals, amassed a fortune of two crores of rupees, and it was in search of this treasure which his son Krishna Das is said to have taken to Fort William when he took refuge there, that Seraj-ud-dowlah commenced hostilities with the Company, which led to the battle of Plassey in 1757. The state vessels of the Nowarrah, which were built at Sylhet with timber grown in that district, were discontinued in the year 1769. In 1800, Lord Wellesley, Governor General of India, wrote :

"From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the art of ship-building has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress, and supported by abundant and increasing supplies of timber), it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage, to whatever extent may be required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal."¶

* *Considerations on Indian affairs*, (London, 1772), footnote, Chap. II., p. 21.

† Vol. II., p. 510.

‡ Walter Hamilton, Vol. I., p. 404, Vol. II., p. 17.

‖ Walter Hamilton, Vol. I., p. 480.

¶ For further information on the subject, regarding the excellence of the ships built in India, the jealousy of British ship-builders at the arrival of Indian-built ships in London, and the decline in the art of ship-building, the reader is referred to pp. 79—88 of Digby's '*Prosperous' British India.*

BRITISH EGOTISM

THE grotesque spectacle is being presented to the world, of Great Britain saluting every effort to obtain the rights of nationality,—except the efforts that interfere with its own sovereign rule. It has gone into raptures over the resurrection of Turkey, and its rescue from the clutch of a selfish and cruel oligarchy, but it will turn and rend you if you suggest the resurrection of India and the recognition of the right of Indians to even effectually share in the rule of their own land, although the Sultan had a better right to rule Turkey without consulting his fellow countrymen

than Great Britain has to rule India as a foreign power.

But Britons don't see that. Why? It is not exactly tyranny: it is rather naive egotism,—a big-boy-like feeling, perfectly sincere, that he has a right to do as he likes, and that he knows better than any one else. It is really very funny,—far more funny than brutal, though, as it is with egotistical big boys, brutality lies very near the surface, and, like the claws of a cat, can readily come into evidence.

People who read our London papers, such as *The Times*, *The Telegraph*, *The Standard* and *The Daily Mail*, know well this arrogant and conceited note in the British character, just as Cecil Rhodes knew it, when he sneered at our 'unctuous rectitude.' Even Lord Morley has something of it, and his failure is probably due to it. He does not seem to think that a British official may need withstanding. What an official says is 'Gospel truth.' What his second in command said, in the House of Commons, a few days ago, amounted to that. Questioned as to the trial of Mr. Tilak, he held stoutly to the decision that every thing done by his judges must have been right: and, when asked whether he knew about a certain vital point, he said, he did not know but was quite sure that it was duly and properly attended to. This curious conceit of perfect rectitude is really more difficult to deal with than rough brutality. There is something solid to hit in rough brutality, but hitting the conceit of perfect rectitude is like hitting a feather bed.

We are even getting interested in Morocco, and, although we all admit that Morocco is almost semi-savagely Eastern, we are quite longing for a Constitution, and for Morocco's deliverance from the danger of French appropriation. And Persia! O yes, by all means let Persia be encouraged to stand up for a Parliament; and let us all cry 'Long live the Russian Duma! Long live any Constitution, any Parliament, any Duma, but in Egypt, Ireland and India.' Why? In Heaven's name why? There is no answer but the swaggering big boy's reply, 'I can do as I like, and I know better than you.'

But there are two or three sane and modest papers in London, which, on the whole, see straight and sound a true note. *The Daily News* is one, and it has great influence among the sturdy political Nonconformists. In to-day's issue (August 24), *a propos* of Morocco and the big subject of 'The Renaissance of Islam,' it has the following enlightened and courageous passage:

"Let no one imagine that these political movements are a sudden freak, an instinctive impulse. They are the outcome of a long period of self-criticism and intellectual preparation. Hitherto a confident theory has held the field among the European politicians who have directed the penetration of the East by the West. Their central idea was the thesis which Lord Cromer developed with so much assurance in his recent book on Egypt—that Islam is a religion of stagnation; that Orientals are, as Aristotle said two thousand years ago, "naturally slaves"; and that any sort of spontaneous reform or progress was therefore out of the question. The whole Moslem East was accordingly regarded as a field which would ultimately be open to European conquest or exploitation. Most of it was mapped out in advance—Egypt for England, Morocco and perhaps Syria for France, Macedonia for Austria, and Armenia for Russia. England, France, and Russia maintained a more or less openly hostile pressure from outside, Germany an even more disintegrating and demoralising pressure from within. For while we tried to impose reforms, Germany sought to profit by the corruption. It was an integral part of this theory that the East would resist, and even, it might be, organize against the West. But these efforts were invariably ascribed to "fanaticism," a last effort of the children of darkness against the children of light. It was "fanaticism" when Egyptians asked for a Constitution; it was "fanaticism" when they protested against the Denshawai hangings and floggings; and it was also fanaticism when the Moors at Casablanca were angry because a French syndicate constructed a light railway across one of their cemeteries. The more imaginative exponents of this school of thought were quite prepared for a wild Moslem Jehad, a Holy War of East against West, marked by massacres and murders, a loosing of the forces of Hell upon the forces of civilization. But what this school had not foreseen is what has happened—a reformation of the East by its own unaided effort, a demand for liberty and progress in the very centres of the world's ancient despotisms, a casting aside of the more retrograde influences of Islamic tradition, an attempt to resist the encroachment of the West by adopting European liberty and assimilating European progress. For two years past we have steadily pointed to the gathering of the forces that have at length produced this marvellous transformation. The event has shown that we erred only in not being hopeful enough."

He who can read between the lines of this remarkable paragraph may read a good deal, and our Indian friends may rely upon it that hundreds of thousands of English men and women rejoice in 'the gathering of the forces' which, in India, will do what we hope will be done in Russia, in Turkey, in Morocco and in Egypt.

JOHN PAGE HOPPS.

ELECTRICITY IN THE ROLE OF A HAND-MAID

PHYSICAL science has pressed into the service of man the forces of nature to run errands, ply railways, steamships and turbine-boats and keep the wheels of manufacturing machinery in motion. The world has grown accustomed to the use of steam in operating machinery of every description. Of late electricity has taken the place of steam and hydraulic power to such an extent that its use no longer causes wonderment. Even in a country like India—a land by no means alert in adopting and employing mechanical innovations, steam and electricity are being more and more introduced, and the slogan of intelligent Indians is coming to be: "Never do by hand what can be done by machinery."

In America electricity is becoming an extremely popular agent for producing power. Even in the cities that, mushroom-like, spring into being over night and have but a small population, electric street-car lines, electric lights and telephones are to be found. In rural districts it is by no means an uncommon sight to see stables and hen houses lit with clectricity, and the farmer's wife sitting at the telephone talking with a mail-order-house a hundred or two hundred miles away, ordering a dress or household supplies. In some parts of the United States and Canada, the farmer uses one of the iron wires of his fence to transmit the electric current for the light and telephone.

What science has already accomplished in the industrial realm it is now beginning to do in the home. The attention of scientists is to-day centered in reducing woman's drudgery, rendering the vocation of cook and housekeeper easy and pleasing. The people of the Occident, not content with the employment of electricity in the field and factory, not even satisfied with electric lights and telephones in the home, are now endeavouring to make the electric current a veritable hand-maid. To-day, in the leading Occidental countries, electricity is being introduced into the home. In the larger cities of Europe and America, a large per cent. of the homes of the middle-class and aristocratic people are supplied with electric fans and at night are lit with electricity. The electric push-button bell has superseded knocking at the door, or ringing the old-fashioned bell. In large apartment buildings electricity is used to unlock the front door by means of a mechanism which obviates the necessity of running down many flights of steps to open the door.

Almost all the leading manufacturers of electrical appliances and goods in the principal cities of the United States set apart a suite of rooms specially fitted up to demonstrate what electricity can do in the kitchen, bathroom and bed room, and how it may be used to assist the housekeeper in keeping the rooms clean and dust-free. The writer accompanied by a number of electrician-friends, recently paid a visit to a "House Electrical," as these exhibits are called.

When the push-button was pressed, electricity rang the bell, and the lady of the house appeared to answer our summons. As she opened the door she pressed a button and the entire porch became flooded with light. No burglar could withstand that glare of light; but since we boded no evil to "the House Electrical," or its occupants, we were bidden to enter. In the reception hall we were invited to warm our feet with an electrical foot-warmer—the process not requiring more than five minutes. As we left the hall, the hostess pulled the string of the electric burner, and the light became dim; bright enough to see, but considerably reducing the current and hence the money-expense.

Entering the parlor, we found the "electric grate" shedding both heat and light. There were no offensive gases emanating from the grate, as they do from coal and gas stoves and wood-fireplaces. The heat was cleanly and inoffensive—it caused no trouble—left neither ashes nor soot. In order to light the fire" it was necessary only to push an elec-

tric button and it was put out in the same manner. The light from the grate produced a mellow, pleasing effect in the room.

We had not been sitting in the parlor for many minutes when our hostess set the "electric piano" going, by pressing a button. The keys appeared to move as if by magic and reproduced accurately and pleasingly the playing of the masters of music. The electric piano lamp stood on the piano, ready to furnish abundant light if a musician desired to use the instrument. In a closet connected with the parlor was the telephone, affording communication with the outside world. It was a long-distance telephone, and, sitting in her own home, the housewife could talk with someone in a far-distant city. In another part of the room was an "electric cigar lighter." This device obviates the necessity of lighting matches and strewing the floor with their half-burned stubs.

Adjoining was the dining room. Two electric switches controlled the lighting arrangements—if both were turned on, the room was flooded with light—if only one was used, it was suffused with a soft glow, abundant enough to enable a person to work in the room, but not glaring. On the dining table rested the electric coffee percolator, by means of which the beverage could be prepared in a few minutes, and kept hot as long as desired. The electric chafing dish stood on the table, always ready to be pressed into service for cooking light refreshments.

The pantry between the kitchen and dining room contained an electric refrigerating machine, which manufactured ice. Here, guarded securely from light, heat and dust, were stored milk, cream, meats, vegetables and other eatables. The kitchen was fitted up with electric ranges, with all the necessary cooking utensils including broilers, griddles, spiders, toasters, etc. The electric range saved the house-wife the touble and annoyance of making fires, depending upon an uncertain wood or coal fire, or inhaling odious smells and vapours. The fire generated by the electric current did not make smoke or soot and it therefore did not leave any smudge on the bottoms of the pans. The electric oven, where heat was applied from the top as well as the bottom, made it possible for the cook to reduce baking to an exact science. The electric dish washing machine took away the drudgery of this undesirable task.

We were shown the bath room, which was supplied with a luminous electric radiator, which made it possible for the inhabitants of this cold country to heat the room in a few minutes, and be perfectly comfortable while taking a bath. This was a boon more especially to the baby, doing away with the danger of cold and draughts. A wire was connected with the bath tub, and it was arranged so that electricity would heat the water and pump it into the tub in a short time. The electric hair dryer was intended to be used in drying the hair after it was washed, and minimised the possibility of catching cold. There was an electric shaving mug, by means of which water could be heated for shaving almost instantly, and could be kept at an even temperature. In one corner of the bath room was an electic floor cleaner which could be carried into any room. By means of this contrivance the carpets could be cleaned with almost no physical exertion.

The dainty housekeeper who showed us around the house volunteered the information that she did not send any of her clothes out to be washed. It was easy to understand why she found such a great pleasure in this work, as she had evidenced in speaking of the most tedious and tiresome of woman's duties. The laundry was fitted with an electric washing machine, which did all the work. All that she had to do was to drop the clothes and soap into the tub, fill it with water and switch on the current. Electricity did the rest. An electric wringer attached to the top of the tub enabled her to wring the clothes without even touching them with her hands—much less exerting physical labour in the process. The electric flat-iron made it possible for her to iron the clothes without much trouble. There was no flame, smudge or dirt to interrupt her in her work. She was not compelled to waste steps and vitality in order to keep an iron on the flame while she was using another. A flexible wire attached to a socket in the wall, carried the current to the iron and kept it at a constantly even degree of heat. In the adjoining room was a sewing machine plied by electricity, which saved the woman from the necessity of wearing out legs and arms

in order to supply the motive power to work the machine.

The bed room contained an electric heating pad, which warmed the feet almost instantaneously. This also could be used in place of the old-fashioned hot water bag. The light was so arranged at the head of the bed that a person could recline and read comfortably, without straining the eyes. On the table stood a little electrical clock. By pushing a button attached to the bed, a soft light illuminated the dial of the clock and made it possible for a person to tell what time it was when the room was dark. This electrical clock needed no winding, and the alarm connected with it could be set for any time desired. The room had one of the electric lamps whose light could be dimmed by pulling a string. There was an electric outfit to warm the baby's milk. Everything was so arranged that the mother could warm the milk without being compelled to leave the bed.

The toilet paraphernalia in the bed room particularly interested us. There was an electric curling iron, to be used in curling a woman's hair. There was, too, an electric massage outfit for massaging and beautifying the cheeks of the woman by removing wrinkles.

"The House Electrical" which has been described, can be seen on exhibition in almost every leading city of the United States. To-day it forms a necessary adjunct to the show rooms of the manufacturers of electrical fixtures and appliances. Electricity works wonders at the present time; but this force of nature is still a mysterious potentiality. Being in its infant stage, electricity is still dear—and even in a prosperous country like the Uuited States there are but few people who can afford to make their homes veritable houses electrical.

Probably the first "House Electrical" was fitted up twenty-five years ago. Mr. Wlliam, J. Hammer, an electrical engineer of New York, New Jersey, conceived and executed the plan. He so arranged his residence that electric light bulbs around the number over the door were lighted by the pressure of his foot on the first step. The door bell rang when a foot stepped on the second stair, while the third automatically opened the front door. He cleaned his shoes by putting his foot on a small rest and pressing a pendant bulb, which set two brushes at work acting as automatic bootblacks.

The lights were turned on and off automatically. The moment he stepped off the top step of the first flight of stairs, the light in the hallway below was turned out, and the light in his bedroom was lit. This was automatically switched off when he laid his head on his pillow.

Electricity played seven different musical instruments, and did part of the cooking. The Christmas tree in the Hammer home was decorated with tiny electric lights instead of the time-honored candles. On the fourth of July, the Nation's birthday anniversary, rockets, Roman candles and other fireworks were sent up with electricty.

On one occasion Mr. Hammer gave a dinner to the Franklin Society. He surprised the guests by arranging a phonograph inside a life-sized figure of Benjamin Franklin, which repeated the proverbs of the Quaker philosopher. At this dinner the food, which had been cooked by electricity, was carried around the table by a tiny circular electric railway.

During recent years, many "houses electrical" have been built. One of the best-known of these is in New York.

A buzzer under the pillow awakens the owner when it is time to arise in the morning. At the same time the windows, which have been open all night for the purpose of ventilating the room, shut automatically and without a sound. Just as automatically and silently the window shades are lowered, and the register connected with the furnace sends forth a blast of hot air which warms the room. If it is too chilly for comfort, and the furnace is not running, a great fire may be started automatically.

The same mechanism which has made the bed room comfortable, works simultaneously all over the house, and when the owner steps out of his bedroom he finds the whole house comfortable. By the time he reaches the bath room an automatic arrangement has filled the bath tub with hot water. While the bath is being taken, down stairs in the dining room the coffee percolator has been working, and by the time the bath is finished the coffee will be made and ready to be served, while the

toast, which has been prepared automatically, will be daintily browned and ready to eat.

The whole thing is timed the night before, and works automatically, without the necessity of human brain or hand interfering after the apparatus is properly set.

The same system works while the master sleeps. During the dark hours it protects him from burglars. At the head of the bed is a buzzer burglar alarm, which instantly notifies the owner of the house if some one seeks to enter, and automatically turns on a flood of light all over the house by operating a series of incandescent lights. Every window and door in the house is equipped with a mechanism that starts the alarm buzzing if they are tampered with in the slightest manner. The alarm system is so arranged by being connected with the clock which regulates all the automatic arrangements of the house, that even a servant may not enter the upper part of the house from the basement without causing the alarm to sound, unless she has taken the precaution to telephone upstairs beforehand to have the alarm disconnected. At the specified hour, the alarm automatically goes out of business for the day, or until it is again connected with the clock.

Besides this intricate alarm system, every alternate step of the stairways from basement to roof is provided with an electrical mat, connected with the lights in the sleeping room. A burglar who succeeds in entering the house is not warned by the loud ringing of bells that his coming has been detected. While prowling about he attempts to climb the stair, unaware that with every other step he takes he is lighting one of the little bulbs in the bed room. These are illuminated in the order the steps are trodden upon, and it is easy to trace the course of the invader, whether he is going downward from the roof or upper stories, or coming up from the basement.

To-day a house of this description is a novelty; but the time is fast arriving when, in the Occident at least, the houses electrical will become so numerous that the people will cease to look upon them as curiosities. As electricity passes the stage of its early development—as people become used to its manifold blessings—there will be more demand for the manufacture of electrical appliances and fixtures. This will lead to the cheapening of electrical manufactures. As man realizes the necessity of harnessing rivers and creeks and making them yield electricity for the service of humanity, the electric current will become less and less expensive. The Western nations are awakening to the desirability of municipal ownership. They are realizing the necessity of manufacturing and distributing such essential agents as electricity, by the people, and for the people, instead of permitting the few to exploit the many. This will do a great deal to place electricity within the easy reach of the middle-class, and thus lighten the woman's burden by giving her an automatic servant that will do her bidding without friction or annoyance.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

ASPECTS OF BENGAL UNDER JOHN COMPANY

OWING to the absence of an Arms Act, which is an encroachment on the natural rights of man, the people of Bengal were not so defenceless in the days of John Company as now. Shields manufactured in Sylhet

"have long been a considerable article of export, being in request throughout Hindustan among such natives as still retain their ancient predilection for the sword and buckler."*

* Walter Hamilton, Vol. II, p. 552

At Monghyr,

"the blacksmiths occupy about forty houses, and make goods after the European fashion, very coarse as compared with European articles, but still useful and cheap as will be seen by the following prices, *viz*:—double-barrelled gun, Rs. 35; rifles, Rs. 30; single-barrelled fowling-pieces, Rs. 18; muskets, Rs. 8; matchlocks, Rs. 4; pistols, Rs. 10; double ditto, Rs. 30; table knives and forks per dozen, Rs. 6. The barrels of the firearms are made by twisting a rod round an iron spindle, and then hammering it together. The bore is afterwards polished and enlarged by borers of different sizes."†

† Walter Hamilton, Vol. II, p. 238.

We have positive proof of the manufacture of cannon at Dacca. From an inscription on the Murshidabad gun Jahan Kesha (subduer of the world) which is 17 feet 7 inches long, it appears to have been made at Dacca in the year 1637 A.D. by one Janarjan under the inspection of Hariballav Das and the darogaship of Sher Mahomed, in the reign of Shah Jahan, during the governorship of Islam Khan."*

We hear much of political Sannyasis nowadays. It seems that they are not a recent growth.

"In 1773 the Collector [of Dacca] applied to Government for an additional military force. There were at this time about 10,000 Sannyasis collected in the vicinity of Madhupur, plundering the country, and compelling the inhabitants to desert their villages and flee to the jungle for safety. The murder of a Captain Thomas, and the defeat of a detachment of Sepoys by a body of these Sannyasis, are alluded to in the Collector's report."†

Domestic slavery existed in a mild form, specially in the eastern districts of Bengal. The following translation‡ of a deed of sale executed in the district of Dacca may be found interesting:—

"I, Ram Krista Pal, son of Tula Ram Pal, and grandson of Ram Deva Pal, do hereby execute this deed of sale.

"Owing to the debts incurred at my marriage, and which I am unable to pay, I, in my proper mind, and of my own free will, sell myself to you on my receiving a sum of rupees twenty-five, and I and my descendants will serve you as slaves as long as we are given subsistence allowance and clothing. You, your sons, and grandsons, shall make us work as slaves, and have power to sell or make a gift of us to others. On these conditions I execute this bond.

"Dated 19th Kartic, 1201 B. S. (November 1794)."

These slaves had various names, such as Bhandaris, Nafars, Golams, Dassees, Bandees.

"In a majority of instances, slaves are treated with kindness and leniency by their masters. The work exacted from them is seldom oppressive, and generally, is even less than a hired servant would be required to perform. In most cases they partake of the diet used by the family, and are allowed the common luxuries of betel-nut and tobacco. Many of those born in bondage in the houses of the wealthier classes, are taught to read and write along with the children of the family."‖

To the same effect is the testimony of Hamilton.

"Slavery, however, in its severest sense, may be said to be unknown, the domestic slave being usually rather a favourite and confidential servant, than an abject drudge, and held superior to the hireling, both in the master's estimation and in his own."¶

Again, speaking of the neighbouring province of Nagpur, Hamilton says:

"Indeed it may be affirmed that slavery in the European sense of the word, is altogether unknown, and that so far from being a state of degradation and misery; it is one of respectibility and comfort, compared with that of the labouring population."§

Then, as now, the cockneys of Calcutta used to tease and banter the Bángáls of Dacca for their provincial brogue.

"The people of Calcutta who speak the Gour dialect of the Bengalese, although confounded by the natives of western Hindustan with the Bengalese, take, when they have an opportunity, the trouble to ridicule the inhabitants of Dacca, who are the proper genuine Bengalese; and Calcutta being now the capital, the men of rank at Dacca are becoming ashamed of their provincial accent, and endeavour to imitate the Babus (wealthy Hindu merchants) of the modern metropolis."**

"The more wealthy classes of Hindus imitate the Calcutta people in their mode of speaking, writing and living. The Gour or pure Bengali, which is the language of this part of the country (and one that is almost unintelligible to the inhabitants of the western districts) has given place to the Calcutta dialect among the higher classes, who also follow the mode of giving entertainments, &c., adopted by their Hindu brethren of the metropolis."††

It would appear that the Bengali language was all but adopted by the Assamese, and but for the chauvinism of their modern descendants fostered by the British rulers, it would have been the language of the

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XCIV, pp. 339-40.

† Dr. Taylor, p. 214. It appears from some letters written by Warren Hastings (*Vide* Gleig's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, quoted in the Appendix to *Ananda Math* by the late Bankim Chandra Chatterjea) that he was greatly troubled at the victories of the Sannyasies, who had overrun not only the District of Dacca, but the whole of Northern Bengal, including Rangpur and Dinajpur, and had killed besides Captain Thomas, another military officer of the name of Captain Edwardes. In a letter to Josia Du Pre, dated 9th March, 1773, Warren Hastings gives the following history of the Sunnyassies:

"The history of the people is curious. They inhabit or rather possess the country lying south of the hills of Tibet from Cabul to China. They go mostly naked [that is, according to the conventional standard of Europe]; they have neither towns, houses, nor families; but rove continually from place to place, recruiting their number with the healthiest children they can steal in the countries through which they pass. Thus they are the stoutest and the most active men in India. Many are merchants. They are all pilgrims and held by all castes of Gentoos in great veneration. This infatuation prevents our obtaining any intelligence of their motions or aid from the country against them, notwithstanding very rigid orders which have been published for these purposes, in so much that they often appear in the heart of the province as if they dropped from heaven. They are hardy, bold, and enthusiastic to a degree surpassing credit. Such are the Sannyassies, the Gipsies of Hindostan."

‡ From Sir Herbert Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1891), Vol. II., p. 271-72.

‖ Dr. Taylor, p. 320.

¶ Hamilton, Vol. I., p. 207.

§ *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 280

** Walter Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 476.

†† Dr. Taylor, p. 264

country by this time. Since the middle of the seventeenth century, the governing party in Assam had "entirely adopted the language of Bengal, which has become so prevalent that the original Assamese, spoken so late as the reign of Aurangzebe, is almost become a dead language."*

The East India Company took possession of the town and temple of Jagannath on the 18th September 1803, and levied a tax on the pilgrims visiting the sacred shrine. The following will give an idea of the revenue derived from this source during the years following the conquest:

1806	—Rs.	1,17,490
1813	— ,,	69,902
1815	— ,,	86,027
1817-18	— ,,	35,941
1818-19	— ,,	36,241
1819-20	— ,,	92,874
1820-21	— ,,	21,946
1821-22	— ,,	35,160

Though this pilgrim tax differed from Aurangzebe's Jazia in name, did it differ from it very much in substance?

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Bengalis used to be employed in political missions, though now they are not so trusted. We learn from Walter Hamilton† that in 1801, Lord Cornwallis despatched a 'native agent' Kamal Lochan Nundy to the court of Assam at Jorhat, and he submitted on his return a graphic report of the general anarchy which prevailed in that country at the time. In 1815, Krishna Kanta Bose was deputed to Lassa by the government of Bengal to negotiate some boundary arrangements with the Deb Raja, but he could not get any further than Bhutan, where he remained above a year. On his return he gave a report of his journey containing a description of the country he had visited.‡ It would be interesting to learn more about these embassies, and of Kamal Lochan and Krishna Kanta, who conducted them.

As early as 1828, some of the baneful results of the Company's rule were noticed by Walter Hamilton, who wrote from official records deposited in the India Board.

"It has long been remarked that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India, the number of learned men being not only diminished, but the circle of learning, even among those who still devote themselves to it, greatly contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned; and no branch of learning cultivated, but what is connected with the peculiar religious sects and doctrines, or with the astrology of the people. The principal cause of this retrograde condition of literature may be traced to the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals, under the native governments, now past and gone."‖

The decay of architecture was another noticeable feature.

"Religious buildings and public edifices of great size are now seldom constructed in Bengal. What wealth remains with the natives is more widely diffused than formerly, and the fortunes accumulated by Europeans are invariably remitted to Europe. This latter class now occupies the stations of those native officers who in former times, either from motives of charity or ostentation, raised those buildings of utility, which are now to be traced out only by their ruins."¶

Hamilton's summary of the official view of the political condition of Bengal in his time will prove interesting and instructive.

"To the inhabitants, the political state of the country is a complete incomprehensible mystery; yet it is probable that, since our effectual establishment in 1765, no native ever dreamt of subverting the government. In this point of view the mass of natives are most ignorant and helpless, without concert or combination, and no oppression of the ruling power would produce any resistance that might not be quelled by a company of sepoys. The power of the British Government in Bengal is completely despotic, and the submission of its subjects perfect and unqualified. This is, in fact, so complete as to preclude the necessity of coercion or intimidation of any kind; all appearance consequently of military interference may be kept wholly out of sight, and it will be only when European laws, religion and literature come to be disseminated, that it will be necessary to draw the reins tighter, to prove that we possess power irresistible to command obedience....The sepoys, like the rest of the people, are entirely uninstructed as to the form of government, policy of their rulers, or justice of their wars, and in their ignorance and apathy consists our strength."§

After this exposition of the Company's policy, we shall be prepared for the following Pecksniffian justification of the excessive land tax.

"The circumstances in which the British Government is placed preclude all improvident generosity, and the peculiar habits of the people require that their natural tendency to inaction should be stimulated

* Walter Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 75.

† Vol I, p. 76.

‡ Walter Hamilton. Vol, I, p. 275

‖ Vol. I, p. 203.

¶ Walter Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 199.

§ Walter Hamilton, Vol. I, p. 201. Compare the evidence of Major-General Sir L. Smith, K.C.B., at the enquiry of 1831: "...the effect of education will be to do away with all the prejudices of sects and religions by which we have hitherto kept the country—the Mussalmans against Hindus, and so on; the effect of education will be to expand their minds, and show them their vast power."

by the necessity of providing for the payment of a moderately high land assessment. An incitement of this nature is more particularly called for in a country where the necessaries of life are easily procured," &c. &c.*

Exactly the same argument was applied by Mr. Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons in August 1901, when he said as follows in justification of a proposed capitation tax on African natives, the real object of which was to force them to work in the mines by artificially increasing their cost of living:

"He believed" he said, "it was a good thing for the native to be industrious, and that we should, by every legitimate means in our power, teach him to earn...He thought it was very wise. Therefore, in the interest of the natives, they ought to teach them to work. If by indirect taxation they could persuade the native to take to industry, we should be doing one of the best things for the natives as well as for ourselves."

Age cannot wither, nor custom stale the infinite variety of pretexts urged by the strong to justify their exploitation of the weak!

But the author of the *East India Gazetteer*, though he dedicated his book by permission to the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company, could not ignore the drain of wealth from India consequent upon the system of administration which was set up by the Company, and which, in the expressive language of John Sullivan, sometime member of the Government of Madras, acted "very much like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames." Hamilton wrote:†

"Persons who remembered the state of this province [Bengal] in 1769 and 1789, the thirtieth of the revolution, were inclined to think that it exhibited more appearance of opulence at the first than at the last period: an opinion confirmed by the records of the province for the twelve years subsequent to 1769; the decline continuing long after the effects of the famine had ceased to operate. But, without resorting to local mismanagement, the nature of the connection which binds Bengal to Britain will sufficiently account for the tendency of its internal condition to deteriorate. All the offices of trust and emolument, Civil and Military, and the highest lines of commerce, are in the hands of strangers, who after a temporary residence, depart with the capital they have accumulated, while under native rulers even the extortions of rapacity and the drains of tribute again entered circulation, and promoted in some form the territorial industry. Under its present constitution, the remittance, or rather tribute to Britain carries off a large share of the produce, for which nothing is returned."

* *Ibid*, Vol I, p. 653.

† Vol. I, pp. 201-2.

Truly did another eighteenth century writer say:

"The grand object for which the Bengal provinces are held, militates against the ease and happiness of their inhabitants: for there can be no inducement to increase a national income for the purpose of finally enriching another nation."‡

In discussing the improvements which ought to be introduced in the administration of Bengal, Hamilton writes:‖

"...the admission of natives to places of trust and honour, which is the only mode by which they [the people of the country] can be effectually conciliated. It is in vain to expect that men will be satisfied with merely having their property secured, while all the paths of honourable ambition are shut against them. Under the Mahomedans, although they ruled as conquerors, the Hindus could rise to offices of dignity and importance, from which they are now entirely excluded. The manners of the Mahomedans were more like their own; they resided permanently among them, spent their revenue in the country, and became part of the people, whereas the British are only birds of passage....The main objection to the employment of the natives is their notorious habits of dishonesty and peculation; but it is only since the European functionaries were well-paid that they themselves became trustworthy. All European governments have purchased integrity in high public officers by honours and emoluments; if we want it in India, we must take the same means; and if we pay the same price, we shall almost as readily find it among the natives as among Europeans. The judicial system introduced into Hindustan by the British Government is too artificial for the state of society there, and proceeds upon the assumption that the natives are altogether unworthy of trust. So they certainly are, and will continue, while so despicably remunerated for their honesty as they have hitherto been."

Three years before, Sir Thomas Munro expressed himself as follows on the same subject:

".....What is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge, but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power? or what is even the use of great attainments if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose—the service of the community, by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various degrees of the public administration of the country? How can we expect that the Hindus will be eager in the pursuit of science unless they have the same inducements as in other countries? If superior

‡ Major James Rennel, F.R.S., *Memoirs of a map of Hindustan* (London, 1793), Introduction. p. cvi. The following extract from Mark Twain's *More Tramps Abroad* will be read with melancholy interest in this connection: "There is only one India! It is the only country that has a monopoly of grand and imposing spectacles.... There is the Plague, the Black Death: India invented it; India is the cradle of that mighty birth.... Famine is India's speciality. Elsewhere famines are small inconsequential incidents —in India they are devastating cataclysms; in the one case they annihilate hundreds, in the other thousands..... with her everything is on a giant scale, even her poverty; no other country can show anything to compare with it."

‖ Vol. I, p. 651-52.

acquirements do not open the road to distinction, it is idle to suppose that the Hindu will lose his time in seeking them; and even if he did so, his proficiency, under the doctrine of exclusion from office, would serve no other purpose than to show him more clearly the fallen state of himself and his countrymen."

Other writers, equally eminent, writing both before and after Sir Thomas Munro, such as Colonel Walker, Sir Henry Strachey, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, expressed similar views. But *cui bono*? There is enough of knowledge, but wisdom lingers, to the infinite harm both of Britishers and Indians.

THE AUDUBON SUGAR SCHOOL

OF the various enterprises which Dr. W. C. Stubbs, a sugar expert, inaugurated, not by any means the least important is the Audubon Sugar School of the Lousiana State University. This school is now entering on its eighteenth year and has won for itself a reputation which is literally world wide. Some years ago it was inspected by one of the most eminent English experts, who recommended it in most flattering terms. The school has also been inspected by the Japanese Government, and they sent three men to the University—one of whom graduated in 1905. The school has drawn students from Japan, Hawaii, Germany, France, Peru, Mexico, Costa Rica, Porto Rico, Cuba, and other foreign countries, while most of the states of the Union are represented on its rolls.

It is a well-known fact that the best men in cane sugar work come from Louisiana. It is only natural, for the Louisiana planter has always had to make sugar without regard to the favours of nature. In the tropics there are none of the difficulties of making sugar. If a man be taught a good method, he can follow it year after year by a rule of thumb and with fair success. But in Louisiana it is the unexpected which is always happening. Now the cane is too green, now it is sour, now it seems right, but the juce refuses to boil to grain. In each case there is a best course to follow, and never twice quite the same course. So the Louisiana sugar man must be prepared to meet any possible emergency. He must plant his cane properly, cultivate it properly, fertilise it and protect it from insect pests, and he must cut it at just the right time. He must understand stock, for this is one of the most important items of expenditure on a sugar plantation, and one where a great deal of money may be saved or lost. In other words, the Louisiana planter must be a thoroughly good farmer.

Then when the cane is cut comes the mechanical part. It can be loaded by machinery, brought to the mill by machinery, crushed, ground, the juice evaporated, the sugar crystallised and put in barrels—(not in bags as in India) all by machinery. These machines are very costly, and some makes are very good. To get machinery for a small sugar house costs over three lákhs of rupees. The planter must be able to choose the machinery, to see that it is put up properly and, above all, to see that it is run properly. He must, therefore, be a good mechanical engineer.

But the process by which sugar is made is more than mechanical, it is also chemical. The more successful the manufacturer, the more strictly does he insist on chemical control of the sugar house. He must, therefore, be a good chemist. Now it may be said that no person can be, at the same time, farmer, mechanic and chemist. He must employ men to do these things for him. This is very true. He does employ such men, but it may be put down as an axiom, that no man is capable of judging truly the work of men under him unless he is able to do that work himself, should the case demand it. This idea is followed in all the great business houses of America. The son who is to succeed his father is put in at the bottom and worked as rapidly as possible through various parts of the business. Experience has shown that this line can best be followed by men who have

had college training in the technology of the industry in question. For example, the General Electric Company takes the graduate of the "Boston Tech.", starts him in the shops at $ 5 (=Rs. 15 roughly) per week, and keeps him in each grade until he knows it. Then he goes on to the next grade and finally becomes an "expert" for the company. Men who have not had a college training have almost no chance, indeed it is rare that they even get a trial. Science has come into technology to stay, and the leaders in industrial enterprises know this. The same thing holds in the Sugar Industry, which is the most scientific branch of agriculture. It is true that the planters of the past generation and many of the present, did not have this college training, but gained their success by common sense and hard knocks. But the conditions of to-day are vastly different from those of the past few years, and it is to meet these new conditions that the Audubon Sugar School exists.

The course of study runs through five years, devoted mainly to three lines of study, *viz.* Agriculture, Mechanical Engineering, Chemistry. The three subjects, and their foundation subjects are taught thoroughly, and the course is not easy. Indeed it is a difficult course, for which reason the University admits, as special students, men who may fail of the requisite preparation in one or more branches. These men elect generally, chemistry, sometimes, chemistry and agriculture; sometimes Chemistry and mechanics; after all they must take Chemistry either alone or in combination with some other things. They are allowed to take whatever they are prepared to take. But it is better to take the regular course, for here the studies have been balanced so that each strengthens the other. At the end of the third year, the student has studied the elements of Chemistry, Agriculture and Mechanics. He has been drilled in the fundamental principles of these subjects. He has been taught to regard them not as things he has "taken," but as tools he has acquired with which he is to work every day. He is now prepared to specialise. This high standard of preparation takes time and work, but it is necessary. All the great technical schools of Germany and of America follow this plan, on the general principle, that short cuts either to wealth or to knowledge do not pay in the long run. The fourth and fifth years are the really significant ones for sugar work proper, and are largely of the order of post-graduate work.

An important feature of these two years is the practical work at the sugar experiment station at Audubon Park, New Orleans. At this station there is an equipment worth over three lákhs of rupees, by all odds the most complete equipment for scientific work in cane sugar in existence. In Louisiana the sugar season usually begins about the middle of October and runs for about ten weeks. During this time the students prepare the grounds for next year's crop, plant and cultivate the cane, harvest this year's crop, grind it, boil and crystallise the sugar, etc. In short, they carry out practically the entire operation of making sugar from the planting to the finished product, under strict control.

Upon their return to the University, the students take up work in these three main branches which bears directly upon the technology of sugar. They have courses on detailed agriculture of cane, they draw the various machines found in the sugar houses, they study the chemical properties of the sugar, etc. For scientific work the equipment of the chemical department is particularly noteworthy. At the end of five years the student "graduates" with the degree of B. S.

Every year the University is compelled to reject applications for sugar men. The demand far exceeds the supply. As to the salaries, that is something which depends upon the individual to such an extent that it is hard to discuss it fairly. When the men start out they usually get from 75 to 125$ per month. At the end of four year's work, the writer has in mind one making about three thousand dollars per year. Some of longer experience make five, still another makes ten thousand. These serve to show that the right man can do well.

The details of these lines of work can be found in the circular published by the University, which will be sent on application to President Boyd, Audubon Sugar Schools, New Orleans, U. S. A.

And so the case stands thus to the sugar planters of Louisiana. The state provides them with an opportunity to educate their

sons for sugar works, at a small cost and in a manner of proved excellence. If you give your sons such education (not only sugar, but any other kind of technical education of this kind) you ensure them good livelihood, and give them in their business career every chance of success. If such institutions be opened in India, it would be very useful for the rising generation.

K. C. BANERJEE.

"THREE ACRES AND A COW"

THERE is at present a great and universal cry for developing the agriculture of the country—to which there is but a very feeble response from those that are really engaged in agriculture. All is not gold that glitters. Much of the interest displayed in agriculture is philanthropic and shallow-rooted. If one enquires among the agricultural classes, he will find that arable farming is at present carried on at a loss. Most of the rice-lands yield only one crop a year. The plots of the arable farming are not all in one block—and loss from theft and cattle trespass is very great. The misappropriation of the village grazing lands, has raised the cost of maintaining the plough-bullocks. A bigha of rice-land yields about 4 maunds of paddy worth Rs. 12. The actual cost of cultivation would come to about Rs. 10. One bigha of jute will yield about 4 maunds of fibre, which, allowing for the fluctuations of the market, is worth about Rs. 20. The actual cost of cultivating a bigha of jute is about Rs. 15, leaving for profit about Rs. 5. The average size of a Bengal rayat's farm may be taken as 9 bighas—so that the average yearly profit of the rice-grower is Rs. 18 and that of the jute-grower Rs. 45. If a charge is made for the rayat's personal supervision, he will be seen to be working at a loss. If you consider the further fact, that he has to borrow money at the jute season at the almost fabulous rate of interest of 4 as. per Rupee per month, you will shudder to think how he can carry on his work. Even if you allow that half the land of the rayats is *dofasli* and he may take an extra pulse crop from half the land—the annual profit of the rice or jute grown may be increased by another 9 or 10 Rs., making it Rs. 28 for the rice-grower and 55 for the jute-grower. Yet, what is it, after all, for the annual requirements of a rayat-family of 5 or 6 members? Arable farming on the part of these small farmers does not find full employment for them for the whole year, and you find the arable farmer of this month, the boatman of the next month, the *cooly* of all work the month after, and the *gharami* or the brick-mason of the month following. The poor arable farmer, to eke out a miserable subsistence for his family, has to put his hand almost to every thing. He has to be an expert in so many things that you find him not an expert even in agriculture. By this distraction he loses efficiency as a food-producer and himself lives in a state of chronic famine from year's end to year's end. Where then lies the remedy? Extend the arable farm? Even a rayat is a human being and with a family of 5 or 6 members would at least want for their bare maintenance Rs. 20 to 25 per month or Rs. 250 to 300 per year. To derive such an income from mere arable farming, each rayat will require about 100 bighas of land, which in the present state of things, is altogether out of the question. Mere arable farming by itself cannot, therefore, save the rayat from famine and starvation. A gentleman wishing to secure an honest livelihood by arable farming would want at least 250 to 300 bighas of land, and an initial capital of about Rs. 5,000, including the cost on his quarters, to earn an income of Rs. 50 a month or Rs. 600 a year. So that arable farming by itself is an absolutely hopeless affair.

We must follow the example of the Irish farmer, whose sole ambition has always been and still is to secure his "three acres and a cow", with which he is always able to secure a decent income, sufficient for the maintenance in comfort of himself and

family. Three acres are roughly equal to 9 bighas. The Irish farmer with his *three acres and a cow* is well able to maintain himself. The Bengal farmer with his 9 bighas or 3 acres *without the cow* is starving. The cow alone can save the grave situation in which farmers are placed. Really, the dairy and arable farming, or vegetable gardening are complementary to each other, the straw and chaff of cereals and pulses and the refuse leaves and haulms of garden vegetables which are almost wasted —are converted into valuable milk, if passed through the cow, which has been called a milk-making machine. Even the rejected leaves and leaf-sheathes of the plaintain are a valuable food for the milch-cow. At the same time the cow will reward the pains by supplying valuable manure for enriching both field and garden. The average farmer cannot succeed by mere arable farming. In Europe, the dairy is largely taking the place of the arable farm. Says Prof. Long—"the fact that milk-production has been more profitable to the farmer than most of the other branches of his industry, has, of late, induced numbers of tenants to keep dairy cows, and produce milk for sale, or manufacture butter or cheese." —P. 116, "Cheese and cheese making." A similar change, says Fleischmann, is noticed in Germany and Prof. Wall says is noticed in America. The keeping of *one or two cows* alone can save the grave situation in which Indian agriculture now stands. But there are cows and cows. While our country cow will give scarcely an average of two seers or 4 lbs. of milk daily—an English short-horn will give on an average of the year 44 lbs, an Ayrshire 37 lbs, an American Holstein Friesian 50 lbs, a Jersey 28 lbs. of milk daily. Our country cow will consume in food for herself and her calf and in cost of attendance almost all that she will yield. She in her present condition will be more a burden than a source of profit to the farmer. Are we to go in for the English Ayrshire or short-horn or an Australian short-horn? Private persons cannot go in for risky and expensive acclimatisation experiments, which may spell their ruin. There the State must help. Whatever cow he selects, the cow-keeper himself must in all cases be well-trained to avoid loss from neglect or mismanagement. The rayat of to-day knows nothing of cow-keeping. He is not even able to milk a cow decently. He must first be trained and then provided with a cow suitable for dairy purposes. There are up-country cows which will yield 8 seers of milk and with a liberal use of concentrated food-cakes and corn and pulses, the milk will be richer than now. A farmer keeping such a cow, which he may either purchase or rear from a calf of the proper breed, will at once improve the situation. He will draw all the profits of the arable farm, to which will be added those of cow-keeping. The cow will be maintained on the straw and rejected leaves and haulms of the 9 bighas of arable land, supplemented by some purchased concentrated food—say 2 lbs. of oil-cake, 2 lbs. of pulse and 2 lbs. of bran daily, or 30 seers of oil-cake at Re. 1-8, 30 seers of pulse at Rs. 2, and 30 seers of bran at 1-8—total Rs. 5. She will yield 8 seers of milk, which in the country at 3 annas per seer will be Re. 1-8 daily, or Rs. 45 per month. It will keep the children of the farmer or his wife or the farmer himself profitably employed throughout the year. It will leave him money enough to purchase another cow by the time the first runs dry. As soon as the farmers see the profitableness of keeping such a cow—they will unite to provide themselves with a breeding bull perhaps in connection with a Kolu's (oil-presser's) oil mill. Thus "three acres and a cow" will be the salvation of the Indian tenantry, as it has been the salvation of the Irish tenantry.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

He who believes in eternal justice cannot be beaten in life. He may be stung; he may be half dead with the wounds of life, stricken of heart in the lonely desert; but he is sure to start into energy the moment he sees the fresh sunlight or the breeze of the new impulse, such impulse as God sends a man who clings to him by faith.—*Stopford A. Brooke.*

Every man takes care that his neighbour does not cheat him. But a day comes when he begins to care that he does not cheat his neighbour. Then all goes well; he has changed his market-cart into a chariot of the sun.—*Emerson.*

THE CARTESIAN PROOFS OF THE EXISTENCE OF GOD

THE proof of the existence of God is the pivot on which the whole of the Cartesian philosophy turns. The one certainty, which makes all other certainties possible, is, in the judgment of Descartes, that of the existence of God. *Cogito ergo sum* is no doubt the formal point of departure of the system, but Descartes takes great pains to show that self-knowledge presupposes and is essentially bound up with the consciousness of God. The inconsistencies of Descartes are so glaring and some of his fundamental assumptions are so untenable that most of the critics who have written about him have naturally thought more of refuting his arguments than of bringing out his inner meaning. It is certain, however, that Cartesianism is one of the philosophical systems in studying which it is helpful to bear the following confession of Leibnitz in mind:—

"It is characteristic of me to hold opposition as of little account, exposition as of much account, and when a new book comes into my hands I look for what I can learn from it and not for what I can criticise in it."

Descartes began to philosophise at a time when the old learning had already lost its hold on the minds of men. Scholasticism was a discredited system. The ideal which every earnest thinker with any claim to originality kept before his mind was to conduct inquiry and research without being fettered by the authority of the church and the state. So long had the Catholic Church held undisputed sway over the minds of the learned and the unlearned alike, that at last when the inevitable reaction came, it was bound in many cases to be extreme and violent. The unquestioning faith and credulity which generally characterised the era preceding the renascence gave place to a spirit of doubt and criticism. It is this spirit that finds expression in the writings of Descartes. But with him doubt is not an end in itself. If he doubts, it is for the purpose of finally and completely freeing himself from it. He destroys in order to rebuild on a securer foundation. Now, Descartes shows that there is nothing which we cannot doubt except the fact of doubting itself. Our senses deceive us so often that we must reject their testimony until we succeed in finding a sure criterion by which we can distinguish the true from the false. Even the demonstrations of Mathematics are open to doubt, for it is conceivable that we owe our origin to an all powerful but malevolent being who takes pleasure in deceiving us even in things which seem most certain to us. But it is impossible for us to doubt that we doubt. To doubt is to think. The activity of thinking is, therefore, the ultimate irreducible fact to which we come after we have got rid of everything else by means of doubt. *Cogito ergo sum.* This, then, is the unshakable foundation on which the philosopher must build. I, as a thinking being, exist. From this first principle Descartes derives his criterion of truth, *viz.*, clearness and distinctness of conception. What is clearly and distinctly conceived is true, provided, of course, that we are not deceived by a malevolent being.

Among our ideas, there is one that represents a God.

"By the name God," says Descartes, "I understand a substance, infinite, eternal, immutable, all-powerful, and by which I myself and every other thing that exists, if any such there be, were created. But these properties are so great and excellent, that the more attentively I consider them, the less I feel persuaded that the idea I have of them owes its origin to myself alone."*

The idea of an infinite being is not negative, but positive, and is presupposed in the knowledge of finite things. Now, the all important question is, what is the source of this idea? I cannot myself be the cause of it, for the cause cannot be less real than the effect. A finite being cannot produce the idea of an infinite being. The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that an infinite being

* *Meditations, Veitch's Translation*, p. 125.

actually exists, who is the source of the idea. God, when he created me, implanted the idea of Him in my mind, "that it might serve, as it were, for the mark of the workman impressed on his work." In the *Principles of Philosophy*, this well-known argument is stated in the following terms:—

"Because we discover in our minds the idea of God, or of an all-perfect Being, we have a right to inquire into the source whence we derive it; and we will discover that the perfections it represents are so immense as to render it quite certain that we could only derive it from an all perfect Being; that is, from a God really existing. For it is not only manifest by the natural light that nothing cannot be the cause of anything whatever, and that the more perfect cannot arise from the less perfect, so as to be thereby produced as by its efficient and total cause, but also that it is impossible we can have the idea or representation of anything whatever, unless there be somewhere either in us or out of us an original which comprises in reality all the perfections that are thus represented to us; but, as we do not in any way find in ourselves those absolute perfections of which we have the idea, we must conclude that they exist in some nature different from ours, that is in God."*

It may be supposed that the infinite is simply the negation of the finite and that we get the idea of it by abstracting from all the positive determinations of the finite. But Descartes is careful to point out that the idea of the finite presupposes that of the infinite. A merely finite being would not be conscious of its own finitude. To know the limit of a thing is virtually to transcend it. The very fact that we are aware of ourselves as finite beings proves that there is an element of infinitude in us.

"I clearly perceive" argues Descartes "that there is more reality in the infinite substance than in the finite, and therefore that in some way I possess the perception of the infinite before that of the finite, that is, the perception of God before that of myself, for how could I know that I doubt, desire or that something is wanting to me and that I am not wholly perfect, if I possessed no idea of a being more perfect than myself, by comparison of which I know the deficiencies of my nature?"†

The only flaw in this reasoning is that it uncritically takes it for granted that the finite and the infinite are independent of and externally related to each other. The drift of the argument, however, is to show that the finite depends on and presupposes the infinite and the infinite realises itself in the finite. The infinite is not external to and exclusive of the finite but comprises it within itself and exists in and through it. A finite being could not be aware of the infinite, if the infinite were external to it.

Now, the objection to the argument that God exists, because we have the idea of Him, which at once suggests itself to the mind is that even if we assume that we really possess the idea of God, it does not follow that the source of it must be an actually existing Divine Being. The weakness and imperfection of man and the helplessness which he feels in the presence of the stupendous forces of nature, it is possible to argue, suggest to his mind that there is a powerful being on which he absolutely depends and which he must propitiate for his safety and well-being. Thus arises the germ of the idea of a Supreme Being. Tradition, reflection, the superstitious tendencies from which man, however, civilised can never altogether free himself and the experiences of life help to develop it. The form in which civilised man possesses it is the outcome of centuries of historical development. The savage does not possess it in as complex and developed a form as the civilised man, the childs' conception of God is not as perfect as that of the adult. The idea of God, in short, is not simple but highly complex and is capable of being resolved into various psychological and historical elements. To meet this and other objections the form of the Cartesian theory has no doubt to be modified, but the substance of it remains unaffected. What Descartes contends for is that the finite and imperfect, no matter whether it is a single thing or a combination of many different things, cannot engender the idea of a Supreme Being. The validity of the argument is not affected by any question as to the universality of the idea. Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that no human being except Descartes ever possessed such an idea, the problem of an adequate explanation of it still remains. The question is not whether all human beings possess this idea but whether we can suppose it to originate from finite experiences of life, and the answer from the standpoint of Descartes is that you cannot derive the idea of the infinite from the finite elements into which it is vainly sought to be resolved. The idea of the finite, as we have seen, presupposes that of the infinite and any attempt to explain

* *Principles of Philosophy, Veitch's Tr., p. 201.*

† *Meditations, Veitch's Tr.*, p. 126.

the latter by the former is to put the cart before the horse.

The modern theory of evolution does not destroy the validity of the Cartesian reasoning, but rather strengthens it. According to the evolutionist, the only satisfactory way of explaining a thing is to show how it has gradually come to be what it is. It is impossible to understand adequately the nature of a thing unless we know the history of its origin. But we must not forget that evolution itself stands in need of explanation. Against the supposition that the lower stage of a developing thing in interaction with its environment is, in itself, an adequate explanation or the cause of the higher stage of it, the Cartesian principle that the more perfect cannot be produced by the less perfect remains as valid as ever. The business of the scientific evolutionist no doubt ends when he arranges as methodically as he can the various stages of an evolving thing in an ascending series in which each term differs from the next by the least perceptible degree. But the philosopher cannot afford to forget that the higher stage grows out of the lower, because the latter potentially contains the former. 'Potential', however, is a meaningless word unless we take care to remember that what is potential from our limited point of view is actual in some very real manner. The teacher explaining a subject to his pupil actually knows all that the pupil knows potentially. The knowledge already acquired by the pupil may in one sense be called the cause of his knowing more, but the lesser knowledge can lead to the fuller knowledge, because the pupil's progress in the acquisition of knowledge, which is a process in time, is the result of the gradual communication to his mind of the knowledge which the teacher possesses in a complete form from the very beginning.* Evolution, in short, or creation, if you like the term, is the gradual unfolding of the great drama of the universe, the plot of which exists eternally complete in the Divine mind. The evolutionist may show how our present conception of God is the outcome of a long process of historical development, but what this really means is that man's idea of God is the gradual self-communication of God to man, the measure of which is determined by the degree of his fitness, depending on his moral, intellectual and social conditions, for receiving the revelation. You may succeed in tracing minutely the course of evolution from the nebula to Hegel, but you must not imagine that Hegel's conception of God originates, in the last resort, from the nebula. Such a notion is not only erroneous but ridiculous. Descartes justly reminds us that the "objective being of an idea cannot be produced by a being that is merely potentially existent, which properly speaking, is nothing, but only by a being existing formally or actually." The theory of evolution, we thus see, does not in any way diminish the value of the Cartesian doctrine. On the contrary, it increases the plausibility of it. One of the reasons why we are slow to accept it is the abruptness of the manner in which the idea of God, on the showing of Descartes, seems to arise in the mind. But if we learn from the evolutionist that the most developed conception of God does not suddenly come into existence, "as if shot from a pistol," but grows gradually both in the individual mind and in the race, without forgetting that what phenomenally appears in time is always present in the eternally complete consciousness of God, we shall be able to perceive all that is of permanent value in the Cartesian argument.

In connection with the argument for the existence of God explained above, there is an important passage in the *Meditations* to which I desire to draw special attention. It is as follows:—

"Considering that God is my creator, it is highly probable that He, in some way, fashioned me after his own image and likeness, and that I perceive this likeness, in which is contained the idea of God, by the same faculty by which I apprehend myself,—in other words, when I make myself the object of reflection, I not only find that I am an incomplete, imperfect and dependent being, and one who unceasingly aspires after something better and greater than he is; but, at the same time, I am assured likewise that He upon whom I am dependent, possesses in Himself all the goods after which I aspire, and the ideas of which I find in my mind and that not merely indefinitely and potentially, but infinitely and actually, and that He is thus God."†

It does not appear that Descartes himself

* Of course this illustration must not be taken too literally. It would be apposite if the teacher's mind and the pupils' mind were members of an organic whole.

† *Meditations, Veitch's Tr.*, pp. 131—32.

perceived the full meaning of this statement. It implies that the knowledge of self is so essentially bound up with the knowledge of God, that to know oneself is to know God. If the knowledge of self is impossible apart from the knowledge of God, it necessarily follows that the existence of the human self is involved in the existence of God. Man's self, that is to say, forms an integral part of the Divine self. The radical defect of the Cartesian doctrine is that, according to it, God is external to man and produces the idea of Himself in man's mind, so to speak, from the outside. The passage quoted and the proof for the existence of God which we will proceed next to consider, go far to modify this view. It is impossible to draw a rigid distinction between the idea of God and the being of God. Man's knowledge of God is identical with God's self-communication to man. It is unfortunate that Descartes does not expressly accept this conclusion which his theory suggests. The fact is that in spite of occasional glimpses of the truth, the influence of dualism is too strong for him and he finally settles down in one of the crudest forms of it.

"When I allow my attention in some degree to relax," says Descartes, "the vision of my mind being obscured, and, as it were, blinded by the images of sensible objects, I do not readily remember the reason why the idea of a being more perfect than myself, must of necessity have proceeded from a being in reality more perfect. On this account, I am here desirous to inquire further, whether I who possess this idea of God could exist supposing there were no God."

Now if God be not the source of my being, I derive my existence either from myself or from my parents, or from some being less perfect than God. But if I were the cause of myself, I should confer on myself all the perfections of which I possess the idea. If it be said in reply that I do not possess this power, the answer is that the being that can create itself, must also have the power of making itself perfect, for to bring oneself into existence is more difficult than to pass from imperfection to perfection. For the same reason, I cannot suppose that I have been created by any finite being. The only Being, therefore, from whom I could draw my origin is God, who possesses all the perfections of which I have the idea. The supposition that I have always been as I am now, does not obviate the necessity of finding an adequate cause of my existence. "The duration alone of our life" argues Descartes, "is sufficient to demonstrate the existence of God." The moments of time are not dependent on each other and never co-exist.

"Accordingly from the fact that we now are, it does not necessarily follow that we shall be a moment afterwards, unless some cause, *viz.* that which first produced us, shall, as it were, continually reproduce us, that is, conserve us. For we easily understand that there is no power in us by which we can conserve ourselves, and that the being who has so much power to conserve us out of himself must also by so much the greater reason conserve himself, or rather stand in need of being conserved by no one whatever, and, in fine be God."*

How widely different such a view is from the deistic notion that God, once upon a time, created man and having endowed him with free will and made him subject to certain fixed laws, left him to himself, it is not necessary to point out. The clearly expressed conviction of Descartes is that God *conserves us out of Himself from moment to moment* and that our knowledge of ourselves is indissolubly connected with our knowledge of God. That a philosopher who teaches this important truth should also be the author of one of the crudest of dualistic systems is no doubt strange, but the evil reputation of Cartesianism on account of its dualism should not make us blind to the elements of permanent value which it contains.

I now come to the famous ontological argument. It is as follows: There is one idea of mind which is highest of all, that of an all-wise and omnipotent and absolutely perfect Being and this idea implies necessary existence. As we conclude that the three angles of a triangle must be equal to two right angles, because the idea of a triangle involves this property, so from the fact that necessary existence is comprised in the idea of a Supreme Being, perfect in all respects, we conclude that such a being actually exists.

"The existence," argues Descartes, "can no more be separated from the essence of God, than the idea of a mountain from that of a valley, or the equality of its three angles to two right angles from the essence of a triangle; so that it is not less impossible to conceive a God, that is, a being supremely perfect to whom existence is wanting or who is devoid of a

* *Principle of Philosophy, Veitch's Tr., pp. 202*

certain perfection than to conceive a mountain without a valley."*

In the *Principles of Philosophy* the argument is set forth in the following language:

"When the mind reviews the different ideas that are in it, it discovers what is by far the chief among them—that of a being omniscient, all powerful, and absolutely perfect; and it observes that in this idea there is contained not only possible and contingent existence, as in the ideas of all other things which it clearly perceives, but existence absolutely necessary and eternal. And just as because, for example, the equality of its three angles to two right angles is necessarily comprised in the idea of a triangle, the mind is firmly persuaded that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles; so, from its perceiving necessary and eternal existence to be comprised in the idea which it has of an all perfect Being, it ought manifestly to conclude that this all perfect Being exists."†

Now, what are we to say of this argument? There can be no doubt that superficially viewed, it strikes one as not only fallacious but frivolous, so much so that serious attention was not paid to it until Hegel rehabilitated it.‡ How can it be argued, it will naturally be asked, that a thing actually exists because I have the idea of it in my mind? The objection of Kant that from the idea of a hundred dollars in my mind I cannot infer that I have them actually in my purse, was for a long time regarded as conclusive against the argument. The idea of an absolutely perfect Being no doubt involves the idea of existence, but the *idea* of existence is not the *fact* of existence and Descartes, one may object not without reason, has not shown the way to bridge the gulf between them. But after all, there must be something in an argument which has been put forward by some of the greatest thinkers of the world, Hegel amongt the number. The fact is that the fault lies more in Descartes' manner of presenting the argument than in the substance of it. The criticisms levelled against Descartes have not always been fair to him. It is too often forgotten that he draws a distinction between existence and necessary existence and what he urges is that the idea of God involves necessary *existence* and not merely the *idea* of existence. In effect, he maintains that idea is logically prior to existence and denies that there is any fixed gulf between them. If he had been sufficiently mindful of these important points in his argument, he might have presented it in an unassailable form and anticipated Hegel. Now what is necessary existence and how does it differ from contingent existence? In reality, there is no such thing as contingent existence at all. The phrase merely expresses our ignorance of the manifold relations in which every object stands to every other object in the universe and in virtue of which it exists. Take away these relations and the object ceases to have any being. But we wrongly imagine that objects are self-subsistent and independent of one another and can, therefore, either exist or not exist. What constitutes a thing and its qualities are the relations, which advancing science does its best to determine precisely, in which it stands to the total system of things. As a sentence, isolated from the context has no definite meaning, so a thing, in abstraction from the universe as a whole, has no reality. To know an object, as it truly is, is to know it as determined by its relations to the whole universe of which it forms a part. What, therefore, really exists or has necessary existence is the world as a systematic whole and not any particular element of it in isolation from the rest. It is possible to imagine that a thing might have been other than it is or not at all, because we apprehend only a few of the infinite relations in which it stands to all other objects. We fancy that the flower in the crannied wall might not have grown at all or grown elsewhere, because we do not understand what it is, "root and all, and all in all." Contingent existence, we thus see, is only another name for insufficiently understood existence. What alone exists and exists necessarily is the world as a systematic whole of inter-related parts. This implies that the world is the manifestation of a spiritual principle of unity which, in all changes and the differences of objects, remains identical with itself. If an object cannot be apart from its relations to other objects, it follows that all the objects are at bottom one. This unity cannot be anything material, for what is material must be particular and limited in space and time and, therefore, determined by relations and

* *Meditations, Veitch's Tr.*, pp. 145-46.

† *Principles of Philosophy, Veitch's Tr., p. 199.*

‡ In reviving the ontological argument, Hegel gives a new meaning to it, which, however, he believes to be implied in the Cartesian form of it. For some remarks on the ontological argument see Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion*, English Tr., Vol. III, pp. 353-67.

not the ground of relations. Nature, in short, is the manifestation of a spiritual principle or God. God has no being apart from the universe which reveals him and the universe exists only as it is related essentially to the unity of Divine Thought. The real meaning of the ontological argument, therefore, is that the idea of God is an empty abstraction apart from the existence of the universe which is the eternal expression of his intellect and will. The essence of God, Descartes justly insists, cannot be separated from his existence, only that we must be careful to remember that God exists not as a limited sensible thing exists, but in the higher sense in which his existence involves that of the universe. The distinction of thought and being presupposes and falls within the idea of God. Had Descartes clearly perceived this, he would have been spared the necessity of deducing the existence of the material world from the veracity of God in a highly artificial manner. He would have seen that the existence of God means the existence of the world. His ontological argument loses much of its meaning on account of its association with the dualism of matter and mind to which he all along unflinchingly adheres.

To sum up: We have seen that in the search for truth, the method of Descartes is to find a principle which shall be beyond all doubt and the criterion of every other certainty. This he finds in self-consciousness. But it is impossible to accept the clear and distinct ideas of the mind as true until we are satisfied that we are not playthings in the hands of a malevolent being who takes pleasure in deceiving us. But God, it has been proved, is an all perfect Being, and an all perfect Being cannot be deceitful. We are thus relieved from the one doubt that still haunted us. Our consciousness of God is the guarantee that what the mind perceives clearly and distinctly is true. The essential significance of this conclusion is to show that the real copestone of the edifice of knowledge is not the finite self-consciousness of man, but the consciousness of God. This view is confirmed by the fundamental Cartesian doctrines that the idea of the finite presupposes that of the infinite, that man's conception of God can have no other source than God Himself, that God conserves us out of Himself from moment to moment and that the idea of an all-perfect Being involves his necessary existence, which, rightly understood, means that the unity of the Divine self differentiates itself into the infinity of inter-related objects which constitute the cosmic whole and from them returns upon itself. The misfortune is that the value of these propositions is largely discounted by their association with a dualism fundamentally inconsistent with them and from which it took philosophy centuries of hard struggle to finally emancipate itself. But perhaps, in philosophy, as in all things else, difficulty is good for man.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN RUSSIA

IN the issue of August, I read with great interest the article signed "Indo-American" concerning Russia.

Would you allow me, I would propose some remarks on one point of the subject treated therein.

When speaking of public instruction in Russia, the question is never treated according to the principles taken into consideration in similar studies of other European countries.

If you say that almost every Frenchman can read and write, of course, you don't speak of the French subjects living in French colonies, such as Annamites and Malgaches.

Some parts of the vast Russian Empire are but colonies: Caucasus submitted only in 1874, Turkestan in 1883, and so for Mandchouria, Finland, etc.

Under the domination of the Tsar, there are 14,50,00,000 subjects; but how many of these are Russians?

There are 1,00,00,000 Poles, 60,00,000 Jews, 50,00,000 Lithuanians and Lettes, 30,00,000 Finlanders, 30,00,000 Tatars,

15,00,000 Germans (colonists or inhabitants of the Baltic provinces); in Turkestan there are 1,00,00,000 Kirghises, Turcomen and Sartes; in the Siberian steppes there are many Bouriats, Kalmouks, Laplanders; in the Far East many Coreans, etc. etc. About one hundred different nations.

Many of them have their own schools, their literature; in Poland I saw many Polish primary and high schools; in Finland they have a university and numbers of schools of all degrees. In many towns, in Baku for instance, there are Tatar schools for boys and for girls, and also Russo-Tatar schools.

When the young recruits come from these countries to their regiments, they cannot read or write or even speak Russian; but they read and write their own language, and these illiterate soldiers, when in the Polish Catholic "Kossiol" or in the Lutherian "Kirch" read their prayer and hymn book.

Besides this, the figures given by "Indo-American" cannot but mislead those who try to get a just idea of the state of things.

Let us suppose that the contribution of the State to the budget of Public Instruction amounts only to 91,14,000 roubles (though if 2½*d.* per head, it will be, for 14,50,00,000 inhabitants, about 1,50,00,000). We must take into account that there is in Russia a special institution, the Zemstvo, which has its schools, as well as its hospitals, its tribunals, etc. The Zemstvo has some ten thousand schools.

The Municipalities have the town schools (in some of these primary schools the course of studies is of six or seven years and includes foreign languages).

Some ten thousand schools belong to the Church. In the parish schools the programme is almost the same as in primary lay schools, and the teachers are laymen.

In the diocesan schools the programme is the same as in the gymnasiums or almost the same.

The minister of war has the Staff Academy—the corps des Pages, 25 Cadet corps, 10 special schools, a Military Faculty of Medicine, some schools for the formation of officers de sante, and many primary schools for the children of soldiers.

There are 91 gymnasiums or high schools, and many primary schools for the children of Cossacks.

The minister of the Navy has, I think, 26 schools; the minister of finance has the commercial schools, the number of which has increased since 1871 from 1 to 1450.

Some thousands of schools are private or supported by charitable foundations.

So, the greatest part of the schools do not receive their subventions from the budget of Public Instruction.

I give some examples to show the distribution of the schools.

In Tomsk (Siberia) you find more than 65 schools: the University with its rich library of more than 1,00,000 volumes, its museum, its vast clinics, etc. The Technological Institute, the Classical Gymnasium for boys, the Modern or *real* school for boys, the Gymnasium for girls, (one of the numerous schools called after the Empress Mary), 2 commercial schools under the supervision of the minister of finances, 1 veterinary and 1 surgeons' school (Minister of war), 1 school for midwives, Sunday schools, 4 private mixed schools, 4 home schools, 1 Tatar school (Minister of the Interior), 1 or 2 Jewish schools, 1 Ecclesiastical Seminary, 1 Diocesan high school for girls, 1 Clergy high school for boys with about 200 scholarships, 28 Parish schools (boys or girls), 11 mixed Parish schools, a church Parish training school for teachers, some technical and primary railway schools.

In Ekaterinburg (Ural region) you have: 1 Classical Gymnasium and 1 Modern High School for boys, 1 gymnasium for girls, the Ural Mining Schools, some town schools of 3 and 4 classes, and Primary Schools, Diocesan Schools (girls), 1 Clergy High School (boys), 3 Parish Schools, and a number of Private Schools.

In Petropavlosk (Siberia): 1 gymnasium for boys, 1 gymnasium for girls, 4 Parish Schools, 2 Cossack Schools, 6 Tatar Schools. In Irkousk there are more than 45 schools. In Samara over 40. In Oufa 25, etc.

Before the war there were in Sakhaline 28 schools for the children of settlers and convicts.

'Indo-American' speaks about the large sums of money sent by the American Revolutionaries to Russia for the promotion of instruction: can he mention only one school founded with that money?

I would like also to know if all the scholarships in the Universities and gymna-

siums, all the cheap dining-rooms and boarding-houses for students, and the libraries were founded with the money of revolutionaries or with the money of those abhorred people, aristocrats and rich citizens, upon whom revolutionary students are so generously throwing bombs.

PRAVDA.

THE IDEAL OF KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA

A Government to be popular must, in the first place, be sympathetic, and to be sympathetic, must thoroughly understand the habits, thoughts, and ideals of the people who have been placed, by Providence, under its charge. The Government should thoroughly understand the people, and the people also should have perfect confidence in the good faith and the sense of righteousness and justice of the Government, before they could be brought into close and direct touch with one another. This mutual understanding is an essential and indispensable factor in the success of all Governments, and more so, of a Government that is mainly carried on by aliens.

The Hindus constitute the bulk of the Indian population. They are a most ancient and conservative people, and have got ideals of their own in matters social, religious and political, which still dominate them in the every day concerns of their life, and in their hopes and aspirations. That a clear comprehension of these ideals is indispensably necessary for the good Government of the Indian people goes without saying.

In view of the present unrest in India and the widespread discontent with the existing state of things in general, and the existing system of Government in particular, one naturally feels tempted to ask the question: "What was the ideal of kingship in Ancient India? And what *is* still the dominating ideal about kings and kingship among the Indian masses?" It seems to us that right answers to this question would go a great way to help the solution of the many difficult and complicated problems that have, at the present moment, been staring both the rulers and the ruled in the face.

I do not pretend to be able to assist in the solution of these difficult problems. But it will be my humble endeavour in this article to trace and find out, if possible, the ideal of kingship that obtained in Ancient India, and which the majority of the Indian masses have not even yet lost sight of. The field of my research is, of course, the pages of ancient Sanskrit works.

When I first took up my study of the Hindu Shastras, it was a matter for surprise to me that Manu, the most ancient lawgiver of the Indo-Aryans, as well as some other lawgivers that followed him, should have at all thought it worth their while to preface their codifications of the laws of the country by a chapter on cosmogony, or a brief account of the origin of the Universe, which seemed to me to be not only quite out of place in a work that purported to deal with stern facts and the hard realities of life, but also quite unnecessary and superfluous. But, on close examination, I found that such a chapter was quite indispensable, in as much as it furnished the key to, and, as it were, the *raison d'être* of, and the fundamental principle underlying the laws embodied in the works, which, otherwise, would seem mostly arbitrary and meaningless. This, also probably, explains the reason why the Puranas, too, which purport to popularise the Indo-Aryan ideals in matters social, political, moral and religious, by means of tales and anecdotes, have invariably got a chapter on cosmogany. The How and Why of all things must, according to Indo-Aryan conceptions, be traced to the How and Why of the Universe, *i.e.*, to the Primordial Existence from Which everything has emanated.

The Hindus believe in the existence of the one Primordial Spirit, called *Brahman*, from whom emanated Brahma, the Supreme Lord of Creation. From Brahma emanated

the great Devas (the Lokapalas) and the great Manu. From the great Manu (called Swayambhuva) emanated the minor lords of creation, (called Prajapatis) and the Devas. From these again emanated the seven minor Manus, and the different branches and objects of creation. Man, being the highest creature on this terrestrial globe, Brahma, the Supreme Lord of creation, framed a constitution for his benefit, and created the king, with the essential portions of the great Devas (the Lokapalas) for his (man's) protection and preservation.*

The king, therefore, according to the Hindu conception, is a Deva among men, specially appointed by the Supreme Lord of creation to rule over their destinies and protect and preserve them from all harm, turmoil and disturbances. Compared with the work of the Supreme Lord of creation, the great Devas, the Prajapatis, and the minor Devas who preside over the different spheres and divisions of this great Universe, the work of the king is certainly of minor importance. But no work in this Universe is small and unimportant by itself, in as much as it forms but a unit of the great work that aims at universal harmony and order. The king, therefore, was regarded as a link,—small it might be, but nevertheless indispensable—in the great chain that binds the whole Universe in one all-embracing harmony and concord. While, it is the primary duty of the king to maintain peace, harmony and order among those that are entrusted to his charge, it is also his duty to look upwards and see that he is not severed from the great chain that binds the Universe in unity and order, and upholds it from destruction. In other words, he has to keep himself in constant touch with the great Devas by the performance of *yajnas* and worship, and through them, with the Primordial Existence Which is the source of all, and in Which everything exists.

Thus, according to the Hindu conception, there is an ultimate unity in all this apparent diversity, and the realisation of this unity is the one grand aim and purpose of life. This unity, it is the sacred privilege of man to attain and realise, and it can be attained and realised by him in various ways, among which is reckoned the effecting of his unity with the king, the elect of the Devas, by means of sincere attachment, reverence and obedience to him, through whom the Devas carry on the great work of maintaining peace, order and harmony among mankind and their environments, which forms but an infinitesimal part of the all-embracing peace, order and harmony of the Universe.†

From the above necessarily brief and imperfect outline, it would appear that the ideal of kingship among the ancient Indo-Aryans was grand and inspiring. This ideal, it must be said here, was also shared by some other ancient nations of the earth, notably the Egyptians and the Chinese.‡ The fact that the Indo-Aryans used to be animated by this ideal, probably accounted for their wonderful progress and prosperity in all directions and departments of life; and the gradual falling off from this ideal probably explains their present deplorable condition and decadence.

If my readers have been able to grasp aright this ancient Hindu ideal of kingship, they will now be in a position to understand, why the king was regarded in Ancient India as a superior person and a Deva in human shape. Manu did not indulge in any fiction or flight of fancy, but only gave expression to the inherent popular belief and sentiments when he said in Chapter VII of the *Manu-samhita:*

"The Lord has created the king with the essential portions extracted from Indra, Vayu, Yama, Suryya, Agni, Varuna, Chandra, and Kuvera. (4)

"In as much as the king has been created with the (divine) portions of these superior Devas, all creatures are overwhelmed by his power. (5)

"The king, like the sun, burns the eyes and mind

* Read Chapter I of the *Manusamhita*. In this connection, the following words of the late Professor Huxley (*Essays upon some Controverted Questions, p. 36*) will be found interesting:

"Without stepping beyond the analogy of that which is known, it is easy to people the cosmos with entities, in ascending scale, until we reach something practically indistinguishable from omnipotence, omnipresence and omniscience."

† This all-embracing peace, order and harmony of the Universe is what the Hindu sages have described as *Dharma*. Whatever leads to peace, order and harmony is also *Dharma*, literally., that which upholds, or keeps things in their proper places.

‡ Dr. Adolf Erman, the celebrated Egyptologist, says: "The king was the representative of the deity, and his royal authority was directly derived from the gods. He was the head of the religion and of the state; he was the judge and lawgiver; and he commanded the army and led it to war. It was his right and his office to preside over the sacrifices and pour out libations to the gods; and wherever he was present, he had the privilege of being the officiating high priest." (Historian's History of the World, Vol. I, p. 199).

The Chinese regard their king even now as a Celestial. The Japanese also believe their king to be of divine origin. The conceptions of "the divine rights of the king," and "the divinity that hedges in the sacred person of the king," that prevailed in mediæval Europe are also expressive of the same idea.

of men; hence no man on this earth can look him in the face. (6)

"In prowess, he is like unto Agni, Vayu, Suryya, Chandra, Yama, Kuvera, Varuna and Indra.* (7)

"The king, even if he be a child, should not be looked down upon as an ordinary mortal; for a powerful Deva is there in human shape. (8)

"Agni (Fire) burns only one who approaches him carelessly; but the fire (fury) latent in the king burns whole families, along with their cattle and things. (9)

"The king assumes many forms (*i.e.* performs many roles) for the accomplishment of *Dharma* (*i.e.* the maintenance of the unity and harmony that upholds the Universe), after duly considering the nature of his work and his strength, and time and place. (10)

"Verily he (the king) is all powerful whose favour brings forth great prosperity, whose power produces success, and in whose anger lives death. (11)

"He who, from infatuation, goes in opposition to the king, perishes without doubt; for the king soon makes up his mind to encompass his ruin. (12)

"Wherefore none ought to transgress the law laid down by him for public good, or break the law enacted by him for putting down evil. (13)

For the sake of the king, the Lord had long ago created, with his own essence, his son *Dharma*, in the shape of *Danda* (lit. staff, the emblem of royalty), capable of protecting all created beings.† (14)

"That *Danda* is (essentially) the king, and (strong with his strength) is the *Purusha* (the male principle or positive power), and, therefore, the leader and ruler, and represents the order of the four Ashramas. (12)

"That person who wields the *Danda*, and is truthful, and acts on the fundamental principle of things, and is wise and knows wherein consist *Dharma* (harmony and order) *Artha* (prosperity) and *Karma* (the achievement of desirable ends), is called the king. (26)

"That king who wields the *Danda* in the proper manner is nourished by *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*, but that king who is avaricious, tyrannical and mean-minded is himself destroyed by that *Danda*." (27). Chap. VII, Manu.

The above quotations will suffice for our purpose. To sum up, the *Danda* is the emblem of royalty, and the embodiment of the spiritual idea of kingship. It is inseparable from *Dharma* itself (*i.e.*, harmony and order, which necessarily imply justice and righteousness), and is said to have emanated from Brahmá, the Supreme Lord of creation. The *Danda* is also inseparable from the king. Whoever wields it in the proper manner, even if he be a child, ought to be obeyed as king. The king is pre-eminently divine, in as much as he has incarnated in him, more than any other person, the divine portions of the Devas, who preside over the different spheres of our solar system, and is an important factor along with the Devas themselves in the maintenance of that universal order and harmony which hold together the different units of the Universe in one homogeneous whole.

Being a terrestrial Deva, the king is responsible for every thing that affects humanity. If peace and prosperity reign in the land, they are due to the king's wielding the *Dharma-Danda* in a just and proper manner, and to his ability to maintain harmony not only among his subjects and with the world around him, but also with the *Devas*, the Divine Forces of Nature. If there are drought and famine in the land, they are due to his inability to maintain harmony with the Devas, by the performance of *Yajnas* and sacrifices.‡ If there are epidemics, sufferings and early and untimely deaths among his subjects, they are due to his *A-dharma*, or inability to maintain harmony with the *Devas*, and order among his subjects.‖ It is discordance that leads to conflict, troubles, and sufferings. The king, therefore, as the representative of *Dharma* is held responsible for the miseries and sufferings of his subjects and all ills and

* Cf. *Agni Purana* (Chap. CCXXVI): "The king, like the sun, cannot be looked at with the naked eyes for his splendour, but he sheds a mellow light like the moon in order that his subjects may be happy at his sight. The king is the wind-god, since like the latter deity, he roams all over the world in the persons of his spies. The king is the god of death (yama), since like him the king rewards the virtuous and punishes the wicked. The king is the fire-god incarnate when he burns the evil-disposed, and represents the God of wealth at the time of making gifts. The king is the incarnation of the god of rain since like him he showers down wealth on the poor and the deserving. The king is the primordial hydra himself, since this universe is poised upon his infinite forbearance. The king is the god Hari, since like the latter deity, he protects his subjects with law and military force. (Sl. 17-20) *M. N. Dutt's Prose English Translation of Agni Purana*, vol. II, p. 810.

† The meaning of this Sloka, though somewhat obscure, is evidently this: *Dharma*, as I have already said, is the harmony and order of the Universe which upholds it. Without this harmony and order, nothing could exist. The creator, therefore, when he created the Universe, created also the harmony and order with his own essence. Hence, the harmony and order (Dharma) has been described by Manu to be the son of the Creator himself. The king whose duty it is to maintain harmony and order on the earth, is assisted by Dharma in his work, in the shape of *Danda* or the staff which is the emblem of royalty.

‡ Cf. the *Bhagabadgita*, Chap. III.

‖ This is a very peculiar belief among the Hindus who, even now, are in the habit of ascribing all national calamities to the sins of the king. Mark the following extracts from the *Ramayana* and the *Agni Purana*.

"The physical disturbances with which a country is generally visited are five in number such as, conflagration by fire, flood, breaking out of pestilential or epidemic diseases, famine and plague, the rest being known as caused by human agency. A king should put forth additional energy to cope with, stamp out, or remedy such dreadful visitations, and *undertake peace-giving religious rites for their subsidence, as well.*" Agni Purana, Ch. CCXLI, p. 864-65. (M. N. Dutt's Translation).

In the *Ramayana*, the dreadful drought that visited the kingdom of Anga, was ascribed to the inability of the king to properly discharge his royal duties. (Bk I, c. 9.)

Then, again, when Rama after returning from his exile, was ruling his kingdom with justice and righteousness, there occurred an early death in his dominion. The old Brahman, who had lost his young son came to the door of the royal palace with the dead body and lamented, saying that as he had never uttered an untruth in his life, nor done anything wrong, nor ever committed any sinful act himself, the death of the boy must have taken place in consequence of the sin of the king. In fact, he openly accused the king of sin.

dreadful visitations that devastate mankind. Was there not in this ideal of kingship among the ancient Indo-Aryans something really grand and touching?

If my readers have followed me so far, they will now be able to understand the spirit of the constitution, the rules laid down for the training and the conduct of the king, and the necessity insisted upon in the *Dharmashastras* for implicit obedience and respectful homage to the king, on the part of the people. The king had to pass through a course of rigorous discipline under the supervision of the *Maharshis*, had to realise himself as an important link in the chain of the universal order and harmony—the incarnation of *Dharma*,—and to regard himself as an effective instrument in the hands of the Devas for accomplishing the good of the world.* He learnt how to live, move and have his being, not for his own aggrandisement and happiness, but for the sake of the people entrusted to his charge. The king was regarded by the people as their own father, and the people were regarded by him as his own children. The king, having been the recognised head of all the departments of life—social, religious and political—the people had a close and direct touch with him. He performed the *Yajnas* or sacrifices under the guidance of the Brahmans and *Maharshis* with a view to keep his touch with the Lokapalas and the other Devas, and the latter in return reciprocated his pious sentiments and acts by sending down abundant rain and filling the Earth with plenty.† He took the greatest care in keeping his subjects on the path of virtue and righteousness, and strictly within the limits of their respective spheres, assigned to them by the great lawgivers, with a view to maintain peace and order in society. If there were any unruly spirits among his subjects, creating disorder and a sense of insecurity in society, he put them down with a firm hand. If there was any theft or robbery within his dominions, it was his first and foremost duty to run down the thief or robber, and recovering the stolen property, to make it over to the aggrieved person. If he failed to recover the property, then he had to make good the loss to him from the State coffer.‡ Why? Because the king was primarily held responsible for maintaining peace and order in society, and if any person suffered from disorder and lawlessness, it was because the king was remiss in the performance of his duties and therefore ought to expiate in the above manner for the wrong suffered by the individual in consequence of his remissness and neglect of duty. In fact, it was in the nature of a punishment of the

"Save under the regime of Rama, I have never seen or heard of the dreadful death of such a boy who hath not attained the age Forsooth, Rama hath perpetrated a mighty iniquity for which boys during his administration have been meeting with untimely death.....*Being impiously governed by a king, for his sin, the subjects meet with calamities.* And a king following evil freaks, and not governing the subjects righteously, people meet with untimely death. Therefore, when a king doth not suppress the crimes committed by people either in cities or provinces, the fear of untimely death comes in. Evident, it is, therefore, that undoubtedly the sin of the king hath appeared in cities and provinces. And for that reason, this boy hath met with death." (M. N. Dutt's Translation, vol. III, pp. 1787-88).

Many passages can also be quoted from the *Mahabharata*, illustrating the same idea. The following passage is taken from it at random:

"The king becoming erring (sinful), *A-dharma*, causing the propagation of bastards, is on the ascendant; winter makes its appearance untimely; there is an absence of coldness in winter, and calamities like excessive rains and drought appear (in the land). The people have to suffer pain from various diseases; horrid-looking comets, and many inauspicious planets and stars rise in the heavens, and various other destructive calamities constantly follow one another." (Santi Parva, Ch. 89).

* The following quotations from the *Agni Purana* will be found interesting here:

"The king who subjugates his senses, carefully learns from the Brahmans, well-versed in the Vedas, the three sciences of logic, punishment and money-making, and also acquires a special knowledge of commercial undertakings of the world, becomes able to keep his subjects under his own control" (Ch. CCXXV) "Humility is the mother of Virtue, and humility springs from a perusal of scriptural literature. From humility follows the control of the senses, and a king, who has acquired a mastery over his passions and appetites, is the fittest person to rule the world. A man who is possessed of such virtues as knowledge, wisdom, fortitude, perseverance, eloquence, reticence, energy, wit, large-heartedness, purity, power, amity, self-denial, truthfulness, gratitude, self-control, [good] parentage and character is sure to acquire a splendid fortune. The mad elephant of heated passions, running uncontrolled in the wilderness of the senses, should be kept in check by the free use of the mall of knowledge. A king should give up all personal greed, lust, anger, rivalry, boastfulness and pride, whereby he would be happy. A king should humbly follow the principles and truths laid down in the Codes of punishment and in the three holy Vedas or in the spiritual science and reduce them to practice in the works of his everyday life.....A king, seeking his own good, should speak to the wicked with the same humble courtesy, as he would have done to his own revered superiors." (Ch. CCXXXVIII). "Harsh words and cruel punishments tend to estrange the feelings of the public, and hence a king should give up the habit of using them as adverse to his own interests." (Ch. CCXLI). "He [the king] should never allow any consideration of private grudge or personal gain to mould his decision in the Council of the State, and shorn of all hauteur, pride, fickleness and bragging, he should bring with him in the national assembly the experience of his mature years and the charm of his majestic presence to decide the momentous issues of the country, without any regard to public praise or censure, offending none with his greatness, nor speaking ill of his compeers or opponents in the Court." (Ch. CCXXXIX) "The king should do such acts only as would attract the hearts of his subjects and refrain from doing that which would create hardships or displeasure. *The strength of a king is the love of his subjects*, and the epithet 'Raja' is derived from the fact of his pleasing [*Ranja*, to please] the people." (Ch. CCXX) *M. N. Dutt's Translation.*

† Cf. the *Agni Purana*, Ch. CCXXIII.

‡ "The King should make good to the owner the price of an article stolen by a thief, and on such an occasion, the King shall re-imburse himself out of the salaries of his police officers." *Agni Purana*, (Ch. CCXXIII).

king himself, self-imposed! The idea still exists in a certain form in modern civilized governments where offences like theft, robbery, murder, &c., are classed under "offences against the State." But the idea of making good from the State coffer, the loss suffered by any individual in consequence of theft or robbery was probably unique among the ancient Indo-Aryans only. This idea, however, goes a great way to illustrate the peculiar sense of justice and righteousness which actuated the king in his dealings with the people entrusted to his charge, and the high conception of his duties as an ideal ruler. The king used to come in direct touch with the people every day, and the doors of the Royal Court always remained open for all men, irrespective of caste or rank, to come and lay before him the wrongs and grievances from which they were suffering. The king meted out justice to all persons, according to the constitution, and the dictates of conscience, with the help of his *Mantris*, *Amátyas*, Courtiers and judicial officers who were called *Prádvivákas*. This direct touch of the king with his people made him highly popular, raised him in the estimation of all, and made the idea of his divinity a living reality, instead of a far-fetched conception or fiction.

The king, being divine, was also regarded as the living embodiment of morality and *Dharma* of which he was the upholder. As such, he had to lead an ideal life, both in his public and private capacities, and never did anything that was calculated to set a bad example to his subjects. His life was one of sacrifice. He sacrificed or was always ready to sacrifice everything for the good of the people and for the sake of *Dharma*.* Though living in the midst of pomp and circumstance and luxury befitting his rank and position, he lived the life more of an ascetic than of the much maligned oriental monarch, rolling in the gross pleasures of life, with a culpable indifference to the weal or woe of his subjects. He was styled *Rajarshi* (Raja+Rishi) or king-ascetic, and remained in constant touch with the *Maharshis*, and high-souled Brahmans who had acquired a knowledge of the primordial existence, the mysteries of creation, the moral order of the Universe and the harmony that upholds it.† This enabled him to draw his inspirations, and the high conceptions of an ideal government, from higher sources, and to put them into practice with the help of the royal priest (a *Maharshi*), his council of *Ritwiks* (all *Maharshis*), his council of *Mantris* (all *Maharshis* and spiritually advanced Brahmans), his council of *Amátyas* consisting of the best men of all the principal castes, and his courtiers and royal officers,—all distinguished by rare virtues and selected from the noblest families in the kingdom. No wonder, therefore, that the people had pefect confidence in the king and his counsellors, and lived in peace, contentment and prosperity.

Thus did the ancient Indo-Aryans develop their ideal of kingship, which dominates even now, and is hankered after by a majority of the Indian masses.

ABINASH CHANDRA DASS.

* Rama exiled his beloved wife, Sita, though he knew her to be pure and innocent, in order to undo the evil caused by the example he set to the people in taking her back who had been forcibly carried away by Ravana, and had to live under the latter's control for ten months. The scandal that the people talked about her proved too much for Rama.

† Read the following extracts from the *Agni Purana* and the *Mahabharata*:

"The life of a king should be one perpetual vow for ameliorating the condition of his subjects." (Ch. CCXVIII) "A king, like a pregnant woman, shall forego all pleasures of his own, and only live for the well-being of his charge. Practice of austere penances, or the celebration of a religious sacrifice, never avails a king who fails to protect his people. The house of the monarch who lives for the amelioration of the condition of his subjects is heaven itself. Hell exists nowhere else than in the house of a sovereign who neglects the good of his subjects." (Ch. CCXXIII).

"A life of perfect good *(Satpurusha Vrata)* is the only vow, which a man should try to observe at all hazards . . . . A king should never oppress the poor and the helpless for the furtherance of his own interests, since the curse of the poor is sure to confound or overwhelm him with ruin." (Ch. CCXXXVIII).

"The king has been created for the protection of the weak. Therefore does he acquire great merit by protecting the weak, and become sinful to a degree, if he fails to protect them. The people are like unto the members of his family, and depending upon him, pass their days without fear. If the king, therefore, falls away from the path of virtue, the people become sorely distressed. . . . If the king refrains from helping the weak, his dynasty is burnt to ashes by the fire of their (the people's) anger. The weak, therefore, count far more (in the king's estimation) than the strong. . . . The king should never pardon even his most beloved son." Shanti Parva. ch. 91. "Oh King, take to the path of *Dharma*, for nothing else is superior to it."

"That King, who follows the advice of a vicious and sinful minister, becomes a destroyer of righteousness and * * *

REPORT OF THE INDIAN FACTORY COMMISSION

II.—Result of Investigations.

FROM the brief retrospect given in the last issue of the *Review*, those interested in the question of indigenous textile labour will have informed themselves of the history of the origin of factory legislation in India. They will have learned how philistine Lancashire had all through exerted its powerful influence on the British Cabinet, Conservative and Liberal alike, ostensibly under the plea of humanity but in reality for the purpose of arresting as far as possible the progress of the cotton industry in this country, and how the British Cabinet in its turn brought its potential pressure to bear on the Indian Government to place a variety of restrictions on the indigenous labour employed in that industry. They will have also fully acquainted themselves with the *inwardness* of the latest agitation in Bombay which prompted that Goverment to cause a preliminary investigation to be made by means of the Freer Smith Committee, and later on by the Commission itself whose Report we are now reviewing.

The Report consists of 114 pages with numerous appendices accompanied by a separate volume, as is the practice, of the minutes of evidence. Speaking broadly, the Report seems to have given general satisfaction to the employers of labour in our factories in general, though there is a decided difference of opinion among mill-owners of textile factories in Bombay on the recommendation of the Commission in reference to the proposed creation, in the draft of the amending Act, of a new class of young persons between the ages of 14 and 17. About four weeks ago Bombay mill-owners in their general meeting assembled, passed a resolution which is significant enough. They resolved that *having regard to the weight of the evidence recorded by the Commission*, the proposed institution of the new class was unjustifiable. It was a statement in the plainest of plain terms that the Commission had disregarded the weight of the evidence and recommended the new class, not on the basis of that evidence but on the foregone conclusions on which at least a majority of its members had arrived! It will be our duty by and by to examine the correctness or otherwise of this statement. But meanwhile we may take a general survey of the views held on different branches of factory labour by the Commission. We learn from the introductory chapter that while mill-owners, managers, *et hoc genus omne*, of every hue and shade, had given their evidence, in response to the invitations of the Commission, the mill-hands sent *no representatives* from among themselves to submit their case. The Commissioners, at the conclusion of the second paragraph of their Report, state that "mill-hands have nowhere in India any representative body, and in most cases individuals were afraid to come forward and give evidence which might bring down on them the displeasure of their employers. The only way to ascertain their views was to question them informally either at their mills or in their homes, and this course was adopted on several occasions." It is a matter of regret to have to notice this statement, this extreme insufficiency of the evidence of a thoroughly "representative" character on behalf of the operatives. No doubt the president and his colleagues, anxious as they were to get at the bottom of evidence from intelligent operatives, were only able to do it imperfectly. We are, however, loth to accept their statement that the displeasure of employers was the principal reason of operatives not coming forward to give evidence. It is more likely that possessed as the class are with little intelligence, it was not possible for them to be cross examined in a way which was entirely new to their experience. If even in any ordinary Civil Court men of such a class get confused and bewildered at questions put by their own friendly legal advisers, is

it not possible to believe that they would be even more confused in replying to queries, specially prepared queries, the nature of which by reason of their want of education they could hardly comprehend? At least in Bombay city itself there are some very good old *retired* operatives. These could not have met with any displeasure, as they were their own masters. Were these, it may be interesting to inquire, invited to give evidence? Any how, owing to this insufficiency of evidence on the part of factory operatives themselves, it must be observed that the conclusions arrived at by the Commission must be deemed to be somewhat inconclusive. The owners and managers of factories have given *their* version of the conditions of labour *ad nauseam*. No such version has come from the employees themselves. The one evidence might have then been well pitted against the other; and the public would have been in a capital position to judge for itself how far labour in factories was of an oppressive character physically, and how far of a beneficial character economically. The character of the one and the character of the other might have then been impartially weighed in the balance. We should have discovered on which side of the beam the scale inclined and judged accordingly. So far we are disposed to think that the report is incomplete. Of course, the Commission attach "the greatest importance" to the record of evidence of the factory owners as, they say, "it provides a mass of relevant and thoroughly verified facts which must form the basis of all proposals of a practical character which may be put forward for the amendment of the existing law." So far it is satisfactory, albeit it is the satisfaction given by one party to the great labour problem.

In the eighth paragraph of their Report the Commission proceed to lay down the general principles adopted by them in framing their recommendations. These, they say, "are based solely upon the experience which we have acquired by actual observation, of the defects in the working of the present Act, and upon our opinions, based upon that experience, as to the practicability of the remedial measures we propose. We have proposed no alterations in, or additions to, the pressent law solely upon theoretical grounds; in all cases our recommendation is based upon the conviction that the change is necessary." This is extremely sensible and businesslike. Further, say the Commission, that in framing their recommendations they have also "been guided throughout by the consideration that *the welfare of India—of Indian operatives and Indian industries—must be regarded as absolutely paramount.*" India must feel grateful to the members of the Commission for so frank and categorical an opinion. The Commission seemed anxious to make it known, and rightly too, *urbi et orbi*, that their recommendations were in no way influenced by Lancashire—a belief firmly and universally held. We also appreciate the further important declaration made in this behalf, calculated as it is to banish the faintest of faint doubts which may still be entertained by India touching the influence of selfish Lancashire, which, of course, views with a keen, if not jealous, eye the immense strides which the cotton industry has taken in the land and which are likely to be taken in the near future. "All of us, with the exception of Mr. Beaumont, have had many years' experience in India; we are profoundly impressed with the necessity for taking all practicable measures to foster the development of Indian industries, and convinced of the dangers likely to result from any attempt to apply to India, laws or regulations framed with reference to others, and different conditions from those obtaining in this country. In particular, *we would strongly deprecate as most injurious any attempt to apply the laws and regulations governing factory labour in the United Kingdom, as such, in India; or to secure any definite relation between the labour laws of England and of India.*" This, indeed, is the most important and valuable declaration made by the Commission which should give the greatest gratification to every lover of India who desires to see her industrial development proceed unfettered and on its own natural lines. The more India is freely allowed to work its own industrial salvation in harmony with its own environments as to capital and labour, the greater will be its unimpeded progress in the future. Under the circumstances the following further observations of the Commission are most commendable and will

be applauded as "patriotic." "Any such course must, we are satisfied, be fraught with the gravest danger to this country; *and we consider that our experience warrants us in placing upon record a positive and unqualified opinion to the effect that the labour conditions in India are not in any way comparable with those existing in the United Kingdom.*" The principles thus propounded are exceedingly sound and will no doubt be followed by the Government itself in the contemplated legislation.

In Section IV the Commission travels in minute detail over the hours at present worked in Indian factories. Their enquiries prove that excessive hours are not worked, save on very rare occasions, except in textile factories. They give the facts relating to hours of work in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Broach, Agra, Hathras, Cawnpur, Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras, Sholapur, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab. Summarised, these are: that on mills working *day light* hours the average working time for the whole year is approximately 12 hours and 5 minutes; the longest day does not usually exceed 13½ hours' actual work, and the shortest day is about 11 hours. In the mills fitted with *electric light* in Bombay Island the hours worked vary from 13 to 13½ hours a day; in Ahmedabad similar hours are worked, the tendency being to prolong the time, if possible. The Commission observe on this subject as follows:—"our inspections have revealed the fact that *in some provinces the law is systematically ignored to an extent not hitherto imagined.*" That is a startling revelation and it is indeed good that the peregrination of the Commission to all important factory centres has brought out this ugly fact to public notice. Bombay city seems alone to be the centre where the Factory Act provisions have been *most faithfully carried out*, and yet strange to say it was in Bombay that the spurious agitation was first set on foot, as already described in these pages. The only restriction under the present Factory Act on the employment of adult labour is the compulsory half hour's recess during the working hours and the closing of factories on one day in the week, generally Sunday. The law referring to the half hour's recess, say the Commission, is not obeyed in the Calcutta Jute Mills in so far as the weavers are concerned. More, "It is generally disregarded in rice mills, ginning factories, presses and flour mills *throughout India!*"

Again, throughout India, except in Bombay, it is the general custom to call the operatives, or a certain number of them, to clean machinery on Sunday or *on the holiday* given in accordance with the law. This work of cleaning lasts from 3 to 5 hours. This is another open breach of the Act. The poor operative on a holiday gets *less* than his holiday. Thus the object of the existing legislation in this respect is almost completely defeated.

Coming to the restrictions imposed upon the employment of women by the present Act, the Commission very fairly and reasonably opine that they are neither suitable to the operatives nor to the employers. That has been the general experience of all factory owners who have to employ a large number of females. In Bombay it is the case that they seldom work for more than ten hours a day. So that they have no need to avail themselves of the ½ hour's mid day rest prescribed for their benefit by the existing Act for a *full* day's work. In practice it has been demonstrated beyond cavil that the women prefer to come late to their work and continually work at their winding or reeling machines for the whole time that they wish to work, generally from 7 A.M. to 5 P.M. In ginning factories the practice is somewhat different, especially as these only work for four out of the twelve months of the ear. So far the Commission are satisfied that there is nothing to be said against the prevailing female labour.

"Serious abuses," however, are rife in connexion with child labour in textile factories. Say the Commission: "In the United Provinces generally, except Agra, in the Punjab, in Southern Madras and in the Cotton Mills in Bengal, children have as a rule been *habitually worked during the whole running hours of the factories*, not on the excuse that they were over 14 years of age, *but in pure disregard of the law.* This is indeed most grievous and the practice must be wholly condemned as discreditable to our common humanity. In Bombay abuses are common in case of those known as half-timers. Children are employed in sets working 3 or 3½ hours each, at a

stretch, with an interval of the same duration between the working periods.

The children invariably remain in the mill compound during the interval. Naturally it is a great temptation to managers and jobbers to put their services into requisition when there is a shortage of such labour or any labour. Again, some factories have schools for children which are indeed a blind. The mill-owner pretends to show his philanthropy by imparting elementary instruction to these poor wights under 9. In reality it is a dodge only for drawing them away to work unlawfully when necessary. The Commission observe that "the so-called school has been used solely for the purpose of retaining the children at the mill during the whole working day." So that the Commission have very properly come to the conclusion that *no school should be permitted within the mill compound.*

Another abuse in respect of the half-timers detected by the Commission is the perfunctory examination by the medical authorities. The employment of children on full time and the working of under age children are the most serious abuses regarding child-labour which the Commission have discovered. The law is openly either defied or evaded by roundabout means. No doubt such gross abuse demands drastic reform.

In section VI the Commission enlarge on the economic position and the habits of the Indian mill operative. They rightly show that the operative is primarily an agriculturist or a land labourer. His house is in the village whence he goes abroad to earn wages in a factory. Oftener than not the family continue to live in the village home to which he pays a visit when fagged or taken seriously ill. The *gaum* amply affords him rest-cure. "There is as yet practically no factory population, such as exists in European countries, consisting of a large number of operatives *trained from their youth to one particular class of work* and dependent upon employment at that work for their livelihood." Thus the Indian operative is not exclusively dependent on factory work. When he chooses he may leave off that work and go on earning wages elsewhere where the stress and strain may be less awhile. He is quite content in that case to earn wages less than those obtained in factories. Speaking of the Bombay operative the Commission observe that he is generally a resident of Konkan and returns to his village for one month in each year. On the other hand the jute weaver in Bengal, who works longer hours and earns higher wages is not content with less than two or three months. "Whenever factory life becomes irksome, the operative can return to his village ; there is probably always work of some kind for him there if he wishes it ; and in most cases he is secured against want by the joint family system." The two main causes, namely, the independence of the Indian labourer and the inadequacy of the labour supply, govern the whole situation. The operative is indeed master of the situation. In Bombay at least he can enforce his own demand when he thinks his master cannot but grant it. The operatives are learning very well the art of successful combination. At the general meeting of the Millowner's Association in May last, one of the leading factory owners, Mr. Bomanji D. Petit, referred to the "truculence" of the operatives and urged his colleagues to take some steps to put it down. But he talked without the book, as he, despite his experience, had hardly studied the economic position of the operative so well and so clearly as the Commission have learnt in their peregrinations throughout the country. The "truculence" is nothing but a consciousness of the fact of the mastery the operative has over his employer. He is intelligent enough to comprehend the condition of the labour market and the need of the millowner. The latter, still thinking of the old days when the former was not half so conscious and when labour was cheap enough, thinks that he can command him on his own terms ! But he is entirely mistaken. He still cannot bring himself to the belief that times are so changed, thanks to the growth of industrial enterprise, expansion of trade, extension of railways and so on, that labour must not only be regulated but be subject to such wages as the demand for it creates. Education again is fast spreading among millhands in Bomby, where they have so far learned to organise themselves that they have established a millhands' "Defence Association."

Coming to the quality of the work of an average factory operative, the Commission have come to the opinion that it is certainly *far from skilful.* The Lancashire

standard is hardly to be obtainable. This is plain when, as already stated above, there is no hereditary class of factory operatives as yet, though the caste system ought to bring it about. "Taking the whole staff of a cotton spinning and weaving mill, *2·67 hands in an Indian mill are the equivalent of one hand in a Lancashire mill.*" Great nervousness is frequently displayed by employers of labour as to the effect even of trivial changes on the workers; numerous expedients are adopted to conciliate them, and the attitude of the employers throughout appears to be based upon the knowledge that operatives are in fact the masters of the situation. The Commission seem to think that as yet operatives are unable to combine over any large area with the objects of securing a common end by a concerted action. This may be correct of other places but not of Bombay where ample proof was recently given by the factory employers of the concerted action they took soon after sentence was pronounced on Mr. Tilak. The history of the aftermath as reported in the columns of the Bombay papers shows clearly that the operatives were led into concerted action, though the authorities have been baffled in discovering the leaders or "instigators" as they are absurdy called.

Another characteristic of the Indian operative is his love of change. He likes to move from one mill to another by way of variety. The personnel of the workers shows a complete change in about twelve months on an average. This statement, however, is rather too sweeping. Any how a census of Bombay operatives would show that fully fifty per cent of hands are constant at a single mill where pay is regular, and fines and other penalties are not of a drastic character, and gratuities and pensions besides are in vogue.

Another trait of the operative is his inability to maintain a sustained effort at his work. More or less he is known to work leisurely and absent himself from work whenever he chooses. The following statement of the Commission is absolutely correct and will be confirmed by every employer of a textile factory. "As the result of careful enquiries made throughout our tour, we estimate that in the cotton textile mills in India the average operative probably spends from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours each day, in addition to the statutory midday interval away from his work." The fact proves that he has not yet overgrown his hereditary instincts of the village agriculturist.

As to wages on cotton mills, they vary from mill to mill but are everywhere considerably higher than those earned by the same class of men in other employments. Taking all factories in India, the Commission compute that halftimers earn from Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$, full time boys or "young persons," between 9 and 14, earn from Rs. 5 to 13, ordinary hands in the frames department from 7 to 18, head spinners from 25 to 35 Rs., weavers minding one loom from 10 to 15 Rs., and those minding two looms from 18 to 35 Rs. Jute Mills have, of course, higher wages.

Turning to the housing of operatives it appears that Calcutta provides commodious settlements of a comfortable character in the vicinity of mills. Upper India follows suit. But in Bombay, owing to the scarcity of building area, "chawls" are the order of the day, which, as a rule, remain overcrowded and insanitary. There is, necessarily, no privacy and no home life. They remain more or less herded like cattle. The ordinary rent of a *kotri* or room $12' \times 10' \times 9'$ ranges from 2 to 5 Rupees a month. Adult boarders pay Rs. 6 for boarding and lodging, while a young boarder pays Rs. 5. Better wages lead to the habit of drink, and thanks to the precious excise revenue policy of the State, which has now pushed the drink traffic here, there, and everywhere, all over the country, operatives indulge in it to the great detriment to their own health. The Commission truly remark that the *consumption of liquor among factory workers is undoubtedly greater than among men of the same rank in life engaged in other occupations.* Has the Government of India taken note of this fact?

Lastly, speaking yet on the economic condition of the Indian operatives, the Commission opine that "one of the main difficulties to be contended with in this country by employers of labour is the low standard of living among the workers. As usual, this low standard of living is accompanied by low efficiency. A rise of wages in India may actually diminish the labour supply in the first instance in place of in-

creasing it. * * Matters, however, are gradually improving; the standard of living is undoubtedly rising all over India, though slowly; and there are some indications that a class of factory operatives, detached from agricultural and village life, and depending largely or solely upon industrial employment, is beginning to be formed." This is a happy augury of the future physical and material welfare of operatives. Education, however, is the greatest solvent needed. And as far as education is concerned the operatives, though slowly progressing, are still exceedingly backward. With education will come a better apprehension of sanitation and cleanliness of habits, of physical vigour, and more nutritious living. These are no doubt the problems of the future. But it is to be devoutly hoped that the State will see more and more to the education of the masses.

ECONOMICUS.

[*To be continued.*]

WHO SHOULD PAY THE PIPER?

AFTER the battle of Waterloo in 1815, England had not to fight any Christian power of Europe till 1854, when she found herself involved in the war which a quaker statesman, making a pun on the name of the country which was the scene of action, pronounced to be "A CRIME". Forty years' peace had made England forget the art of killing men—in fact the natives of that country had turned their swords into ploughshares: for the capture and exile of Napoleon, the creation of an extensive market in India, and the removal of the prohibition of British manufactures entering the countries of Europe, which the Corsican adventurer had enforced, gave such a stimulus to English industries that the Reform Bill of 1832 was considered absolutely necessary. The renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1833 also was beneficial to the native manufacturers and artisans of England. So the natives of that country gave themselves to developing their industries and manufactures rather than to practising the game of war. The Crimean War showed them their helplessness in meeting a Christian enemy. They had to pay very heavily for the blunders they made in that war. So after that war, they set about putting their house in order and considering the means of improving their military position in Europe. To one conclusion they came,—that England was not so favourable for the training of their army as India. Sir Henry Lawrence, writing on the Indian Army in the *Calcutta Review* for 1856, quoted a French Baron named Bazancourt, who in "five months in the camp before Sebastopol" wrote:—

"The English, * * experienced a great misfortune at the commencement of the expedition. A defective internal administration decimated their forces more effectually than war. There was amongst them an amount of demoralisation of which I cannot give the terrible account. * * It is the war in Africa which has preserved us. We owe our safety to our habits of encamping, and to our expeditions into the interior of countries. The necessity thus incurred of making provision for the smallest details, has been of the greatest utility to us in the Crimea."

Sir Henry Lawrence, after quoting the above, wrote:—

"India is England's Africa, if she knew how to avail herself of its opportunities. But such is not the case. Here we have our camp life, and our expeditions; how many benefit thereby?"*

At that time without any pretext—although, according to Herbert Spencer "the pretext of the muddied stream was always nigh at hand"—the Anglo-Indian officials could not have saddled India with the cost of maintaining half of the British troops. Fortunately for them, the Mutiny broke out in India in 1857, which offered them the pretext which they had been eagerly longing for. They took advantage of the opportunity and a Royal Commission was appointed to report on the re-organization of the Indian Army. The Mutiny came to them as a God-send and at the expense of the troops recruited in India, soldiers who were natives of great Britain were forced on India.

* Calcutta Review, Vol. XXVI, p. 177.

It was said that the Sepoy Army had mutinied and therefore as a precautionary measure it was considered necessary to reduce that army and increase the number of white troops. But was it proper to advance that argument? Why, as a matter of fact, after the suppression of the mutiny of the black sepoys there was the attempted mutiny of the white soldiers also. This is perhaps not so well known as it deserves to be.

In pre-mutiny days, the white troops employed on service in India were either Royal or Local ones. The Royal troops used to come out on tour of service to India for a definite number of years, after which they returned to their native land. The number of these Royal troops was never a very large one.

The corps of Local troops were composed of white men who engaged to serve in India not for any fixed number of years, but as long as they were fit for military service. This was economical for India.

But when it was decided to garrison India with Royal troops only, the white soldiers of Local corps attempted to mutiny.

It was not the first time that the white soldiers mutinied or attempted to mutiny in India. But mark the different ways in which the mutiny of the white soldiers and that of the black or brown sepoys were treated by the authorities. For any attempt to mutiny, the sepoys were mercilessly punished either by being blown from the cannon's mouth or being hanged by the neck. But in the case of the white soldiers, their grievances were very patiently inquired into and as far as possible removed, and in general, they were dealt with very leniently.

No Commission was appointed, as was done in the case of the white soldiers, to inquire into the grievances of the sepoys which led them to mutiny. But very drastic measures were adopted to punish not only those sepoys who had mutinied but indirectly also those who helped to crush the mutiny. The innocent were thus punished along with the guilty.

For it was proposed to do away altogether with the sepoy army and to replace their ranks by mercenaries from other tropical countries. If this proposal was not carried out, it was because Canning, Lawrence, Frere and those Anglo-Indians who had helped to crush the mutiny with the aid of Indians very strongly opposed the proposal. The sepoys were nevertheless treated with very scant justice. It was with their help that the Anglo-Indian Empire was built up, and now they were to be reduced in numbers and white troops were to be imported from Great Britain to replace them. And how did the white troops compare with the sepoys?

Why, speaking of the British troops after the battle of Plassy, Orme wrote:

"The intemperance produced by the distribution of the prize-money of Plassy, had spread such sickness, after the rains ceased in September, that two-thirds of the rank and file were in the hospital at the end of October."*

But regarding the Indian troops the same authority wrote:

"The sepoys, in whatsoever quarters, had been preserved by the usual regularity of their lives from all extraordinary illness."†

But a century's experience of Indian warfare had not changed the nature of the British soldiers. Where was the necessity of importing them to India in large numbers?

Even assuming that for some reasons of political expediency, it was necessary to increase the number of British troops in India, why were the Local corps of white soldiers disbanded? They were Britishers by birth and blood and they were efficient checks on the sepoys. Where was the necessity then of replacing them by Royal troops?

In the report from the Political and Military Committee of the Council of India, dated the 30th June, 1859, it is recorded:

"Convinced that the local European troops, whether artillery or infantry, have performed eminent services, and proved themselves equal to any troops in the world, the committee advocate, on the score of economy, of efficiency, and of encouragement to merit, that the local European force be largely increased. They would regard it as the permanent garrison of India, not liable to be hastily withdrawn, like the line troops, whenever political emergencies in Europe pressed upon the Home Covernment.

* * * * *

"Adverting to the argument of the Royal Commissioners, that the constitution of a considerable force in India, restricted to local service, would cripple the resources of the State, the Committee believe that, on the contrary, the formation of such a local force, as is proposed by Lord Canning, would be beneficial to the general interests of the empire. That force would be considered as absolutely the lowest to which the Euro-

* Vol. II., p. 273 (Madras reprint of 1831).

† Ibid, p. 275.

pean garrison of India could, even under the most favourable circumstances in that country, be reduced, without peril to the Empire; and, under such circumstances the auxiliary regiments of the line might the more readily be made temporarily available for other objects. It must always be borne in mind that, at a period of any national crisis in Europe, the withdrawal of a large portion of the European garrison of India might be tantamount to the loss of that country, without even a prospect of affording timely assistance to England. This, in the opinion of the Committee, is a sufficient reply to the observations of the majority of the Commissioners upon the point above referred to. They, therefore, agree with the sentiments of the minority in the report, who state that.

"'They consider such a force to be a wholesome check on the precipitate withdrawal of European troops from India, in cases where the Home Government might happen to find itself under the pressure of political emergencies in Europe, and they feel confident that the transfer of the Indian armies to the Crown will prove a source of present and future security to Her Majesty's Empire in India, in proportion as radical and organic changes are few, and the weight and stability of the local armies are maintained by largely, but economically, increasing their European element.'"

No, it was not for the interests of India that the corps of Local European troops were disbanded but for those of England. The above Committee truly wrote that—

*"They recognise, however, the value of India as the best of Military Schools for the training of officers; they admit that England having no other such field, it is of imperial importance that the officers of the line should have the opportunity of acquiring experience, where alone it can be had practically, and on a large scale, * * "*

Here at last the cat was out of the bag. The Royal troops were imposed on India because that country alone formed the best of Military Schools for the training of officers.

Under such circumstances, we ask, is it fair, is it just to charge India for the maintenance of white soldiers? But where the question of saddling India with any charges is concerned, the statesmen and politicians of Great Britain are for the most part strangers to fairness and justice. It is on this hypothesis only that we can account for the strange attempt that was made in 1903 to saddle India with the cost of the British troops which were to be stationed in South Africa. In his evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian finances, Lord Wolsley said:—

"I think the [white] recruits for India would be a great nuisance to us in case of emergency. The emergencies with regard to England are first of all internal riot. Now, in a riot in a town we would never think of sending them with troops to go into the streets. In case of invasion they would be a positive detriment, because we would have to leave non-commissioned officers who would be of use to us in our regiment."

His lordship did not consider India such a good training ground for British soldiers as England. He said:—

"The men trained in India are inferior men. India is not so good a training ground as Aldershot. Of course, *during a war in India the training is invaluable, because they accustom themselves to be shot at*; but the ordinary training of the soldier in India is not so good as it is in England. In India, the men acquire false notions; they have servants to look after them and to cook for them, and to do the work that the men do themselves in England; and in the same way the officers have luxuries which are unknown to officers in Europe."

If the British officers and soldiers acquire false notions, that is to say, are demoralized by their service in India, why are they sent then to this country in such large numbers? But his lordship would make India pay every farthing for the British troops in order to get them demoralized. He said:—

"I think India should pay for every thing connected with the Army. Supposing India did not belong to us, it would be the difference between the establishment that we should have then and what we have now."

His lordship's logic is very curious, of course. England does not hold India from philanthropic motives. Well, let England give up India, and can his lordship say then that England would not have the same military establishment then as she has now? Perhaps, a few depots might be abolished, but still England would be bound to maintain a large army not only for her defence and the maintenance of internal peace but for the safety of the colonies, which do not contribute anything to the military expenses of England.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was a member of the Commission, put certain questions to his Lordship, which he tried to evade, because he could not answer them.

"Is it not for the maintenance of British rule that those Armies are there?—Quite so.

"You impose a British Army for the purpose of maintaining British rule?

"Why say impose British Rule?

"Because it is not with our consent. India has no voice?—That is a matter that I will not go into."

Of course, the gallant Lord could not give a straightforward answer, and therefore, he had to give an evasive reply to Mr. Naoroji's question. Two other members of the Com-

mission tried their best to extract some information from Lord Wolsley.

Mr. Buchanan asked him :—

"Do you say that India ought to pay every penny of the military cost which this country would not have incurred but for India?—Yes.

"But is not the keeping up of the forces necessarily an obligation to a certain extent upon the whole Empire? —I do not think so. The whole English Army that we maintain in England is a reserve to be sent to India, whenever she requires it, and for which reserve India pays nothing.

"Should India pay every farthing of the military expense?—Yes, and for the Navy too."

His Lordship as a Christian was brought up from his cradle on the teaching "Do unto others," &c. and, therefore, he possessed such notions of right and wrong that he advocated saddling India with the whole cost of the military and naval expenses of England! The gallant Viscount was then questioned by Mr. Caine :—

"Surely the Indian Army is quite as much a reserve force for our own emergencies?—We should not like to put our Indian troops in front of European soldiers. I should not like to fight France or Germany or any other army with Indian troops."

Of course, this answer of the Viscount gave much offence to the officers of the Indian Army. But his Lordship spoke nothing but the truth, when he said that he would not like to fight any civilized power with Indian troops, for the native Indian Army is inefficient, and has been made so since the days of the Mutiny.

He was again asked by Mr. Naoroji :—

"Is not the Indian Army maintained for British purposes?—But you assume that it is of no value to India.

"But you assume that it is for the benefit of India only?—My views are that India never existed as India at all until we went there. It was a conglomeration of fighting states, where Mahomedans were cutting the throats of Hindus; and everything that is worth having in India has been derived from English rule."

His lordship displayed gross ignorance of history when he made the above answer. It was not difficult for Mr. Naoroji to expose the absurdity of his argument. He said :—

"You say that England made India. I say that India has made England the most powerful, the richest, and the greatest country in the world, and I further say that England has done the greatest possible material injury to India. Do you agree with me?"

Lord Wolsley was very well cornered and he could not give any answer. So his compeer the President had to come to his rescue and stopped Mr. Naoroji putting any more questions to the confounded Commander-in-Chief of the British Isles.

His lordship forgot that the Army which England maintained was not too big for her Imperial interests and it can be shown that before the out-break of the Indian Mutiny, England had to keep up as large a military force as after that event. Of course, a number of recruits here and a few military depots there may have increased for supplying India with British soldiers. It is unnecessary to say that India has to pay for all these charges.

Mr. Mowbray asked Viscount Wolsley :—

"Do you think it would be possible to materially reduce the number of troops in England, having regard to possible foreign complications and our general Imperial obligations, putting India altogether out of the question?—We should certainly reduce the Army *pro tanto* all the forces that we have in India. We have men here always available for India, and we keep men in India that are exclusively used for training the Army that goes to India.

"Could you materially reduce the number of troops in England supposing you had not to meet the possible call of 20,000 or 30,000 men for India, but still having to meet international obligations on the Continent and elsewhere?—I dare say by all means we should reduce them. But if you wish my personal opinion I should say that we ought not to reduce the strength of men that we have in India.

"Therefore it cannot be said that you are keeping up the strength which you have in England solely or materially as a possible Reserve for India?—Not solely; but they are there as a Reserve always available for India.

"But if you had not got them available for India, you still would have to keep them for other purposes?— I would recommend it; but I do not think my recommendation would carry many people with me; I think that they would reduce it."

No, they would not reduce it, for the very simple reason that it would not be safe for their national existence to reduce it.

His lordship should also have been reminded what one of his co-religionists and compeers, the then Prime Minister of England, the Marquis of Salisbury, had said

"'that India must be bled', and that the pledges given by England to India were of the nature of "political hypocrisy."

If what Lord Salisbury had said were true, then it was certainly not the interest of England to have made India.

When we take into consideration the fact, that there was no necessity for disbanding the Local British troops which the

East India Company maintained and which troops had not joined the Indian Mutineers, and also take into consideration the opinions of Sir Henry Lawrence and of the Committee which we have already quoted, we are convinced that India was saddled with British troops, because she offered the best training ground for them. It was done with the object that no such disasters should befall the British arms in future as had befallen them at Crimea. So it is for Imperial concerns that British troops are kept in India. That it is for such purposes was demonstrated by the despatch of British troops from India to South Africa and China during the Boer and the Chinese Wars which took place in the opening years of this century. Under such circumstances then, fairness and justice demand that England should pay for the maintenance of the British troops in India.

ONLY A CHAPTER

IT was Molina's birth-day. The house was in a festive state; her relatives from far and near had come to celebrate the day and numerous were the presents that accompanied their good wishes. He, too, was amongst the guests—Janardan. He was not a relative of hers, but connected to her family by a tie of friendship of long standing between their parents. So strong indeed was the friendship that Molina's parents looked upon Janardan as their own son. They had known him ever since his infancy, and he had spent many days in their home.

Perhaps, the reader has guessed the secret, but if he have not, I will confide it to him. Janardan loved Molina. And did Molina love Janardan? Let us see.

Janardan had not been favoured by fortune in so far as he was not born rich. But he had much in his favour. He came of a highly connected family; he was naturally intelligent; he had passed the inevitable B.A. Examination with honours and was now attending the lectures in the law classes. His parents had all their hopes centred in him; he was to go abroad and make a name for himself. It was owing to all this that Molina's parents looked with favour upon him and that they were ready to accept him as their son-in-law.

Janardan was very persistent in his attentions to Molina, as young men will be. Molina objected very visibly to Janardan's attentions, as young ladies will do. If Molina was picking flowers, suddenly Janardan would appear with the rarest flower of the garden in his hand, ready to offer it to her. If Molina practised her pieces on the piano, whom should she suddenly espy in a corner but Janardan, listening heart and soul to all that her skilful fingers produced? and even the most tedious and unmelodious finger exercises were to him superior to renderings from Mozart himself. Yes, at times his presence was handy enough, for there came that tiresome hour every day when words had to be looked up in the dictionary for to-morrow's lessons. Then Janardan, at hand as ever, was not shunned entirely. His wisdom served him well at those moments, and Molina found her tedious task finished much sooner for his assistance. But was she ever grateful to him for it? No, not she. If he was so anxious to serve her, was it not enough that she accepted his service? It is for a slave to serve and for a mistress to either accept or refuse. Is anyone ever grateful to a slave? Oh, wicked Molina!

Still Molina might have forgiven him—many of his short-comings, if only the man had had a prettier name. Janardan! Now who had ever heard of calling a respectable gentleman by that name? Had a lover in any age or clime such a prosaic name? If it were Lalit or Mohan or any other name—. But no, it was Janardan! How dreadfully plebeian and unromantic it sounded, and if she married him, what would be her fate? Why she would actually become Mrs. Janardan. "Mrs. Janardan" she would repeat; and oh the disgusted face that accompanied the ejaculation! If all the cords of her piano had been

out of tune at once, they could not have produced greater discord than did this name. Her gardener's name was Janardan, and was she to bear that name in future? They might as well call her "Mrs. Gardener" and be done with it.

What's in a name? sings the poet. It is evident that he did not know Molina when he wrote it. Alas for the poor father of Janardan; had he but known what he had prepared for his son, when he gave him that unfortunate name!

And now it was Molina's birthday, and Janardan had brought her a pearl broach and placed it on the table with the other presents. Her mother noticed the beautiful ornament and expressed her admiration. She fastened it to the shoulder-knot of Molina's *sari*. It would be difficult to say to what heaven of bliss Janardan felt himself tranported when he saw her wearing his pearl broach. He saw her wear it daily after that, and at the sight of it his heart expanded with pride and delight.

II.

Molina appeared in the Entrance Examination in due time and after going through it took a trip into the interior with her father. The journey came to an end in time, as all journeys do, and Molina was coming home. On the way from the Railway Station to the house, her father explained to her that he must see a gentleman on business, and that he was, therefore, obliged to leave the carriage. He gave orders to the coachman, and Molina went alone.

It was spring, beautiful spring. The winds blew gently, the flower trees were in bloom, fragrance filled the air, birds sang, Molina smiled, and all was happiness. She felt as gay as a spring morning. She had met Shishir Coomar while in the country, and oh, he was so interesting and had such a pretty name, she was still thinking of him, all smiles and inward delight, as she reached the gate.

But who should be the first person to greet her on entering, but the inevitable Janardan again! All her beautiful visions suddenly faded,—Shishir Coomar, railway trip, spring breezes and all.

The carriage stopped and at the carriage-door stood Janardan ready to assist her as she alighted.

"How are you, Molina?" he asked, smiling as divinely as ever.

Molina tossed her head a little, "all right," she replied carelessly, and did not waste any look on Janardan as she said so.

Poor Janardan! a lover's keen eye will detect so much. Where was the broach he had presented her, she was not wearing it.

"Why are you not wearing the pearl broach, Molina?" he asked.

"I have lost it,"—this with the same indifference as the first reply.

If Janardan did not harbour saintly feelings just then, ought not the very gods gladly to forgive him? He had secretly accepted work and had laboured for a whole year, and a whole year's earnings he had spent—on what? On the pearl broach he had bought for Molina and on nothing else. He felt as if the result of his long labours suddenly tumbled together like a house of cards.

Meanwhile, Molina was walking complacently upstairs. Janardan cast a look after her that had lost its smile. There were tears in his eyes, but they were tears of anger. He was truly angry this time, and justly so, at least so he thought.

And then he went upstairs after her with a determined step. Did he seek her to bid her farewell forever, to leave the house never to return to it? No, why should he? Janardan was no coward. The next scene we see is Janardan and Molina standing side by side again,—one smiling, the other frowning.

And here ends this chapter in the lives of Janardan and Molina. And as to the next? Let us hope that all will end well for poor Janardan.

You must make it quite clear to your own mind which you're most bent upon, popularity or usefulness —else you may happen to miss both.—*George Eliot.*

Poetry is the perpetual endeavour to express the spirit of the thing.—*Emerson.*

EDUCATION IN INDIA

ONE of the most remarkable features of British rule in India has been the fact that the greatest injuries done to the people of India have taken the outward form of blessings. Of this, Education is a striking example; for no more crushing blows have ever been struck at the roots of Indian National evolution, than those which have been struck, often with other, and the best intentions, in the name of Education. It is sometimes said by friends of India, that the National movement is the natural result of English education, and one of which England should in truth be proud, as showing that under 'civilisation' and the Pax Britannica, Indians are becoming, at last, capable of self-government. The facts are otherwise. If Indians are *still* capable of self-government, it is in spite of all the anti-national tendencies of a system of education that has ignored or despised almost every ideal informing the national culture.

By their fruits ye shall know them. The most crushing indictment of this Education, is the fact that it destroys in the great majority of those upon whom it is inflicted, all capacity for the appreciation of Indian culture. Speak to the ordinary graduate of an Indian University, or a student from Ceylon, of the ideals of the Mahabharata—he will hasten to display his knowledge of Shakespeare; talk to him of religious philosophy—you find that he is an atheist of the crude type common in Europe a generation ago, and that not only has he no religion, but is as lacking in philosophy as the average Englishman; talk to him of Indian music—he will produce a gramophone or a harmonium, and inflict upon you one or both; talk to him of Indian dress or jewellery—he will tell you that they are uncivilised and barbaric; talk to him of Indian art—it is news to him that such a thing exists; ask him to translate for you a letter written in his own mother-tongue—he does not know it.* He is indeed a stranger in his own land.

Yes, English educators of India, you do well to scorn the Babu graduate; he is your own special production, made in your own image; he might be one of your very selves. Do you not recognize the likeness? Probably you do not; for you are still hidebound in that impervious skin of self-satisfaction that enabled your most pompous and self-important philistine, Lord Macaulay, to believe that a single shelf of a good European library was worth all the literature of India, Arabia and Persia. Beware lest in a hundred years the judgment be reversed, in the sense that Oriental culture will occupy a place even in European estimation, ranking at least equally with Classic. Meanwhile you have done well-nigh all that could be done to eradicate it in the land of its birth.

England, suddenly smitten with the great idea of 'civilising' India, conceived that the way to do this, was to make Indians like Englishmen. To this task England set herself with the best will in the world, not at all realising that, as has been so well said by the Abbe Dubois,—

"To make a new race of the Hindus, one would have to begin by undermining the very foundations of their civilisation, religion and polity, and by turning them into atheists and barbarians."

And no words of mine could better describe the typical product of Macaulayism. Even suppose success were possible, and educated Indians were to acquire in some numbers a thoroughly English point of view: this in itself would be damning evidence of failure, not merely because the English point of view is already sufficiently disseminated in a world of growing monotony, or even because of its many and serious limitations, but because it would prove that the education had failed to

* Parts of Dr. Coomaraswamy's indictment in this paragraph do not apply to Bengal. We cannot speak for other parts of the country.—Ed. M. R.

educate, that is, to draw out or set free the characteristic qualities of the taught. And in actual fact, it is not the English point of view that is acquired, but a caricature of it.

Imagine an ordinary English schoolmaster set down to educate the youth of Classic Greece. Obviously he could teach the Greek innumerable facts but it is difficult to see how he could have taken any adequate part in his serious education. Merely to inform is not to educate; and into how little of the inner life of Greece, its religion and ideals, could the English schoolmaster, for all his Classic education, truly enter. . . . The English schoolmaster to-day knows less of Indian culture and sympathises far less with Indian ideals, than he could with those of Greece. You cannot educate by ignoring (being ignorant of) the ideals of the taught, and setting up an ideal which they do not at heart acknowledge; if at the same time considerations of material advantage secure an outward acceptance, perhaps, even a willing acceptance, of the alien formula, the destruction of indigenous culture is assured.

All departments of education in India—primary, secondary and university—are directly or indirectly controlled by Government. A few indigenous institutions for imparting a knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic carry on a forlorn struggle for existence. A few modern institutions, such as the Central Hindu College in Benares, are carried on entirely without Government aid; but even these are bound to the University curriculum, as otherwise their students would be unable to obtain degrees. Two-thirds of Indian Arts Colleges are Missionary Institutions,—equally bound to the Government codes and selected textbooks. The net result is that Indian culture is practically ignored in modern education; for Indian culture, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, is essentially religious, and so, regardless of the example of almost every Indian ruler since history began, the Government practises toleration—by ignoring Indian culture,—and the Missionary practises intolerance—by endeavouring to destroy that culture, in schools where education is offered as a bribe, and where the religion of the people is of set purpose undermined. The great tragedy of the present situation lies in this, that the schools are not part of Indian life (as were the *tols* and *maktabs* of the past), but antagonistic to it. Of the two types of English school in India, Government and Missionary, the one ignores, the other endeavours to break down the ideals of the home. "The mind thus set between two opposing worlds of school and home is inevitably destroyed".

None can be true educators of the Indian people who do not inherit their traditions, or cannot easily work in a spirit of perfect reverence for those traditions. Others can be, not educators, but merely teachers of particular subjects. As such there is still room in India for English teachers; but they should be, not in power, but subordinate; they should be engaged by, paid by, and responsible to Indian managers, as, in Japan, English teachers are responsible to Japanese authorities. Professor Nelson Fraser, in a valuable discussion upon "The English Teacher in India,"* shows how little the English teacher can know of the real life of the Indian people, and deduces that—

> "The Englishman is the last person to put forward any view as to possible reforms in Hindu institutions." To do so, should not, indeed, be conceived as part of the English teacher's function—a fact which most English teachers (other than missionaries) are in the end driven reluctantly to admit. At first it is otherwise—'the conscientious professor does not merely desire to impart knowledge, but to impart useful knowledge, which will elevate the lives of his pupils; and he may perhaps wish to help them to apply it'. Is there any prospect of his assisting this task? I suppose many teachers come to India with the hope of doing so; I should like to ask each of them, in the hour of of his final departure, when he gave it up, and why. Possibly he would answer, when he candidly admitted to himself the impossiblity of knowing much about India."

For the English Professor is debarred by ignorance of the language (very rarely adequately overcome,) and by exclusion from familiarity with the home life of Indians, from ever really understanding them.

The English Professor who arrives in India at the age, let us say, of twenty-five, is generally qualified to teach one or more special subjects, such as Chemistry, English Literature, or Greek. Ten years of sympathetic study of Indian religious philosophy, Sanskrit or Pali, some vernacular language,

* 'Indian Review,' April 1907.

Indian history*, art, music, literature and etiquette might enable him to understand the problem of Indian education, probably would do so, prejudice apart; but the more he thus understood, the less he would wish to interfere, for he would either be Indianised at heart, or would have long realised the hopeless divergence between his own and Indian ideals; he would have learnt that true reforms come only from within, and slowly. But English teachers have neither the time nor the inclination to spend ten years, or even two, in such a study of Indian culture; and so, when, as often happens, they rise to a position of power, the Fellowship of some University, the Headship of a College, or even of a Department of Public Instruction, they cheerfully apply the solutions suited (or unsuited as the case may be) to an English environment, to problems the elementary and fundamental conditions of which they do not understand, nor through mere book-learning can ever come to understand.

Take as a single case. Music is far more intimately a part of Indian culture than it is of English. The importance of music in education could hardly be over-estimated.

"Is not," says Plato—"Education in music of the greatest importance, because that the measure and harmony enter in the strongest manner into the inward part of the soul....The man who hath here been educated as he ought, perceives in the quickest manner whatever workmanship is defective, and whatever execution is unhandsome, or whatever productions are of that kind; and being disgusted in a proper manner, he will praise what is beautiful, rejoicing in it and receiving it into his soul, be nourished by it, and become a worthy and good man...Education in music is for the sake of such things as these."

These words a modern Welsh writer does but echo when he says:—

"Rightly studied, music has all the exactness of pure reason and science, all the expansiveness of the imaginative reason, all the metaphysic of the profoundest philosophy, and all the ethic of the purest religion in it...It is an energy of the mind in the first instance, and is of incalculable advantage in obtaining dominion over the body...Music, properly taught, includes all that is generally conceded to belong to a liberal education."†

These ideas find but a very limited expression even in English education at home; they are implicit in Indian culture. What has English education done for Indian music; has it given it even that small place which music occupies in English culture? By no means; it has totally ignored it. If we ask for the results, we see them in the universal popularity of the harmonium and the gramophone, and all that they imply. If we ask for the reasons, we shall find them first in the English incapacity for recognizing any unfamiliar beauty, and second, in the religiousness of Indian music. Again and again, we come back to this last obstacle in the path of the English educator, the utterly irrational distinction drawn in life and education between things sacred and profane. Such a distinction is altogether foreign to Indian thought, and the sudden application of it in education is inevitably destructive of Indian culture. The same story can be told in respect of almost every aspect of Indian culture.

The idea of education must be separated from the notion of altering the structure of Indian society, still one of the avowed objects of the Western educator. As we have seen, though it may require alteration, and certainly cannot remain unchanged, or be restored in any old form, yet the English teacher is of all men essentially ill-qualified to contribute to the solution of the problem. Even Sir Henry Craik, however, who thinks that English education in India is in its main lines "hopelessly wrong," and says that it is the opinion of every man capable of judging that it requires recasting, goes on to speak of the 'hopeless hindrances' which it is necessary 'to contend against.' 'The system of caste,' he says, 'the habits of the people, their inertness in manual labour, their fixed idea that clerical work has a dignity of its own—all these will take long before they are overcome.'

What an incredible relief it would be to all concerned if the 'educator' would for a little while give over his 'contending,' and concern himself with education. For education, and the destruction of caste, purdah and religion are not convertible terms; education is the building up of character, essentially a constructive, not a contentious process. Too often the 'contention' is a tilting at a windmill; or the educator himself may be the *fons et origo* of the evil to be remedied. Take the last point raised

* Not merely recent history, but especially the periods in which the ideals of Indian civilisation were partly realised—Asoka, the Guptas, Akbar.

† D. Haugeon Danies, in 'Wales To-day and to-morrow', a symposium edited by T. Stephens, 1907.

by Sir Henry Craik, the idea of the dignity of clerical work. This is no more than a natural development resulting from the type of education offered, and the example set, by Englishmen. They with pain and labour have destroyed and are still endeavouring to destroy the caste idea of the dignity and duty of the heaven-ordained work, whether clerical or manual, to which a man is born; they in their educational system have ignored the Indian Gospel, wherein a well-known text declares, "Better is one's own duty, albeit insignificant, than even the well-executed duty of another." It is childish to be surprised at the result of a deliberate policy.

The aim of education in India must be no longer the cultivation of the English point of view or an ability to use the English formula correctly. In the words of Sir Henry Craik, it is necessary to abandon

> "the senseless attempt to turn an Oriental into a bad imitation of a Western mind..... It is not a triumph for our education—it is, on the contrary a satire upon it—when we find the sons of leading natives expressly discouraged by their parents from acquiring any knowledge of the vernacular..... We must abandon the vain dream that we can reproduce the English public school on Indian soil. We must recognise that it is a mistake to insist that a man shall not be considered to be an educated man unless he can express his knowledge otherwise than in a language which is not his own. Place no restriction on English as an optional subject, but cease to demand it as the one thing necessary for all."

And, I would add, having learnt English, use it as the key to all extra-Indian literature and culture; do not teach Greek or Latin unless in rare cases there is a reasonable prospect of the attainment of proficiency sufficient to ensure the enjoyment of the literature in the original. India has classic tongues of her own, the doors of culture for all who have the opportunity of passing beyond the merely bi-lingual stage of education, which should be the general goal.

What are the essentials in the Indian point of view, which for their intrinsic value, and in the interests of the manysidedness of human development, it is so important to preserve? Space will not admit of their illustration at any length, but these appear to the writer to be some of the ideals that must be preserved in any true education system for India:—

Firstly, the almost universal *philosophical attitude*, contrasting strongly with that of the ordinary Englishman, who hates philosophy. For every science school in India today, let us see to it that there are ten to-morrow. But there are wrong as well as right ways of teaching science. A 'superstition of facts' taught in the name of science were a poor exchange for a metaphysic, for a conviction of the subjectivity of all phenomena. In India, even the peasant will grant you that "All this is maya"; he may not understand the full significance of what he says—but consider the deepening of European culture needed before the peasant there could say, however blindly, that "The world is but appearance, and by no means Thing-in-Itself".

Secondly, the *sacredness of all things*—the antithesis of the European division of life into sacred and profane. The tendency in European religious development has been to exclude from the domain of religion every aspect of 'wordly' activity. Science, art, sex, agriculture, commerce, are regarded in the West as secular aspects of life, quite apart from religion. It is not surprising that under such considerations, those concerned with life in its reality, have come to feel the so-called religion that ignores the activities of life, as a thing apart, and of little interest or worth. In India, this was never so; religion idealises and spiritualizes life itself, rather than excludes it. This intimate entwining of the transcendental and material, this annihilation of the possibility of profanity or vulgarity of thought, explains the strength and permanence of Indian faith, and demonstrates not merely the stupidity, but the wrongness of attempting to replace a religious culture by one entirely material.

Thirdly, the true spirit of *religious toleration*, illustrated continually in Indian history, and based upon a consciousness of the fact that all religious dogmas are formulas imposed upon the infinite, by the limitations of the finite human intellect.

Fourthly, *etiquette*,—civilisation conceived of as the production of civil men. There is a Sinhalese proverb that runs, "Take a ploughman from the plough, and wash off his dirt, and he is fit to rule a kingdom". "This was spoken", says Knox, "of the people of Cande Uda (the highlands of Ceylon) because of the civility, understanding, and

gravity of the poorest men among them. Their ordinary *Plowmen* and Husbandmen do speak elegantly, and are full of compliment. And there is no difference between the ability of speech of a country-man and a courtier." There could be said of any people few greater things than these; but they cannot be said of those who have passed through the instruction machines of today; they belong to a society where life itself brought culture, not books alone.

Fifthly, special ideas in relation to education, such as the relation between teacher and pupil implied in the words *guru* and *chela* (master and disciple); memorizing great literature*; the epics as embodying ideals of character; learning a privilege demanding qualifications, not to be forced on the unwilling, or used as a mere road to material prosperity; extreme importance of the teacher's personality.

"As the man who digs with a spade obtains water, even so an obedient (pupil) obtains the knowledge which lies in his teacher" (Manu II, 218). This view is antithetic to the modern practice of making everything easy for the pupil.

Sixthly, the basis of *ethics* not any commandments, but the principle of altruism, founded on the philosophical truth: "Thy neighbour *is* thyself". Recognition of the unity of all life.

Seventhly, control, not merely of action, but of thought; concentration, one-pointedness, capacity for stillness.

These are some of the points of view which are intrinsic in Indian culture, and must be recognized in any sound educational ideal for India; but are in the present system ignored or opposed. The aim should be to develope the people's intelligence through the medium of their own national culture. For the national culture is the only *Aussichtspunkt* from which, in relation to a wider landscape, a man can rightly *sich am Denken orientiren*. To this culture has to be added, for those brought into contact with the modern idea, some part of that wider synthesis that should enable such an one to understand what may be the nature of the prospect seen from some other of the great headlands, the other national cultures, wherefrom humanity has gazed into the dim sea of the Infinite Unknown. To effect this wider synthesis, are needed signals and interpretations, rather than that laborious backward march through the emptiness of a spiritual desert where one may perish by the way, or if not so, then weary and footsore arrive at last upon one of those other headlands, only to learn, it may be, that there is to be found a less extensive prospect and a more barren soil.

"Every man who is capable of judging" knows that the educational system of modern India requires recasting. The task may be Herculean; the more reason to begin before it become impossible. The work must be done by Indian hands. It may be true, as Professor Geddes wrote to me, that

"The trouble is not only with the vested interests of the official class, (which are sure to be protected in any change), but in the wooden heads, the arrested minds, the incompetent hands, etc, etc, of those who have gone through this machine, whether here or with you in India. It lies in your thousands of barristers and clerks and crammers, who know all the programme of the University of London in its darkest days...but who know nothing of the vital movements in literature, science, art, etc., by which we in some measure here escape or at least mitigate our official oppression, or even begin to modify it.

In short, then, the strife is *not* between '*Eastern* and *Western Education*' (Instruction, Cram rather) but between *Cram* and *Education*, and for us both alike, in West as in East. It is very hard indeed, upon *your* thousands of graduates to say that they must be considered as lost victims of a mistake, and put aside as useless for practical purposes, save here and there the man who has the will and power to re-educate himself but the same is true here at home, and nothing could be more disastrous, I think, than for you in India to give your present Europeanised graduates the re-organizing of things; that would be continuing our mistake, not correcting it. But recover your own arts, etc., on one hand, and *utilise also the Western progress since* the futilitarian doctrinaires and their bureaucratic successors. Learn from France—non-official France primarily of course—,from America on her non-philistine side, from Germany at her best, (though this is being materialised in most of the universities or elsewhere), from the small countries you as yet practically ignore—Scandinavia, Netherlands, etc. and so on. Don't believe the usual contempt of South American States: they are far more advanced than most Europeans know: in short, open yourselves more widely to the Western influence—*similia similibus curantur.*"

From such advice there is not a little to be learnt. But it is not true that any others can do for us the work that is our own, the re-organization of Indian educa-

* See 'Memory in Education,' by A. K. Coomaraswamy, Ceylon University Association, No. 5, April, 1908.

tion, if it is to be of any use, must be accomplished by Indian hands. The most denationalised Indian is still more Indian than a European. It is for Indians to nationalize Indian education. Given the responsibility, and the power to act, and even Europeanised India will rise to the occasion; to those who cannot think so, India must appear to be not worth the saving. Let Indians place the control of education in the forefront of the nationalist programme. By control, let absolute control be meant, not merely a half control, or a control sanctioned by some royal charter that may be withdrawn as easily as given. There is one true service, and one only, which England can now render to the cause of Indian education; it is the placing of the education budget and the entire control of education in Indian hands. It will then be for us to combine with our own national culture, all that we may learn from Denmark, Hungary, and the other smaller lands more educationally advanced than England, if it seems good to us to do so. It will be for us to develop the Indian intelligence through the medium of Indian culture, and building thereupon, to make it possible for India to resume her place amongst the nations, not merely as a competitor in material production, but as a teacher of all that belongs to a true civilization, a leader of the future, as of the past. Herein the ordinary English educator can help but little, and can hinder much. In the last words of Buddha to his beloved disciple:

"O, Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves; be ye refuges to yourselves. Hold fast to the dharma as to a lamp; hold fast to the dharma as a refuge. Look not for refuge to any one beside yourselves."

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE PEOPLE'S ANTHEM

When wilt Thou save the people?
O God of mercy, when?
* * *
Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they;
Let them not pass, like weeds, away—
Their heritage a sunless day.
God save the people.

Shall crime bring crime for ever,
Strength aiding still the strong?
Is it thy will, O Father,
That men shall toil for wrong?
"No", say Thy mountains, "No" Thy skies!
Man's clouded sun shall brightly rise,
And songs be heard instead of sighs.
God save the people.

When wilt thou save the people?
O God of mercy, when?
The people, Lord, the people,
* * *
God save the people; Thine they are,
Thy children, as Thy angels fair;
Save them from bondage and despair!
God save the people!

EBENEZER ELLIOT.

NOTES

The Unity of India.

It is a platitude beloved of every superficial and unsympathetic foreign observer that India is in reality a congeries of nations and that there is no such thing as a common Indian people. This remark is levelled specially against those 'visionaries' who dream of an united Indian nation and advocate the extension of the principle of self-government. It is argued that, there being no common Indian nationality, the different Indian races would fall upon one another as soon as the strong arm of the British might be withdrawn. But scholars and thinkers who can pierce beneath the surface and have no political purpose to serve, are of a different opinion. Okakura, in his remarkable book, *The Ideals of the East*, has tried to show that 'Asia is one,' that 'the Asiatic races form a

single mighty web.' But confining ourselves to India, we find that the greatest living authority on the pre-Mahomedan period of Indian history, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, thus refers to the unity of India in the very first chapter of his standard work,—*Early History of India*:

"India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such, is rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilisation, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human, social and intellectual development."

Indeed, had there been no such underlying unity, no Empire could have been built up in India in the ancient days of the Mahabharata, with its institution of the *Rajasuya*, in the days of Asoka, and in the comparatively modern times of Akbar.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, of the Bombay Civil Service, quotes Mr. Vincent Smith with approval in his book on *Life and Labour in India*, and adds:

"The diversity of social phenomena in India is a fact visible on the surface. But the groundwork on which that diversity is traced—the underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin—is often lost sight of."

The author then goes on to expand this idea in felicitous and thoughtful language, and concludes:

"All its infinite variety hangs on a common thread of a somewhat distinctive Indian colour."

In the stage of nation-building at which we have arrived, it is more important for us to dwell on our resemblances than on our differences. We should remember what Okakura says on this subject:

"We forget, in an age of classification, that types are after all shining points of distinctness in an ocean of approximations, false gods deliberately set up to be worshipped, for the sake of mental convenience, but having no more ultimate or mutually exclusive validity than the separate existence of two interchangeable sciences."

The Gagging Act of 1857.

The following extract from Kaye and Malleson's History of the Sepoy Mutiny (Vol. III, by Colonel Malleson, pp. 11—13) will prove interesting, containing as it does the views of the gallant author of the standard history of the mutiny on (i) the Anglo-Indian and the Indian press, (ii) the attitude of the bureaucracy towards the press, (iii) the attitude of Lord Canning and (iv) the repressive character of the press legislation. Incidentally, readers will note that according to this expert historian the Bengalis are 'alone capable of administering the country should it fall under native domination.' The Bengali of to-day feels his capacity in this respect, but he also recognises that there are other Indian races equally advanced who are similarly fit to rule. The slander which denies this capacity is really born of jealousy and is bound to die out in time.

"In India the fourth estate was represented by two distinct bodies of men. There was the English Press advocating English interests, and owned and entirely contributed to by Englishmen. Running parallel with this was the Native Press, the organ of native interests, and owned and contributed to by natives. .....The two sections acted alike as critics of the Government, and as a rule, they performed their delicate duty with judgment, with temper, and with moderation.

"It is true that, when dealing with individual officials, the press of India, Native as well as European, was often extremely uncompromising. It certainly called a spade a spade. And as the Indian officials had experienced none of the rough training to which the statesmen of Europe are subjected, and were often men who owed their high positions to favour rather than to merit, this habit of plain speaking had been apt to engender, and often did engender, feelings of rancorous dislike in the breasts of the criticised.

".....Possibly the Bengali portion of the native press, representing a highly educated people, unversed in arms, but alone capable of administering the country should it fall under native domination, believed that their prospects would be greatly improved by the overthrow of the British power. Certainly, many of them not only doubted our ultimate success, but openly expressed their doubts.....

"This alteration in the tone of the native press was brought to the notice of Lord Canning early in June, and he was urged then to interfere, by legislative action, with its freedom. Unlike his colleagues, however, Lord Canning had been brought up in a free country. He had been accustomed all his life to the freedom of the press. He had seen in England that the law of the land was sufficient to put down license. He knew that an honest Government had no better friend than a free and outspoken public critic. To the solicitations of his councillors, then, he replied that 'the remedy was worse than the disease'.

"But a few days later, the opinions of Lord Canning in this respect underwent a change. On the 13th of June [1857] he, for the first and only time during his tenure of office, went down to the Lagislative Council, and declaring there that the incendiary tone of the native press had driven him to the conclusion at which he had reluctantly arrived, brought forward and carried a measure to place the native press under restrictions so galling that, compared to them, the restrictions on the press of France during the darkest days of the reign of Napoleon III were light and easy".

A forgotten page of history.

The tragic career of Narendra Nath Gossain, the approver in the Bomb Conspiracy case, who was shot dead on the 31st August last in the Alipore Jail by Kanai Lal Dutt, one of the alleged conspirators, who gave it as his reason for the deed that Gossain had proved a traitor to his country, recalls to our mind the career of another informer who betrayed the celebrated rebel general Tantia Topi, in the Paron Jungles, in the heart of Central India, on the 7th April, 1859. This informer was Raja Man Singh, a chieftain owing allegiance to the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, whose constancy to the British, under the advice of his able minister Raja Dinkar Rao, saved the situation in Northern India. A considerable portion of Man Singh's ancestral estates was confiscated by the Gwalior Durbar, and he took the field at first solely with the object of punishing Scindia for the wrong done to him, but gradually drifted into the hands of Tantia Topi, with his uncle and comrade in arms, Ajit Singh. The events which led to the capture of Tantia, who had hitherto eluded the utmost viligance of the British army, will now be told in the historian's own language (Vol. V., History of the Sepoy Mutiny, by Colonel Malleson, p.p. 258-65):

"The Paron Jungles, in which Tantia Topi and Man Singh were hiding, constituted a portion of the large family estates of which Scindia had unjustly deprived the latter. Here they were safe, safe absolutely, so long as each should remain true to the other. . . . . He [Sir Robert Napier, the officer in charge of the operations against Tantia] had at once felt certain that to capture Tantia Topi the preliminary step was to gain Man Singh. No star of lesser magnitude would suffice. Now, there were strong grounds for believing that it might be possible to gain Man Singh. He was a chief of ancient lineage of lofty birth, born to great possessions. To avenge himself on Scindia for confiscating a portion of those possessions, he had lost everything except the affection of his dependants and the ground on which he slept; he had imperilled his head. Thenceforward, so long as he remained unreconciled to his liege lord, there was no prospect in the present—no hope in the future. On such a man driven to desperation, become from a feudal lord an outcast, what might not be the effect of an offer, of free and absolute pardon with the prospect of intercession with Scindia for the restoration of some portion of his property? Impressed with this idea, Napier resolved to try the experiment."

[Then follows an account of how Napeir detailed Major Meade of Meade's Horse, to open negotiations with Man Singh's Dewan, with a view to induce him to surrender, and how on the 2nd of April Man Singh agreed to Meade's conditions, and entered the British camp.]

"Tantia Topi was still at large.....Now had arrived the time to play upon the more selfish instincts of the Rajah. He had life, and security for his life; but what was life to a born feudal chieftain without consideration, without esteem, without position? What was life to a vassal lord of Scindia, disowned and hated by his sovereign? The first feeling of satisfaction at escape from death passed, and life to such a man in such a position would become a burden. But could not the position be ameliorated? Yes—a signal service—a deed for which men would be grateful—that would remove the still remaining obstacles to a return to his position among the nobles of his country.

"On feelings such as these Meade worked with tact and skill. In many conversations which he had with the Rajah during the 2nd and 3rd of April he urged him to perform some service which should entitle him to consideration. His reasoning had so much effect, that when at 11 o'clock on the night of the second day—the 3rd—information reached Meade that the uncle of Man Singh, Ajit Singh,.....lay with a band of men, fifteen miles distant, in the jungle, Man Singh volunteered to accompany the force of a hundred and fifty men, at the head of which Meade immediately started. The little force reached at day break the place where Ajit Singh had been marked down, only to discover that he and his band had moved off during the night.....No one was more mortified than Man Singh. Ajit Singh was his uncle; Ajit Singh had been his comrade on the battle-field, his abettor in his revolt against Scindia, and although in his fury at Man Singh's apostasy, as he regarded it in surrendering to the English, he had threatened to take his life, yet he stood to Man Singh in a relation than which there can scarcely be a closer between man and man—friend, comrade, uncle—and yet Man Singh grieved bitterly that this man had not been captured by his enemies. It was a first step in moral debasement—a prelude to one still lower!

"During the three days which followed, close observation satisfied Meade that Tantia Topi was in the Paron Jungles, and, working daily on Man Singh's longing desire for restoration to his former position, he pursuaded him to acknowledge that he knew where Tantia was. From this moment he had made up his mind to betray him. His only anxiety now was lest Tantia should slip through his fingers. At that very time, to his knowledge, Tantia was debating whether or not he should rejoin Firoze Shah. Tantia had even sent his emissaries to Meade's camp to consult him on the subject. Were Tantia to go, the chance would be lost. No thought of old comradeship, of the ties of honour, weighed with him for a moment. He would at once betray him, if—yes,—if he could recover his position. That was his one thought. . . . . He was desirous of having Sir R. Hamilton's general assurance of 'consideration' for such a service reduced to a specific promise. . . . . It was quite out of Meade's power to make any such promise; he could only assure him that he 'might rely on any claim he

might establish being faithfully considered by Government.' Unable to extract more, Man Singh clutched at the prospect which this vague promise offered, and consented to betray his friend.

"Whilst Meade was thus negotiating with Man Singh, Tantia Topi had lain quiet in the Paron Jungles. . . . Tantia sent to consult Man Singh as to the course he should adopt. Tantia was well aware that Man Singh had surrendered, yet he trusted him implicitly. He had placed himself quite in his power and had chosen his actual hiding place on the recommendation of the retainer to whose care Man Singh had consigned him. . . . .

"To Tantia's message Man Singh replied that he would come in three days to see him, and that then they would decide on the action to be taken. Man Singh more than kept his word. At midnight on the third day, the 7th of April, he came to the hiding place, followed at a distance by the Bombay Sipahis. Tantia was asleep. Asleep he was seized, roughly awakened, and conveyed to Meade's camp. He arrived there by sunrise on the morning of the 8th.

"Meade marched him into Sipri and tried him by court-martial. . . . . Tantia Topi was sentenced to be hanged. The sentence was carried into effect at Sipri on the 18th of April."

Man Singh was not the only informer in modern Indian history. During the state trial of Bahadur Shah, Ex-King of Delhi, and the last sovereign of the House of Timur, in April 1858, Ashan-ulla Khan, late confidential physician of the ex-king, turned approver, and helped in bringing about the sentence of transportation on his royal master, who had surrendered himself on promise of his life being spared. Bahadur Shah was eventually taken to Pegu in Burmah, where he ended his days in peace.

The Health of Chittagong.

F. H. S. wrote in the *Pioneer*, October 20, 1896 (p. 5) :—

"* * We have a statement in Mr. H. J. S. Cotton's History of Chittagong, * * to the effect that the town was, a hundred odd years ago, a sanitarium and a refuge for Ditchers supersaturated with malaria. It was not then the hotbed of disease which persistent neglect of sanitary laws has made it."

F. H. S. again wrote in the *Pioneer*, November 12, 1896 :—

"On the 21st February [1786] he (Sir William Jones) qualifies Chittagong in a letter to his friend Mr. Caldicott, as 'this Indian Montpellier where the hillocks are covered with pepper vines and sparkle with the blossoms of the coffee plant' * * * * Residents of Chittagong as it is, will marvel that it should ever have been compared to the great eighteenth century health resort, *but gross neglect bears speedy fruit in tropical climes.*"

The Health of Murshidabad.

Hunter in his Statistical Account of Murshidabad (p.p. 241 *et seq.*) writes :—

"There are certain spots in the district, which have been desolated by fever within the present century, and which still remain deserted. Of these, the most conspicuous is Kasimbazar, where the old stagnant channel of the Bhagirathi still attests the cause of the pestilence which overthrew this once flourishing city. It is said that the place was depopulated by a malarious fever in 1814, the year which immediately followed the change of course of the river. There are still a few miserable inhabitants, who haunt the banks of the Kasimbazar lake, as the stagnant pool is yet called; but their sickly condition can never be ameliorated until either that lake be drained, or a current of fresh water be diverted into it.

"Binagar, the residence of the celebrated Rani Bhawani, is said to have been destroyed in the beginning of this century by a similar catastrophe.

"The village of Mirzapur, in the *thana* of the same name, has also been ruined by fever; * * Prior to 1862, Mirzapur was considered a very healthy place, and had a large population, chiefly composed of silk manufacturers and weavers. But in that year a virulent outbreak of malarious fever took place; and it is said, that in a few months half the inhabitants either died or left their homes. *Medical relief, was at length sent,* and the mortality greatly diminished; but at the present time the village cannot boast of a single healthy person.

"A neighbouring village called Belghata has met with the same fate. * * * *

"Cholera is normally present in the district at almost all seasons of the year."

"A Hooligan Offer."

At the time of the Bombay riots following the Tilak trial, an Australian Colonel offered to send to India 'one of Victoria's crack Militia corps' to help in putting down those disturbances. *The Coming Day* of London offers the following remarks on that incident :—

'The gentle reader' probably noticed, about a month ago, that a certain Australian, Colonel Evans, who appears to honour Melbourne as a resident, and is connected with the Sixth Australian Infantry Regiment, offered to send to India 'one of Victoria's crack Militia corps' to help the British put down the Bombay disturbances. This bit of coarse brutality is what we have to endure as the result of our cowardly acceptance of Colonial help in our raid upon the South African Republics. But what a hurry this Hooligan is in! The disturbances in Bombay are not yet beyond the power of Great Britain to cope with: and even a full-blooded Imperialist might take this offer as an insult.

"If we need Australia's help at this stage, or indeed at any stage, to repress India's desire for Australia's measure of freedom, India is already lost to us. But, apart from that, what does 'the gentle reader,' or the full-blooded Imperialist, think of the offer to set one part of the Empire against another for bloodshed, or

the offer of an Australian who has got his freedom to shoot down an Indian who wants his?

The Australian Premier, Mr. Deakin, was inconsiderate enough to call this offer 'chivalrous.' He ought to have told this swaggering Hooligan that he was a perilous fool. Perhaps he has done so, in a mild way, behind the scenes.

A Missionary on the Indian National Movement.

A paper on "Christian Education in Ceylon" by the Rev. A. G. Fraser, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, has been published in the August number of the *Ceylon National Review*. Mr. Fraser observes as follows on the national movement in Eastern countries:—

"Now in India and Ceylon we are faced to-day, as we are all over the East, with a great national movement. This movement takes many forms. It is not confined to, and is not the creation of political agitators, as the rabid part of our press makes out; I do not think any agitation has been ever raised by agitators. The national movement in India is part of the great national movement which is going on over the whole East. You have it in Egypt, in Persia, in Siam, in Ceylon, and in Japan. You have it in all these places, 800,000,000 of our fellows in the throes of these movements. It is largely a battle for character."

But in India the national movement is treated by the bureaucracy as if it were a battle for the negation of all character. For, it is a favourite 'belief' of this class that our colleges impart knowledge but do not develop character, and this precious character is to be developed by keeping students miles away from the national movement.

"Who should pay the piper?"

In the article on "who should pay the piper?" published in this number, it has been said that "where the question of saddling India with any charges is concerned, the statesmen and politicians of Great Britain are for the most part strangers to fairness and justice." The following telegram, taken from *The Indian Daily News*, furnishes an account of a recent incident in corroboration of this remark:—

"Simla, September 21st.

"The Secretary of State, in a despatch has communicated the decision of His Majesty's Government on the recommendations of the Romer Commission which met in London last cold weather for a division of military expenditure between India and England. Lord Morley, I understand, has decided to saddle India with a further increase of military expenditure to the tune of three hundred thousands pounds (or 45 lakhs) per annum as additional charge for the recruitment and training of British soldiers for service in this country. The capitation charge for each British soldier has been £7 10s. and this will now be proportionately increased. The Hon'ble Mr. Meston, Financial Member, is arranging to provide for this additional charge of 45 lakhs as the recommendations will be given retrospective effect from 1st May last. The India Office was represented on this important Commission by Sir John Edge and Lieutenant-General Sir Beauchamp Duff but apparently the War Office representatives headed by General Sir G. Nicholson got the better of them and hence the unsatisfactory results and further heavy burden on the Indian revenues. The matter is now finally settled and no amount of agitation can upset it. It is to be regretted that the report of the Romer Commission was neither published nor placed before the House of Commons to enable a public discussion of this arrangement.—*Our Correspondent.*"

This trifle of 45 lakhs was not provided for in the Budget. But Mr. Meston can find it. But, for education and sanitation, the Indian Treasury always becomes suddenly empty.

The Murder of Narendra Gossain.

Kanailal Dutt, who shot the approver Narendra Gossain dead in the Alipur Jail, has been spoken of in newspapers in various ways, his own belief being that he has killed a traitor to his country. And it is said, owing to this belief, he now looks more cheerful and enjoys better health than before. It is difficult to say with any exactitude what most people think of the deed. But the sale of thousands of copies of Kanai's portrait in the streets may serve to indicate the feeling of the public. Yet it would be wrong to conclude that even a small fraction of the public approve of murderous deeds. They do not demur to the law taking its course. That is only what Kanai bargained for. What seems to be to their liking is the daring and what the *Pioneer* calls Kanai's "self-devotion."

The mind of the common man, the natural man, is so constituted that when what seems to him to be just retribution overtakes anybody, the ejaculation "served right" naturally escapes his lips. A Buddha would not say so. And the Buddha is unquestionably our ideal. But the rest of mankind cannot be held to incite to or abet murderous deeds, simply because they do not occupy the high spiritual plane of the Buddha.

Those Anglo-Indian papers which described the deed as brutal, shocking, and cowardly, and Kanai as a dangerous fanatic, perhaps

overshot the mark. *The Pioneer* pointed out that this particular murder was not more brutal than other murders and that the act was not cowardly. Kanai has been stated in the course of the examination of the Principal of Dupleix College as a witness in the Conspiracy case, to have been always a well-behaved student. The terrorists are alleged to have conspired to overthrow the British Government. Narendra Gossain by turning approver came to be looked upon as a pillar of the British Indian Empire. We cannot, therefore, blame any Anglo-Indian for considering this particular murder blacker than any other. At the same time, we must say that the *Pioneer's* bringing in the names of Harmodius atd Aristogeiton in this connection is not quite appropriate. For Narendra was neither a 'tyrant' like Hippias, nor the younger brother of a tyrant like Hipparchus. An approver is a much more despicable creature than a tyrant. We must also repudiate the *Pioneer's* insinuation that we must needs enshrine Kanai's memory in the absence of those of worthier men. Bengal's page of heroism and of golden deeds is not so blank as some people believe or pretend to believe.

As for us Indian journalists, it is undoubtedly true that the oracles will philippize so long as Philip is the master. The Penal Code, the Police and the Public Prosecutor are at present masters of the situation. The ubiquitous and omniscient informer has aggravated the situation. Manliness, truthfulness and sincerity cannot grow in an atmosphere of political servitude and police repression. Some are of opinion, and there are men of undoubted worth among them, that character must be developed by means of the religious and moral elevation of the people before we can become entitled to political freedom. This is partly true. But we would ask them to show how character can grow, if a man must always be afraid of his shadow. Will they name a single religious preacher of any sect in India who is at present telling the whole truth about the political situation in the country? Who among them has rebuked the wrong-doer in high places? Is it the correct religious ideal to let the world go to the dogs? We suppose truthfulness is an elementary virtue of the religious man, and the omission to speak the truth is incompatible with perfect truthfulness. If our political condition has brought even religious men to this pass, how can the character of journalists and other ordinary men develop in the right direction? But perhaps we digress.

The gallant efforts made by the European convicts Higgins and Linton to save Narendra are worthy of all praise.

Politics in English and Indian Universities.

Mr. M. E. Sadler is a well-known English educationist. His letters on "Education in England," contributed to *Indian Education* of Bombay often contain much valuable information and many suggestive observations. The following extract, containing as it does information on the attitude of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities in respect to politico-economic questions, will not, we think, be considered too long. Mr. Sadler writes in *Indian Education* for August, 1908:—

"During the past month some appointments of special interest and significance have been made to professorial Chairs at Oxford and Cambridge. Mr. A. C. Pigou, Fellow of King's College, has been elected to the Professorship of Political Economy at Cambridge in the place of Professor Alfred Marshall resigned. Mr. Pigou is one of the youngest of University professors, being only thirty-one years of age. He is a trenchant writer, lucid in exposition, persuasive in argument and practical in his treatment of economic matters. A strong Free Trader, he has already taken an effective part in the controversy about the tariff, and his appointment to a high academic position will give him greatly extended opportunities of effective influence. It is fortunate that among the resident teachers at Cambridge there are in the persons of Dr. Cunningham and Mr. Pigou, effective representatives of the two contending schools of thought on the great question of the tariff. The two men differ in temperament and outlook, and represent, in striking contrast, the different standpoints from which the present controversy is approached. Dr. Cunningham is the more evolutionary in his analysis of the question; Mr. Pigou, the more positive and mathematical. Dr. Cunningham, by his historical researches into the growth of English industry and commerce, has thrown the Free Trade position into historical perspective. He is one of a group of writers who have predisposed the nation to look without surprise upon the renewed growth of nationalist tendencies in English economic thought. Mr. Pigou, on the other hand, is one of the most alert and vigorous of the group of writers who challenge, at every opportunity, what they believe to be the practical fallacies of the present propaganda for tariff reform. He combines a trained power of abstract economic reasoning with a vivid sense of the practical question of the

moment. Each of these different modes of treatment is necessary if the question of the tariff is to be thoroughly thought out.

It is good for the Empire and for higher education generally that the University of Cambridge should thus contain brilliant representatives of each of the two contending schools of thought. Teachers in Universities are to blame if they use the prestige attaching to their positions for purposes of political partisanship. But few things would be more injurious to the public interest than that they should be muzzled on the great questions of public policy. A tacit convention which silenced them on such subjects would deprive men of affairs of the benefit which they can derive from the judgment reached by scholars and students after long continued and accurate investigation. It would also tend to deter men who are engaged in academic work from grappling with the practical issues arising out of their field of study. A University teacher, if practically forbidden to contribute publicly to the discussion of questions connected with the studies of his Chair, would always be tempted to devote himself to those parts of his subject which were remote from immediate political controversy. He would be encouraged to cultivate a habit of reticence and of suspended judgment which would give an academic unreality to his teaching and permit him to shirk the laborious duty of applying his general principles to current problems. What the nation has a right to expect from him is entire disinterestedness, honesty in scientific statement, and considerate courtesy in utterance. But so far from having the right to require him to abstain from expressing a clear and considered judgment on matters of urgent political importance, it cannot impose silence upon him without depriving itself of one of the most valuable means of securing intellectual thoroughness and scientific honesty in the discussion of affairs of state. The University teacher himself is in a position of extraordinary responsibility. Consideration for the divergent opinions of his colleagues and a desire to protect the institution to which he belongs from suffering through misrepresentation and misunderstanding will often cause him to be silent upon topics verging on controversy. But his students and (so far as his words reach it) the wider public look to him to submit to them trains of thought and conclusions which reflect accurately the honest working of a candid mind. If, in his studies, he shrinks from attaching due weight to facts and arguments which go against his own presuppositions and are opposed to his own sympathies, he is guilty of one of the worst forms of treason. On the other hand, it is part of his duty to endeavour to arrive at clear conclusions on those points at which his own sphere of study touches practical affairs. What he has not the right to do is to shelter himself in an academic haven and shrink from any discussion of the practical questions of his time.

The difficulty, however, does not end here. When a University teacher is so placed as to be the sole representative at his University of a branch of study thus implicated with political controversy, the responsibility of his position is increased. He has to remember that any public pronouncement on his part upon such questions might seem to the outside public to be an expression of the undivided conviction of his University. In that case, it is his especial duty to guard himself against producing such a misunderstanding. Further, if his University draws a large part of its income from contributions from public bodies which themselves represent all parties, it is especially necessary for him to avoid any appearance of officially committing his University, as distinct from himself personally, to a view which he is bound in honesty to express, but which he knows to be at variance with that reached by other thinkers who have presumably given as much thought to the subject as he has done himself. But he is none the less bound, in critical issues, to reach his practical conclusions and at the right moment, to let his judgment be known. He must do so with considerate tact and with courteous regard for opponents. If he fails in this tact and courtesy, he may go far towards justifying the inference that in his private studies he has been lacking in consideration for views opposed to his own. His habitual temper of mind and method of work will reflect themselves in what he says or writes at those critical junctures when he has to give public expression to a conviction reached by long trains of study and thought. His position, therefore, is one of very great delicacy and difficulty, but its duties are not fulfilled by insipidity or by the avoidance of difficult issues. The difficulties of the position are lessened by anything which habituates the public to regard all University workers in each subject as forming, among themselves, a body of students, separated in their particular spheres of labour but united by friendly intercourse and interchange of opinion upon their subjects. In that case, a man, who may be the sole representative of his subject at a given University, suffers less from an appearance of isolation. He is recognised as being one of a group of men who are engaged in the common task of studying the same subjects in different places of research. It may often happen that in matters of critical political controversy, these separated workers will wisely confine themselves to concerted expressions of opinion on points in regard to which their subjects abut upon political controversy. They will then speak with the weight of a body of experts. They will not commit their particular Universities, but will represent the considered judgment of a body of scientific investigators. And the fact that, in such a body, there will almost always be at least two schools of opinion, each of which will give expression to its own view, will still further protect individuals from any suspicion of political partisanship.

One of the great advantages which the Empire derives from the greatness of Oxford and Cambridge is that at each of them the staff of teachers is so large as to include effective representatives of conflicting schools of thought. If either Mr. Pigou or Dr. Cunningham happened to be the sole exponent of economic thought at some recently created University which drew a large part of its resources from public contributions, it would be much more difficult for either of them to give free and frequent expression to his opinion upon economic matters about which there is sharp political dispute. The fact that both of them are resident in one University enables them, to the great advantage of the nation, to speak and write quite freely on these subjects, without involving their University, as such, in any suspicion of partisanship.

It is also an advantage to the nation that Oxford and Cambridge enjoy revenues which make them independent of any local or governmental claims. *As our treatment of social questions becomes more scientific, and as the range of University studies widens, the points of contact between academic teaching and political debate will increase in number. The question, therefore, of academic freedom and of the right of individual teachers to express a judgment upon political issues, may hereafter become one of great practical importance. It is to the interest of the nation that the Universities should be free. They are the more likely to remain free because two of the greatest of them are independent of governmental or local subsidy and so large as to include among the distinguished representatives of each branch of study, men of very different schools of thought.*

Should not our professors in Government and other colleges be free to teach political economy and history with direct reference to contemporary problems and controversies in the country?

In India the *swadeshi*-boycott movement is nothing more than a politico-economic movement. But as it clashes with the selfish interests of Britons, it is treated in practice as almost criminal, though many a bureaucrat professes to be friendly to "honest" *swadeshi*. We suppose "honest" means harmless to British interests. But that is by the by. The boycott acts as only a sort of non-official or extra-legal, but not illegal, tariff. So we do not see any reason why a professor should not advocate it even in his class-room. But Prof. Benikanta Datta of Agra has been dismissed only for taking part in *swadeshi* meetings outside the College. In Calcutta Professor Krishnakumar Mitra has severed his connection with the City College as the University evidently objected to his taking part in political agitation, which in Bengal of to-day is synonymous with the *swadeshi*-boycott movement. *And his College, to which he has devoted his whole life, has accepted his resignation!* All schools, *including members of the managing committee*, must give a written undertaking not to mix themselves with political agitation, which includes the *swadeshi* movement.

Principles change their complexion and character with the climate. What is ambrosia in Oxford and Cambridge is poison in Calcutta. King Edward congratulates the Sultan of Turkey on his granting a constitution to his subjects. King Edward's servants treat our demand for similar self-rule as almost seditious.

It is said 20 out of about 500 schools have not yet furnished the required undertaking, and the Bhola School in Eastern Bengal has refused to give it. We could wish the figures were the other way. But even one instance of manliness is better than none. We are glad that at least one school has recognised the supreme value of manhood. Book-learning is good, but not at the sacrifice of manhood and civic rights. Some of the world's greatest men have been illiterate or almost so. And cannot knowledge be imparted without affiliation to an officialised university? Even in India there are several Schools and Colleges doing good work, without any recognition from Universities. It is true unless one reads in an affiliated institution one has no chance of becoming a pleader, or a Government servant. But these are not the only professions even in India.

The City College of Calcutta is affiliated to the local university and has a staff of able men; it belongs to a heterodox body and is worked at a loss and has heavy debts still to pay. The Hardwar Gurukul is not affiliated to any university, and cannot boast of more learned professors than the City College, and it too belongs to a heterodox sect. But it has no debts and at each anniversary receives donations to the tune of some thirty, forty or fifty thousand rupees *mostly from Hindus*. What is the reason? Because the Gurukul pursues an ideal,—a wrong ideal, if you please, but an ideal all the same: and it has the courage of its convictions, and sufficient faith in God and in the nation to do without official grants or recognition. Raja Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, was characterised by Mr. W. Adam as a man who would be free or not be at all. The City College belongs to his followers. Is it keeping up the traditions of the Raja's character?

And there is no rule or regulation of the Calcutta University which makes it obligatory to obey the Risley Circular. That was in no case a condition precedent to recognition or affiliation. And therefore the University has no legal right to disaffiliate any institution for disobeying the Circular. If need be a test case may be instituted in a court of justice. It is true the University rules and regulations may be easily changed with the help of an official majority, even the University Act itself

may be amended. But that is no reason why we should submit, before such changes or amendments have been made.

We have commented upon the surrender of the City College to the University, not because other Colleges have acted more boldly, but because it has been the first victim.

Boycott and the Anglo-Indian Attitude.

Ever since the boycott of British goods was declared in Bengal, Anglo-Indian journalists have been shouting at the top of their voice that it has been a failure. It is wonderful, this three-year-long denunciation of a still-born movement. We did not know before that a dead horse required to be killed so persistently for three long years.

We will take it for granted that the boycott has been a failure. What is there in that failure for Anglo-Indians to exult in? Are they proud of the fact that a country which in the pre-British period supplied the civilised world with cotton and silk fabrics, cannot under British rule clothe even itself? Do they mean to tell the world that this conversion of a rich industrial country into a helpless and poor agricultural one is one of the proud achievements of British rule? The decay of Indian industries was due either to deliberate crushing, or to neglect on the part of the State. Anglo-Indians may choose either of the two alternatives or both. There is no third. It cannot be that we lost our industrial capacity all of a sudden in some unaccountable way, whilst Western nations developed it as suddenly in an equally mysterious manner.

House-searches by the police.

When some time ago the *Sanjibani* office was searched, on going to enquire what the police had found there, we saw heaps of waste paper, dust, sooty cobwebs, and things of that sort piled up in front of the house. House-searches are very annoying and inconvenient, but *that* we thought was the silver lining in the cloud. If the police would do the house-cleaning a little more thoroughly and whitewash the houses too, we dare say house-searches would soon become a very popular institution. Even now, it would seem as if having one's house searched was becoming quite the correct thing. In fact it happens not infrequently nowadays that friends meeting on the public roads, instead of exchanging the usual greetings, ask each other when their houses are going to be searched. More. A friend meeting a journalist the other day asked him when he was going to be imprisoned. The journalist replied with doleful looks that going to jail, even transportation, had become a bad job, and that therefore he had been racking his brains to invent a new way of becoming famous, but had not yet succeeded. Well, well,—good cometh out of evil. It is not a bad thing altogether that people are getting accustomed to house-searches, *hajut*, imprisonment andworse.

Except the harassment and inconvenience that a search causes to people in general, and the pecuniary loss and the loss of time which it inflicts on traders and professional men, there is nothing wrong in these searches. We propose, therefore, that Government should lay down a scale of fees to be paid to the occupier of the house searched according to his income and the time spent in the search. This should satisfy all parties. When this is done, we can guarantee there will be hundreds of applications submitted to Mr. Halliday by the citizens of Calcutta to have their houses searched. And so if every house were searched all Anglo-Indians would be able to sleep peacefully, assured that their lives and property were safe and that the British Empire was not going to be overthrown very soon.

Dacoities and Sham Searches.

While the Police are after big game, *viz.*, anarchists, and seditionists (including Swadeshists), dacoits are having a merry time of it. Some of them have not yet given up the old-fashioned methods of violence and torture. But others have begun to patronize the more up-to-date method of wearing police uniforms and pretending to be searching a house. And such is the reputation for gentleness and honesty which the police enjoy in our country that when these counterfeit policemen carry off currency notes, coin and jewellery, under threats of shooting down the owner, no suspicion is roused in his mind. And what can he do, even if there be some lurking suspicion? As a law-abiding subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor, he cannot keep arms with-

out a license and without doing *puja* to the powers that be, which the dacoits manage to do. That is a special beauty of the Arms Act, which no free nation can appreciate or enjoy. Therein lies our superiority.

"India's Hoarded Wealth"!

While thousands and not unoften millions of our people die every year of famine and pestilence, some wiseacres have raised the cry of India's hoarded wealth. We wonder, if there be so much hoarded wealth in India, why, for one thing, the rate of interest in India is so high. Thanks to Lancashire, industries are not yet safe; but usury is,—Lancashire not competing in this business. But still the rates are high. There is no reason why capital should be shy in this field of investment.

Indians, beware! There's a chiel amang ye taking notes!

The Shyness of Capital.

The bureaucratic complaint is that Indian capital is shy. And it is taken for granted that it is due to a vice in our blood. But it is not so. We trace the first stages of this shyness to the days of John Company when transit duties and internal customs were the fashion. And now there is not much capital left in the country. But let us support our statement by an extract from the Hon'ble Frederick shore's "Notes on Indian Affairs."

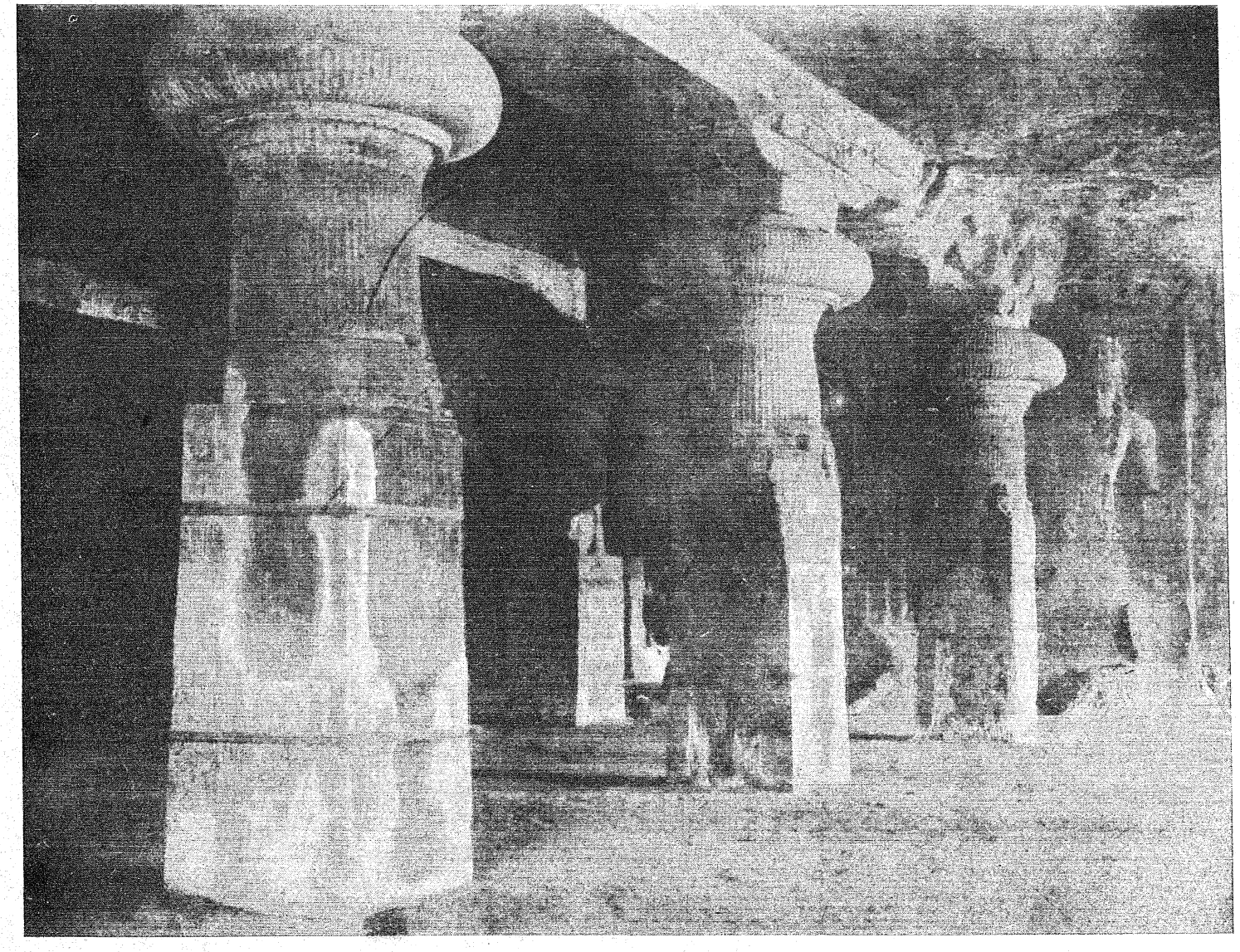
"We hear loud complaints of the impoverishment of the people, the falling-off in the internal trade, and the decline instead of the increase of manufactures. Is it to be wondered at? Could any other result be anticipated from the intolerable vexation to which all merchants are exposed by our internal customs? Mr. Trevelyan observes, that 'the profession of the merchant in the interior of the country is both unpleasant and disreputable, on account of the complete state of dependence in which the most respectable people are placed, on the meanest custom-house officer.' 'When respectable people in the provinces, who have capital lying idle in their hands, and who, probably, complain of the difficulty of finding employment for it, are asked why they do not engage in trade, they almost invariably reply, that they cannot submit to supplicate every low custom house officer on four rupees a month, who has the power of detaining their goods, under pretence of searching them.' * * * * Native gentlemen at Delhi have, for the sake of employing their capital, engaged in the shawl-trade with Benares. The result has always been the detention of their goods at some custom-house, and their giving up the pursuit, after having suffered heavy losses. The poor natives of India submit to all this, as they do to every other extortion and oppression which they suffer at our hands, because they look upon redress as hopeless; but hear the bitter complaints which were made to Lieutenant Burnes, (who knew nothing of our custom-house system,) by the merchants of Bokhara. They actually declared that the vexatious annoyances and extortion practised on merchants in the British-Indian provinces, were infinitely greater than they experienced in Russia, Peshwar, Kabool, or Bokhara! * * * *

The effect of this system upon manufactures is to discourage all on a large scale, and to cause the whole of different processes to be performed in a petty way, on the same spot, however inferior those employed may be for some parts of the work, and however unsuited the locality may be. Where business is carried on, on a large scale, the materials must, of course, often be brought in small quantities from a considerable distance, so that the great manufacturer has to pay a double duty—once on the raw material, and again on the finished article; while the small manufacturer and dealer, who goes not beyond the line of chokies either to procure the raw material, or to sell his goods, avoids the payment of all duty. Shawls are, by our extraordinary system, made to pay a double duty, both together amounting to 20 per cent.; leather pays three times, altogether 15 per cent.; cotton four times, before it is made into cloth, altogether 17½ per cent. So many articles are liable to double and treble duty, because the same pass which has been taken out for the raw material does not correspond with the manufactured article."

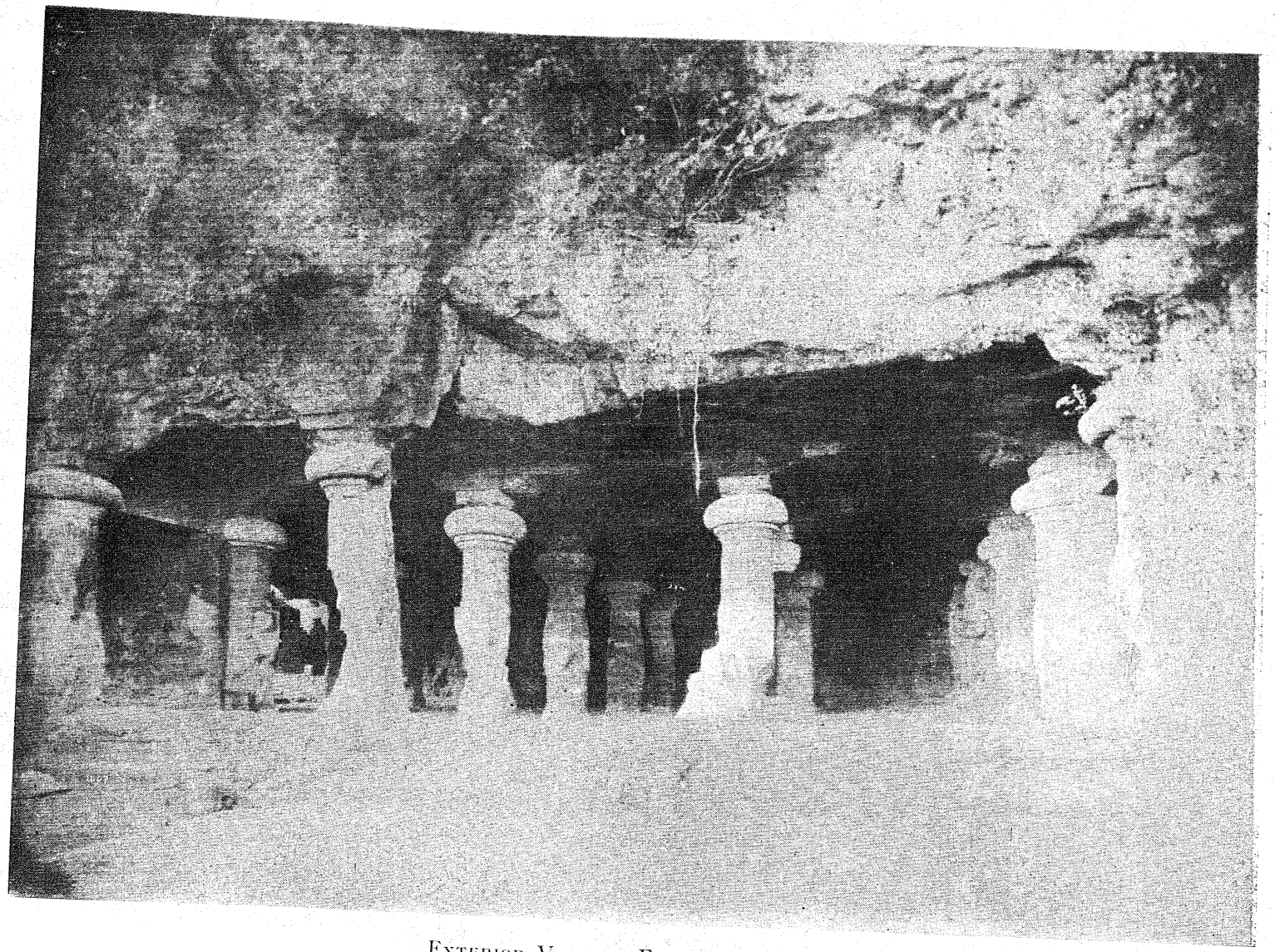
Then in a postscript Mr. Shore adds:—

"We have for years been vaunting the splendid triumph of English skill and capital in carrying cotton from India to England, and, after manufacturing it there, bringing the cloth to India, and underselling the natives. Is this any way surprising, under such an intolerable system as is above described; and while the staples of India are almost proscribed at home? In fact, if this be continued much longer, India will, ere long, produce nothing but food just sufficient for the population, a few coarse earthen ware pots to cook it in, and a few coarse cloths. *Only remove this incubus, and the tables will very soon be turned.* The other is the great self-complacence with which we talk of the confidence reposed by the people in our government, judging from the large sums which they invest in the Government funds. What are they to do with their money? * * * * Government, in their ignorance, have done all they can to annihilate trade and manufactures, which they will, unless they change their measures, accomplish in a few years more (the number of boats laden with goods which used to leave Furrukhabad twelve or fourteen years ago, was at least *treble* what it is at present). Five or even four per cent. is better than nothing; but it needs not the gift of prophecy to foresee, that * * if the landed tenures in the North-Western Provinces were placed on a footing of security, and if trade and manufactures were tolerated,—they do not require *encouragement*, but only to be exonerated from the present customs and duties,—not only would Government be unable to borrow at such low interest, but the price of the existing funds would speedily fall."

For more detailed information the reader is referred to the article on "The Ruin of



THE LINGA SHRINE—ONE VIEW. ELEPHANTA CAVES.



EXTERIOR VIEW OF ELEPHANTA CAVES.

Indian Trade and Industries" in our last April number.

"King Bhoj and the Image."

There was a throne left by King Vikramaditya which was supported by thirty-two images. When Bhoj became king of the country, he wished to ascend that throne. But when he was about to do so, one of these quaint images forbade him, and asked whether he possessed the heroism, the liberality and other virtues of King Vikrama. And so the story of the *Dvatrimsat Puttalika* (the thirty-two images) goes on. Mr. Surendranath Ganguli's picture is based on this story.

Elephanta Caves.

The island of Elephanta is situated in Bombay Harbour at a distance of a few miles from the city. It is called Gharapuri by the Hindus. The name Elephanta was first given by the Portuguese from a large stone elephant which stood near the old landing place on the south side of the island. This elephant was thirteen feet in length and seven feet and four inches in height; but its head and neck dropped off in September, 1814, and subsequently the body sank down into a shapeless mass of stone, which, in 1864, was removed to the Victoria Gardens in Bombay.

The island is about three miles in circumference, is beautifully wooded and interlaced with a very pretty creeper, which remains in bloom six or seven months in the year. There are many extremely pretty varieties of the beetle and many beautiful specimens of butterflies. The view from the front of the Great Cave is one of exceeding beauty.

There are in all five caves, but seldom or ever are any visited but the Great Cave, which stands about 250 feet above the level of the sea. It faces the north and is entirely hewn out of a hard compact species of trap rock.

These caves are supposed to have been made in the 6th century A. C. by the Hindu Raja, King Banasura of Kanada; but there is some uncertainty about the date.

From the front entrance to the back, the Great Cave measures about 130 feet and measures the same from east to west; its height is about 17 feet.

This temple has not been regularly used as a place of worship for generations, still on occasions of Shiva festivals it is used, especially by Hindus of the Bania caste, and at the Shivaratri festival, just before the first new moon falling after the middle of February, a religious fair is held here. Now, as this is the greatest of the Shiva festivals, the fact of its being held at Elephanta indicates that it must once have been the principal, if not the oldest, temple of Shiva in the neighbourhood.

The visitor sees the caves with mingled feelings. Surely these could not have been the work of any but a free and powerful race, bold to conceive and equally bold in execution. The ancient Hindus have left marks of their greatness and originality in all fields of human activity, and these caves are a memorial of their greatness in art. Nor were these sculptures merely art. The very treatment shows that what is now mere mythology must once have been living symbolism, having the power to stimulate the imagination, to inspire awe, and to influence human life and character.

The descriptions of the sculptures we have reproduced are as given in the "History of Elephanta Caves" compiled by Captain W. T. DEBurgh, Superintendent of the caves.

The Trimurti—The central figure represents Brahma, the Creator; that on the right is Vishnu, the Preserver; and Shiva, the destroyer on the left. This is the most striking of the sculptures. It is called Trimurti, which means *tri* three, and *murti*, figure or representation, *viz.*, the three-faced bust. Brahma holds a pomegranate in his left hand; Vishnu holds a lotus flower in his left hand; Shiva holds a cobra. The meaning of the pomegranate is creation; that of the lotus, preservation; and that of the cobra, destruction. The figures on each side are supposed to be door-keepers, each attended by a dwarf.

Ardhanariswara—This represents Shiva in his double character as male and female personification of nature in the one form. This figure has four arms, namely, two of a male and two of a female. One of his arms rests on the sacred bull Nandi.

On the left hand side of the spectator is Brahma, sitting on his throne, carried by five swans; and in the recess is Indra, the God of the Firmament, who is riding on the

celestial elephant "Airavat." On the right hand side is Vishnu, sitting on Garuda, or Suparna, the king of the feathered tribes, half eagle and half man, and the small figures which you see above represent angels. At the bottom, on the right hand side, are two females, one with a mirror in her hand, and the other with a cow's tail fan.

The Linga Shrine.—This shrine has a door on each side of it, four in all, and two door-keepers to each. One of these door-keepers, the one on the left of the door facing south, is the best preserved statue in the cave. (See the second view of the Linga Shrine). Several artists have come out recently [1904] from England to photograph it. In the centre of the room stands a base or altar, in the centre of which is placed the Linga. This plain stone, the mysterious symbol representative of Shiva as the male energy of production, or source of the generative power in Nature, by Europeans is called the "Wishing Stone," and is believed to have a marvellous power to believers. There are two holes in the upper and lower part of each door, sockets for door-posts to fit in. When this temple was in use, De Couto tells us that the four gates of this shrine were never opened, except once a year, on the day of the greatest festivity. At the Shivaratri festival, the Linga is still specially worshipped, and is much resorted to by Hindu barren women of the Bania caste.

A strange coincidence.—If the visitor will look at the statue on the right of the door of this Linga Chapel which faces the east, (see the left-hand figure in the second view), he will see a very striking resemblance to Her Most Gracious Majesty the late Queen Victoria and Empress of India.

The marriage of Shiva and Parvati.—Represents the marriage of Shiva and Parvati, in which she stands at his right hand, a position which the wife only occupies on the day of her marriage. She slightly inclines her head, as if bashful, and is being pushed forward by Himalaya, her father. At Shiva's left, crouching on his hams, is Brahma, who is represented as acting the part of priest in the ceremony. Behind stands Vishnu. In his right hand he holds a lotus, and the back left hand a *Chakra*. On the extreme right hand stands Mena, the mother of the bride, and the female figure over the bride's head is, perhaps, Sarasvati. On Parvati's right hand stands a female *chámara*-bearer, and behind her is Chandra, the Moon God, bearing a pot of water for the marriage ceremony. Above Shiva's head are a male between two females, and above them two smaller figures. On the other side are six more figures.

Above are the band of heavenly choristers.

Indians Abroad.

The indignities and persecution to which Indians are being subjected in South Africa, Canada and other foreign lands, are enough to goad a nation to desperation. But our brethren abroad are facing their trials like men, without recourse to violence, though with indomitable pluck. And our sisters are proving quite worthy helpmeets to them. Surely such men and such women were not born to live the degraded life of slaves! When the mind is not subdued, that is true victory. What does it matter, whether the body is imprisoned or suspended from the gallows? A free honorable life alone is worth living.

South African Indians of all sects and races, far from flying from danger, are courting it. Rich merchants, in order to assert the rights of free men and to show their practical sympathy with poor Indian hawkers, are taking to the work of hawking without licenses, and are going to jail in consequence. Indians from Natal are entering the Transvaal to establish their right to enter that colony and are being sent to jail. We reproduce from *Indian Opinion** of Phœnix, Natal, the portraits of six of these South African heroes. Mr. C. K. Thambi Naidoo has gone to jail three times—twice with hard labour—for conscience' sake. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, Johannesburg, and Assistant Priest of the Hamidia Mosque, was imprisoned with hard labour for hawking without a license. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji of Adajan was sentenced to one month's hard labour for being an unregister d Asiatic in the Transvaal. Messrs Parsee Rustomjee, M. C. Anglia and Dawad Mahomed of Capetown, proceeded to Johannesburg to assert their rights, and were imprisoned for being there without

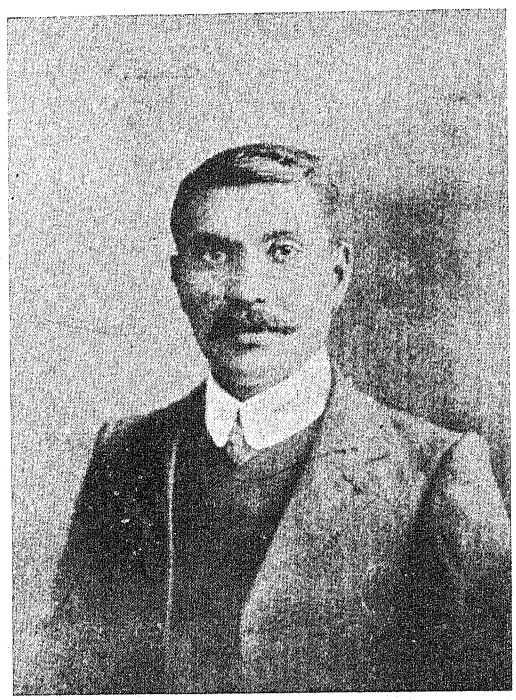
* All well-to-do English-knowing Indians should subscribe for a copy of this weekly. The annual subscription is only 17*s*. including postage.



IMAM ABDUL KADIR BAWAZEER.



MR. PARSEE RUSTOMJEE, MR. M. C. ANGLIA, MR. DAWAD MAHOMED.



MR. SORABJI SHAPURJI OF ADAJAN.

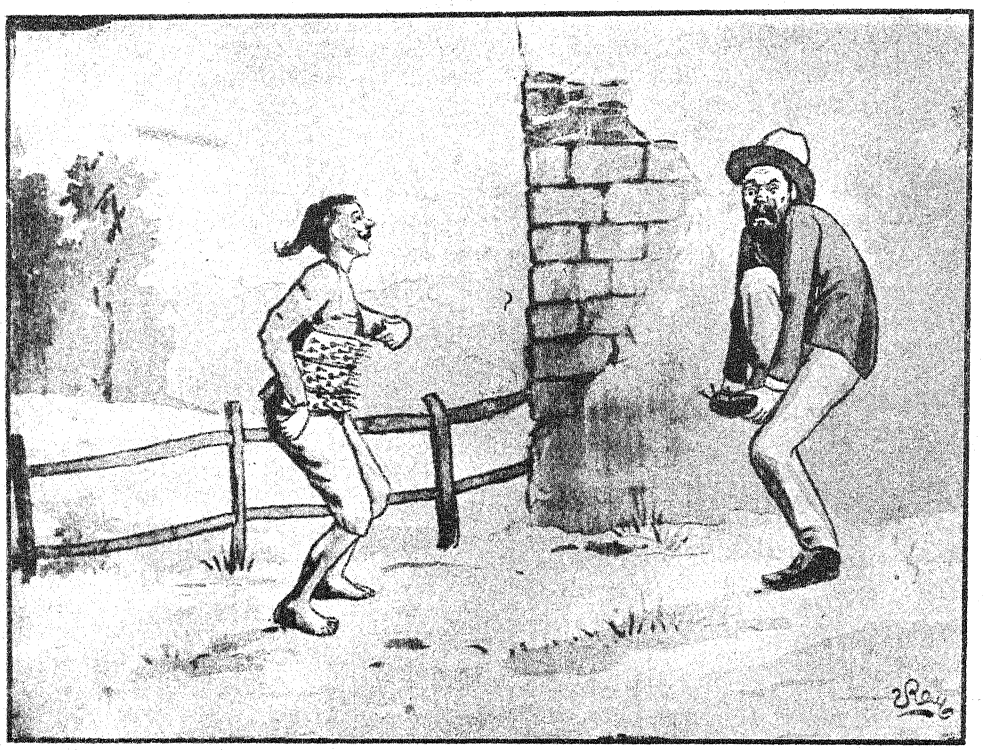


MR. C. K. THAMBI NAIDOO.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The art of kicking and being kicked made safe!

THE SPLEEN PROTECTOR.



It is almost as natural for a healthy human animal to kick as it is for a horse or a cow. And kicking is a delightful pastime too. But it is deeply to be deplored that Indians should have maliciously cultivated and developed very big spleens, which are ruptured at the slightest touch of a human animal's boots, so that the possessors of these enlarged spleens die. The result is that sometimes some kickers are hauled up before criminal courts on frivolous charges of murdering Indians. It is sad to reflect what trouble and expense the kickers are put to, and how much of the time of the British Indian Law Courts is wasted in trying these vexatious cases. Sometimes the kickers have even to pay a fine, or even to go to jail for some weeks! Such a case happened recently at Delhi.

In order to save kickers such trouble and expense in future, and to prevent the waste of the time of the Law Courts, we have invented a Spleen-protector, set with steel spikes, which may be worn like a belt. It protects the spleen effectively. A vigorous kick causes no harm to the man kicked, and the kicker's foot smarts only slightly. The kicker, in the experiment, photographed above, hurt his foot, only because his boots were not stout.

Supplied free to coolies. For kickers the price is Re. 1 each.

As Indians have developed spleens within their skulls also, we have invented a spleen-protector for that part of the body, too.

APRAKASH GUPTA,

Ghaebpur, Dhaka (DACCA).

getting themselves registered. Many others have dared and suffered in a similar manner. These soldiers of a bloodless fight are worthy of all honor for their heroism and for fighting together in a patriotic struggle, though belonging to different sects.

Indians at home and abroad.

In strange and humiliating contrast with the heroic conduct of our sisters and brethren abroad has been the conduct of us stay-at-home Indians in Rawalpindi, Lahore, Midnapur, &c., where some arrests, imprisonments, house-searches, &c., have thrown the people into a state of panic. What is the cause of this difference? We are in our own country, millions in number, and cannot be deported wholesale, as the Transvaal Indians can be, by main force. We think the free atmosphere of a self-governing colony has given free play to the innate heroic qualities of our sisters and brethren in South Africa. They are moreover a small compact body, with few, if any, traitors, spies, informers, and suchlike vermin in their midst. Whatever the causes of our extreme nervousness may be, we must be men, we must remember that "**to be weak is miserable, doing or suffering.**"

To know the reality is a great blessing and a privilege. The sooner we are undeceived as regards our political status the better. The keeping of under-trial prisoners in solitary cells, which at Midnapur are stated by a correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to be bed-rooms, dining-rooms and privies combined, the search of the houses of respectable persons on the suspicion of keeping stolen property, &c., are mere trifles. Worse things have happened in Calcutta during the Police riots, and may happen again.

The worship of manhood.

It is a very welcome sign of the times that our young men and young women have become worshipers of heroism and daring. We do not mind if in their ardour, they sometimes consider the sober counsels of us, their elders, as proceeding from timidity. We know there come moments in the history of every nation when the flinging away of lives in reckless daring is the height of economy. We know and appreciate the value of daring as mere daring. But we believe we know our present needs, too. We need the daring to plan the national edifice boldly, and the persistent energy to build it up year after year, nay, generation after generation, if need be, by silent drudgery.

Our manliness should flow in the channel of service, rather than in that of retaliation and vengeance.

There is so much cowardice, so much ignorance, so much impurity, so much poverty, so much illness, in the land, that we cannot afford to spend an iota of our enthusiasm and energy in any other work than that of making our people brave and strong, enlightened and pure in morals, healthy and wealthy.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's birthday.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, our revered leader, completed the eighty-fourth year of his strenuous, heroic, patriotic, and beneficent life last month. May he live long in the land of his birth in his mortal body to cheer and inspire and serve as a beacon light to his countrymen! He calls upon his countrymen to work for their motherland without resorting to violence. We concur. But when he urges us to have faith in and appeal to the sense of justice and conscience of the British people for our political salvation, we cannot follow;—and that, not because we are in a position to controvert his opinion, but because we have not had the same experience as he.

In the midst of the encircling gloom, we find no ray of hope except in faith in the God of Righteousness. God's righteousness is not an extra-cosmic force, no doubt;—it works through human righteousness. But we have less and less hope that it will work through British righteousness. For the British are now imperialists, and imperialism means unbelief, and unbelief is the sign of a decadent race not wise and strong enough to accept righteousness as its rule of conduct.

Next to faith in God, our hope in ourselves lies, in our own strength and righteousness, if we can be strong and righteous.

The Closing of Lancashire Mills.

More than 500 mills in Lancashire are closed, and the rest have ceased to work

full time. From 4 to 12 hundred thousand operatives are likely to be thrown out of employment. Thousands are without work already. Scuffles with the police have taken place. Recourse to violence to draw the attention of the authorities, is being advocated. The English are not going to die of hunger in silence. Consequently large sums have already become available for the relief of the unemployed. If our famine-stricken masses could know these things, they would become more demonstrative. The Indian boycott of British goods, added to the famine in India, seems to have to some extent brought about this result.

Mountaineering.

Dr. and Mrs. Bullock Workman's recent ascent of some hitherto unexplored Himalayan glaciers has received just praise. The guides and coolies are, however, too often left without their meed of praise. They are not so well-fed or well-clad as explorers are, nor is there in their case that spur to action which the prospect of fame or the satisfaction of having done valuable scientific work supplies. So far, therefore, as pluck and the mere power of enduring hardships are concerned, the Indian mountain cooly is at least the equal of the European explorer. The pity is that Indian men belonging to the upper strata of society do not usually cultivate manly hobbies. We know many legitimate paths of daring are closed to an enslaved nation. But that is all the greater reason why we should throng the few that are left open.

Belief in the loyalty of Indians and the Arms Act.

In times of trouble large numbers of Indians of a certain class and type, loudly declare their loyalty to the British throne. These declarations are accepted as sincere. At the same time the rigours of the Arms Act are not relaxed, but are on the contrary increasing day by day. Considering how law-abiding Indians fare at the hands of dacoits and other bad men and wild animals, what stands in the way of the repeal of the Arms Act, if not distrust of Indians? How long are both Government and its loyal subjects destined to live in a fool's paradise?

Eastern Parliaments and their English Critics.

The Persian civil war arising out of the granting of a constitution to Persia has given occasion to some English critics to sneer at Oriental representative institutions. They also grin whenever the Turkish Constitution is mentioned. We suppose Englishmen know their own history. Did they become fit for self-government all of a sudden or as soon as they got their Parliament? Did they get their Parliament after becoming fully fit for representative government? Not to mention minor troubles and dissentions, was not the Civil War in Charles I's reign as much a fight between the Parliament and the Monarch as the present troubles in Persia? Is not the Japanese Parliament a success?

Indian Mussulmans and the Turkish Constitution.

The Turkish Empire is inhabited by various races and sects as India is. The Sultan has nevertheless granted a constitution to his subjects, and he is the religious head of the Sunni sect at least. What do Indian Mussalmans think of representative institutions now? Is Aligarh more orthodox or the Sultan?

Mr. Cumming's Report.

Mr. J. G. Cumming's report on "Technical and Industrial Education in Bengal" is divided into two parts: "Technical and Industrial Instruction in Bengal, 1888—1908," and "Review of the Industrial Position and Prospects in Bengal in 1908 with special reference to the Industrial Survey of 1890." Both the parts contain much valuable material. We intend to deal with the report in future in some detail. It would be good if the second part could be reprinted in a cheap form, with translations into the vernaculars.

Catholic *vs.* Protestant in England.

The recent eucharistic procession of the Roman Catholics in England gave rise to angry feelings in Protestant breasts in that free country, and might have led to serious disturbances, if the Catholics had not been deprived of some of their rights. More, if England had been under foreign rulers, and if religious bigotry had been sought to be

exploited by these rulers in pursuance of a "divide and rule" policy, blood would have flowed in no stinted measure. England, then, has representative institutions not because there is no religious rancour there, but in spite of it. But the existence of different religious sects in India is made one of the excuses by the representatives of the same country for withholding self-government from us.

The 16th of October.

The 16th of October is approaching. It will not be enough if only Bengali men and women in and outside Bengal feel their oneness on that day and revive the memory of the insult that was offered to them on the same date three years ago. The waves of the partition agitation have passed beyond the confines of Bengal and Bengali homes. That shows that non-Bengali Indians have realised that the insult to Bengal is an insult to all India, that what affects the solidarity of Bengal, affects the solidarity of the Indian nation as well. It is meet, therefore, that all Indians should celebrate the anniversary of the 16th of October with fitting solemnity and ceremony.

As for Viscount Morley's "settled fact," we need not mind it. Nothing is more ridiculous than the attempt of human beings to assume the role of Destiny.

British rule and popular Government in the East.

There was a time when all notable Indian politicians considered the establishment of British rule in India providential. One of the main reasons why they thought so was their belief that British rule would lead to the introduction of representative government in India sooner than in other Oriental countries. Mr. Lalmohun Ghose as President of a Madras Session of the Indian National Congress was, we believe, the first eminent Indian politician to openly repudiate this "providential" theory, to which we do not know how many still cling. Japan has got representative government, Persia has got it and is fighting to keep it, Turkey has got it, and China is about to get it. Viscount Morley, the earthly providence of India, says, however, that as far as his poor (poor, indeed!) imagination can pierce into the future, he sees nothing but absolute government for India. This contrast has set ll educated Indians a-thinking as to what might have been, if—. But what is the use of speculation?

The Midnapur Conspiracy.

Besides the lawyers engaged on both sides in the so-called Midnapur Conspiracy Case, the only person who can derive some comfort from it, is Mr. Weston, the Magistrate of Midnapur. The Czar of all the Russias has, we believe, more conspirators to be afraid of, than any other living monarch. But we do not think even that important personage has in any single town of his empire of the size of Midnapur so many as 23 centres of conspiracy harbouring 154 conspirators, as Midnapur is said to do. Well might Mr. Weston feel proud! It is no common man against whom so many persons in so many centres are alleged to have conspired.

The Prayag Sugar Company, Ltd.

We are glad to learn that the leading men of Allahabad are going to make their own sugar. In the United Provinces, the trading instinct is still keener among the wealthier classes than in Bengal. We are not therefore surprised to learn that a considerable proportion of the shares has already been sold. We wish the venture all success.

The Puja Vacation.

A considerable proportion of our young men, and of educated men in general, will spend the Puja Holidays in their village homes. If they will only fraternise with the poorer classes as their fathers did, that will be an immense gain to the cause of humanity and nationality. That will give them an insight into village life, which is the true life of the nation. They will then be in a better position to work for the nation.

"The Present Crisis."

When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic trembling on from East to West,
And the slave where'er he cowers feels the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime

Of a century bursts full blossomed on the thorny stem of Time.
Through the walls of hut and palace shoots the instantaneous throe
When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's systems to and fro;
At the birth of each New Era with a recognising start
Nation wildly looks at nation, standing with mute lips apart,
And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps beneath the Future's heart.

—*Lowell.*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Hours with Nature—by Rai Ram Brahma Sanyal Bahadur, C.M.Z.S. Second edition. Calcutta. City Book Society, 64, College Street. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. iv+174.

The author's name is a guarantee that the book contains no rubbish. As a matter of fact it is a nicely got-up book written in a charming style and containing a good deal of valuable information about what we see around us but about which we care to know so little. It is calculated to stimulate an interest in Natural History amongst our young men and is strongly recommended for their perusal.

The Story of the Ramayana—A paper read before the Transvaal Theosophical Society at Johannesburg on the 21st July, 1905. Published by the International Printing Press, Phœnix, Natal.

This nice brochure contains a short but appreciative account of the story told in our great epic and can be confidently recommended to sympathetic foreigners who are too busy to learn the story at first hand or through elaborate translations. There are occasional misprints and inaccuracies but the account given is on the whole faithful and cannot fail to be interesting to one who can spare an hour in a Railway train or amidst his more absorbing avocations.

B.

BENGALI.

Nabya Bangalir Kartabya—

(The duties of Young Bengal) by Babu Ramlal Sarkar. The book (which was written before the Swadeshi agitation) laments the absence of manliness in Young Bengal and insists on the cultivation of certain qualities. The writer has narrated stories of manliness from his personal experience. The stories are interesting in their own way but we venture to say that many more of such stories can be gathered from the annals of the Criminal Courts of any Bengal District and that lessons in manliness, self-help and concerted action, should, in these days, be imbibed not so much from the institution of *lathialism* and petty village strife of the "good old days" as from the great past of India, including Bengal. We cannot forget or ignore our past; at the same time in building our future, our surroundings and the history of other nations should also be our guide.

Santan Shiksha—

(Education of one's children) by Babu Ramlal Sarkar. The book is intended to impart instruction to young boys and girls and is in the form of a dialogue. The author is a medical man and much useful instruction in the field of physical as well as mental and moral culture is embodied in the book under review in simple and unostentatious language. The book, if introduced into families, ought to help the growth of a sound mind in a sound body.

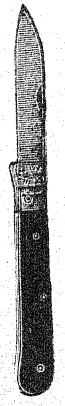
Sweetheart Wasn't Pleased.

An Indian young man, while studying glass-making in a factory at Tokyo, Japan, fell madly in love with a shy, slant-eyed, kimono-clad Japanese maiden. He made love to her furiously and sailed back to Hindostan with her picture stowed away close to his heart, and what he supposed to be her name and address written upon it in Japanese characters, by her own hand. When he landed in Calcutta he wrote to his Japanese sweetheart, and, thinking to please her, copied the full address in Japanese which she had written on the photograph. By return mail he received an indignant letter from the maid of the Mikado's land. The Japanese writing, in addition to the address, contained the news that the young woman was "18 years old."

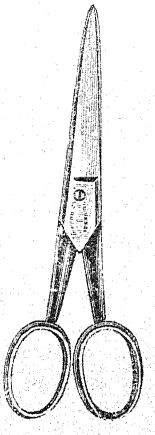
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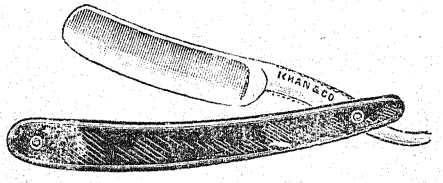
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READY

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta).—

"The Modern Review" for September maintains its well deserved reputation. The place of honour has been given to a paper by the Rev. Prof. C. F. Andrews, entitled "Indian History. Its Lessons for Today," in which the writer has proved how India had in the past developed a remarkable capacity for self-government and self-defence. Next comes Babu Jadu Nath Sarkar with a very interesting contribution entitled "Daily Life of the Moghal Emperors," in which we get a glimpse as to how the Moghal Sovereigns used to spend their time. Among the Hindus, loyalty to the Sovereign is laid down as a religious duty; so the sovereign had to appear every morning in the "Darshan" Hall so that his Hindu subjects might see him. Those who lived near him regarded it as a religious obligation to have a look at him before breaking their fast. Evidently these loyal Hindus had no intention to humbug the ruler as is sometimes done in these days by those of our countrymen who seek to please the authorities by addresses and speeches. For, the former could see the sovereign only from a distance and so he could have no knowledge of those who were shewing him such devotion. Besides these two there are a number of other interesting articles in the September issue.

The Bengalee (Calcutta).—

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the rapid growth and expansion of the periodical literature of Bengal. Our leading monthly Reviews, both in Bengalee and English, are a credit to Bengal. The *Modern Review* easily occupies the first place. The punctuality with which the *Modern Review* * * * appear is highly commendable, for punctuality is not regarded as one of the strong points of Indian journalism. We have read and quoted some of the articles in the *Modern Review* in these columns, and all that we can say is that we look forward with eager expectancy to its issue in the early part of every month. The illustrations are good; and the articles most interesting. What could be more fascinating reading than the account of the daily life of Shah Jehan as told by that very promising Oriental scholar, Babu Jadunath Sircar, whose researches in the domain of Indian history will, we trust, be soon embodied in a permanent form? The daily life of the great Moghal Emperor reveals to us the character of the man and of the administration over which he presided. Daily and almost hourly in close touch with the people and sleepless in his vigilance, the builder of the Taj appears to us not only as a sovereign, filling his capital with architectural monuments of unsurpassed beauty, but also as a conscientious ruler who loved his people and was in return loved by them with loyal devotion. The Revd. Mr. Andrews' article, with which the Review opens, inspires us with an added measure of self-respect and, what is still more important, with hope for the future.

The current number of the *Modern Review* has an excellent article from the pen of an educational expert Babu Syamacharan Ganguli, on the Direct Method of Teaching Foreign Languages. The writer establishes his position that the Direct Method is based only on a half-truth—that in so far as it makes hearing the foreign language spoken and speaking it the chief means of teaching it, the method rests on truth; and that in so far as it all but interdicts the use of the mother tongue of the learner at the very initial stage, the method rests on untruth.

The Ceylon National Review (Colombo).—

This [June] number of the Modern Review, to our mind the best of the Indian Magazines, is full of interesting matter...conclude an excellent number. A noticeable feature of the Magazine is its illustrations, reproductions of photographs, and pictures by Indian artists, of notables and Indian subjects. The March and April numbers were especially good in this respect....

The Coming Day (London).—

The Modern Review (Calcutta) continues its enterprising and really surprising activity as a high-class monthly, almost equal to any similar publication in England, except in paper and binding. It contains about ninety large double column pages, with illustrations, and the yearly subscription is only 12*s*.

The Gujarati (Bombay).—

The *Modern Review* for September contains as usual instructive articles and several fine illustrations, the most beautiful amongst them being the picture of the great Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. The place of honour is given to the Rev. C. F. Andrews's Paper on 'Indian History: its Lessons for To-day.' Among the many suggestive contributions to Indian periodicals on the National movement those of the Rev. Mr. Andrews have been distinguished by uncommon insight and sympathy. The present essay is as thoughtful as any previous one, and will amply repay perusal. Professor Jadunath Sarcar's name is familiar to readers of the *Modern Review* as the writer of learned papers on India's great past. In the present number he writes on the 'Daily Life of the Mughal Emperors' and on 'Khuda Baksh, the Indian Bodley.' The information contained in the former on the Emperor Shah Jehan's daily routine will no doubt come as a revelation to many people whose knowledge of history does not extend beyond the treatises of some ill-informed and prejudiced Anglo-Indian purveyors of history. Khan Bahadur Khuda Baksh, who died at the beginning of

last month at the age of 66, was the foremost citizen of Patna and one of the most learned men of our time. The account of his career and of the invaluable Oriental Library he founded in his favourite city, that has been supplied by Professor Sarcar, can not fail to interest any man of culture. Our venerable countryman, Mr. V. M. Mahajani, who is one of the profoundest Marathi scholars now living and the master of a graceful, simple and cultivated Marathi style, gives translations of some of Tukaram's *Abhangs*. Some of those who do not know Marathi will find it worth while to learn Marathi if only to be able to read in the original these soul-stirring and uplifting *Abhangs* of the immortal poet and saint of Maharashtra. Lala Lajpat Rai's paper on 'Social Efficiency' is rather discursive but is useful as pointing out the importance of social problems, which, it must be confessed with sorrow, do not occupy a space in the public mind as their inherent importance entitles them to. Lala Lajpat Rai's suggestion that the Indian Social Conference, instead of being tacked on to the Congress, should be held at another time of the year, may be carried out in the case of the Industrial and Temperance Conferences as well. No one who has attended a Congress Session can deny that things are hurried through as they should not be. But the difficulty is that it may not be possible to get together a decent number of men from different parts of the country to attend these gatherings if they are dissociated from the Congress. The question deserves to be seriously considered. 'Economicus' writing on 'The Proposals of the Factory Commission' gives 'a retrospect' of the subject and brings us only up to the appointment of the Commission. It is evident that the writer has intimate knowledge of his subject, and it will be interesting to read his discussion of the actual proposals of the Commission.

The Indian Daily News (Calcutta).—

The September number of this very popular and high class monthly, published in English, and edited by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, M. A., is delightful reading. The articles range over a wide variety of topics, serious and light, from tried pens and amply repay perusal. "Indian History: its lessons for today" by Rev. C. F. Andrews M. A., "Daily Life of Moghul Emperors" by Prof. J. N. Sarkar, M. A., "The present state of the Theistic Evidence" by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan; "The Place of the Kindergarten in Indian Schools" by Sister Nivedita and "Khuda Baksh, the Indian Bodley" by Prof. J. N. Sarcar are among the most interesting and instructive contributions to the number under notice and may be commended alike for their originality and literary grace. The illustrations—of which there are 23 in all—do credit as much to Indian art as to the aesthetic sense of the conductors of the journal. Raja Ram Mohun Ray's portrait, printed in three colours, very appropriately occupies the frontispiece, as being the forerunner of modern Bengali culture and education of which the *Modern Review* should be the happy exponent.

The Indian Messenger (Calcutta).—

The *Modern Review* for the current month gives as its frontispiece a portrait of Raja Rammohan Ray printed in three colours by our friend, Mr. U. Ray. It is a reproduction of an oil painting in the Bristol Museum, reputed to be the best portrait of the Raja. It is the best portrait of the Raja we have seen. The *Modern Review* for September is full of interesting articles.

The Indian Daily Telegraph (Lucknow).—

The fourth volume of the *Modern Review* commences with the July number, which serves to strengthen the claim of this Review to be the best of its kind in India. Considerable progress has been made since the first number appeared, and of this the July issue furnishes excellent proof. There are no fewer than sixteen articles, principally on Indian questions, and eighteen illustrations. The contents include an instructive account of the work of the Negro leader, Mr. Booker T. Washington, entitled "A negro educator's unique ideals and successful methods;" and an article entitled "A Japanese woman's enterprise" which reveals one of the causes of Japan's rise as a world power.

One of the most interesting articles in the *Modern Review* for September, is the sketch of the life and character of "Khuda Bakhsh, the Indian Bodley," who is truly described as one of the most remarkable personalities of our time. ..... Other articles of note in this *Review*, which also contains a number of excellent photographs, are "Daily Life of the Mughal Emperors," "The Direct method of Teaching Foreign Languages" and "The present state of the Theistic Evidence," all by wellknown Indian writers.

The Indian Social Reformer (Bombay).—

The September number of the *Modern Review* contains a suggestive article by Lala Lajpat Rai on social efficiency as the key to national prosperity. The article is interesting both as defining Mr. Lajpat Rai's place as a worker in the cause of national advancement and also as a contribution full of solid good sense to the literature on that subject.

Light (London).—

'The Modern Review' (Calcutta), for July, contains an introductory paper on Tukaram, the poet of Maharashtra, in the first half of the seventeenth century: a kind of preacher-poet who vexed the regulation official Brahmins just as John Bunyan, about the same time, vexed the priests. He is described as a purely ethical teacher, keeping himself clean from even the king's patronage and gifts, when offered: a bit of a heretic too, exalting simple saintliness above all the gorgeous symbols of worship and the images of the gods.

The Muslim Herald.—

The *Modern Review* for September contains two articles of special interest to Mussulmans, viz, "Daily Life of the Moghul Emperors" and "Khuda Bakhsh, the Indian Bodley," both of which are contributed by that rising Persian scholar, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., whose contributions on subjects connected with the Mohamedan period of Indian history have become a permanent feature of the *Modern Review*. The Rev. C. F. Andrews, M. A., contributes an excellent article on "Indian History: its lessons for today." There is an article headed "Social Efficiency" from the pen of Lala Lajpat Rai, written during his exile in Mandalay. The most interesting part of this journal is the notes, embodying the learned editor's masterly handling of the burning topics of the day. Apart from the literary merits, it is the only monthly publica-

tion in the country that is richly illustrated. The issue under review contains no less than 23 excellent illustrations.

The Phœnix (Karachi).—

Professor Jadunath Sarkar M. A. contributes an extremely interesting article on the above subject in the September number of the *Modern Review*. The September number of this Review maintains its high standard level and bristles with first-rate contributions. The Revd. Andrews of Delhi leads off with a learned article on "Indian History: its lessons for To-day." Mr. S. Nihalsing gives a fine sketch of W. R. Hearst, the well known American newspaperman. Lala Lajpatrai writes an instructive article on "Social Efficiency." * * * * * gives us an excellent article on "Evolution and Revolution in Science and Civic Life." According to the writer Revolution has a place in social and political advancement. The illustrations are as usual brilliant and instructive. Altogether the *Modern Review* is an intellectual treat.

The Review of Reviews (London).—

The possibility of Hindu and Moslem co-operation is not so unthinkable as it was a short time ago. Mr. Saint Nihal Sing, in a very interesting paper on "Indians in the Far East," which appears in the *Modern Review* for August, bears witness to the liberalising influence of foreign travel upon the Indians who swarm in the Farther East from Siam to Japan.

But better than all this eloquence is the brief *credo* of the *Modern Review*: "Most Englishmen forget that England is not the arbiter of the destinies of India—God is."

The Sind Journal (Sind).—

The place of honor in the current *Modern Review* has been given to a paper by the Rev. C. F. Andrews, M. A., of Delhi, who puts in an eloquent plea for hope and confidence as to India's future.

The Tribune (Lahore).—

The Reverend C. F. Andrews of Delhi, who, as is well-known has devoted himself to the cause of India's nationality, has in the course of a remarkable paper which opens the current number of the *Modern Review* put in a powerful plea for the study of Indian history.

The United India and Native States (Madras.)—

We can well understand the enormous sum he has to spend every month not only to pay his contributors but also for the fine illustrations he presents us month after month. But we cannot understand why such a Magazine should not be largely subscribed for by the thoughtful reading public. The current number maintains its level of excellence.

The World and New Dispensation (Calcutta).

Among the treasures we find in the *Modern Review* for September, the one we value most is the frontispiece, which is a photograph, from the oil painting in the Bristol Museum, of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. We do not know whether it is, as it is reputed to be, the best portrait of him, but we feel sure that the time has come when with a study of this beautiful likeness a fresh study of his life might begin.

The Wednesday Review (Trichinopoly)—

".....it indeed is a sign of the times that gentlemen like Lala Lajput Rai should devote their time to the cause of social progress and should come out with valuable suggestions. His contribution to the current number of the *Modern Review* on "Social efficiency" throws a flood of light on the subject and if his suggestions are adopted we have no doubt much good will result."

The West Coast Spectator (Calicut).—

The September number of the *Modern Review* is as bright and breezy as ever. The place of honour is given to an article on "Indian History: its lesson for To-day" from the pen of the well-known friend of India, Rev. C. F. Andrews M. A., The writer shows that India has been longer and to a larger extent free than in bondage and that she had in times past developed a remarkable capacity for self-government. This is followed by a very readable account of the daily life of the Mughal Emperors, by Prof. Sarkar, which we extract elsewhere. In his article on the Indian Craftsman: Standard and Regulation, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami writes with his wonted knowledge and enthusiasm on the standard and regulation of the work of the Indian craftsman which in by-gone days enabled him to excel in his work. In "The Present State of the Theistic Evidence," Pandit Sitanath Tattwabhushan presents intuitive Theism in the form in which it is found in Sankara. Sister Nivedita continues her second instalment of the "Place of Kindergarten in Indian Schools." Mr. Saint Nihal Sing has in this issue a very readable account of the life and labours of William Hearst, the well-known American "boss." The most remarkable article in the current number seems to us to be that on "Social Efficiency" by Lala Lajput Rai. A special interest is attached to this article in as much as it was written by the veteran publicist while in exile in Mandalay. ..... Mr. Edward Greenly writes in his article 'Some Reflections on the Future of India" in a friendly spirit of the future of India as a free, federated portion of the British Empire, which again, the writer hopes, will be a part of the federation of the world. He pays a tribute to the spiritual greatness of India. Among other articles of interest may be mentioned "Evolution and Revolution in Science," and "Khuda Baksh, the Indian Bodley." The Editor's notes, as usual, cover a wide range of subjects and are as usual, exquisite and exceedingly readable. There are, in the number before us, as many as 23 illustrations, the frontispiece being a portrait of Rammohun Roy in three colours. It is a reproduction of his oilpainting in the Bristol Museum. It was specially photographed in Bristol for the *Modern Review*. The Raja's glowing, far off, prophetic look into the future is a very noteworthy feature of the portrait. Another noteworthy picture is that of the Saint Kabir, reproduced from an old picture album in the Oriental Public Library in Bankipur. It is a fine specimen of Indian art. And the four horrible half-tones of mutilated Congo men and women are sufficient to create a world of reaction against the Belgian administration of the God-forsaken land. Altogether, the September number of the *Review* supplies a quality of intellectual food rarely served by any Indian periodical.

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A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

NOVEMBER, 1908

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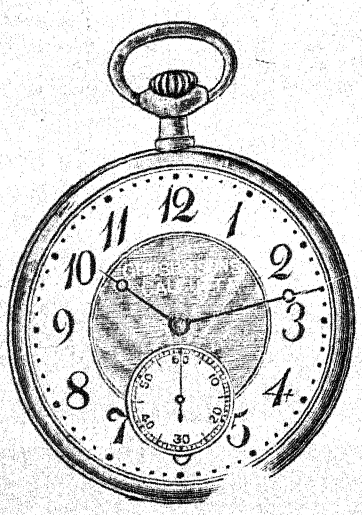
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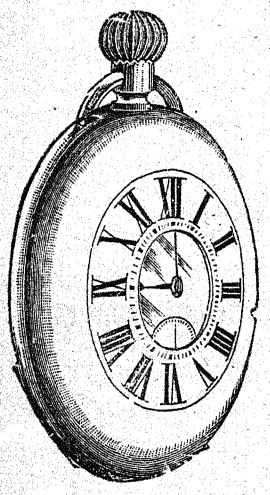
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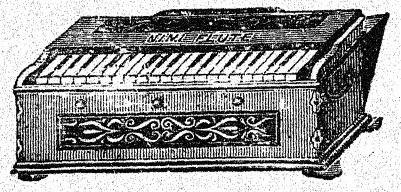
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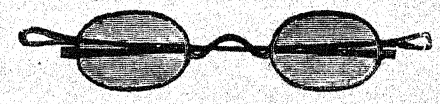
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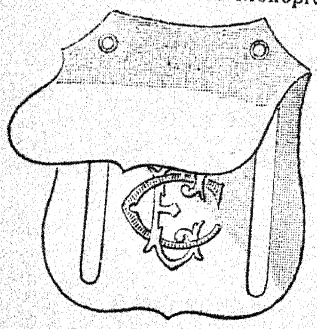


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WHOLE
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NATIONAL LITERATURE AND ART

ONE of the most interesting branches of historical study is to trace the correspondence between literature and national life. In a degree somewhat less constant Art also bears a similar relation. Some nations indeed at the outset are more highly gifted with literary and aesthetic faculties than others and in their case national self-expression in poetry and art is inevitable, when once they start on an upward career of progress. But even the less cultured peoples become vocal at certain crises in their history and leave behind them monuments for posterity to admire. The cold Spartan, for instance, and the rough Norman, have given to the world distinct types of architecture, whose very simplicity has a majesty and grandeur unrealised in more ornate and decorative styles. Poetry again has flourished in the most unlikely places, whenever a great cause has touched the soul of a backward race, and the world's most noble epics have had their origin in times which are sometimes called barbaric and uncivilized.

Art, music and song, when they are spontaneous and untrammelled by convention, carry with them the note of communal human joy. When the day of hope begins to dawn upon a people, these make their appearance. The enthusiasm of new ideas, the thrill of new life, the triumphant sense of progress, all seek to find utterance and to clothe themselves as it were in beautiful forms. The creative faculty is quickened and literature and art awake as out of a long sleep and become the outward expression of the inner spirit of the community. Thus to the historian one of the most delicate and sensitive tests of a true national movement is found in its effect upon art, literature and music. If these remain unquickened, then the movement has not yet reached down to the heart of the people; it is only galvanized into action from without; it has not yet a genuine life of its own. Great material prosperity may be built upon commercial and material lines, and for a time, the national structure may appear lofty and imposing; but all the while the soul of a people may be dying. The inner history of every race is to be found in its spiritual rather than in its material products, and literature and art, when great and noble, are essentially spiritual things.

It may be most helpful, in the present essay, to consider some of the most striking historical instances of literary and artistic development in other lands before turning to consider the past and present history of India itself.

In the sphere of poetry one of the best known examples of national self-expression may be found in the history of English literature during the period that followed the spiritual awakening of the Reformation, when the struggle with Spain was at its height, and the hearts of Englishmen were beating high with courage and hope. Then in the enthusiasm that ensued, England became, as one writer quaintly called it, 'a nest of singing birds.' It was not merely Spenser and Shakespeare who ushered in

the new dawn of English Poetry; but rather, as Saintsbury has shown, a whole multitude of minor poets, whose names and works are now almost forgotten, created a joyous atmosphere of song and a noble rivalry of poetic achievement, in the midst of which the leading poets produced their greatest work. The movement culminated in the majestic, solitary grandeur of Milton, who closes this great period—Milton whose love for his country and his country's freedom was so intense, that when the call of duty came, he gave himself and all his commanding intellectual gifts to the cause of the commonwealth, and at last incurred blindness in the service of his Motherland,—willingly sacrificing eye-sight itself on the altar of patriotism. He acted out his own high creed, that a poet's life must be his greatest poem.

The contrast that followed, when the English writers began to follow French models and to leave high national themes, is significant. Poetry left the loftier ranges and became artificial and conventional. It represented more and more the clubs and coteries of London, and left out of count the wholesome natural free life of England itself,—the England of the sturdy country yeomen whom Shakespeare loved so well. The work produced during this period is clever and brilliant in form, but lacking in soul. It does not carry with it the high serious note of inspiration. The very titles of the poems mark the greatness of the change. Dryden's 'Satires' and Pope's 'Essays' take the place of Spenser's 'Faerie Queen' as subjects for poetry.

The Revolution Era dawned. The narrow oligarchic life broke down. The cry of the suffering people was heard. There was an awakening of a new spirit of liberty in the West. A fresh line of English poets arose to carry on the great Shakesperian succession. Burns and Scott, Shelley, Byron and Keats, Wordsworth and Coleridge, represent the joy and enthusiasm, the passion and the fervour, the strain and the struggle, of the new birth of Western Europe as it reached the shores of England.

In Germany a literary activity of even greater magnitude than that of England marks the same period. Sir Rowland Blennerhasset has shown, how it was the great thinkers, poets and philosophers of Germany who sounded the first note of national unification; how through their inspiration the first steps were taken by which the three hundred divided and conflicting sovereign territories, each under its petty German Prince, became a united People. Fichte was the prophet of the German resurrection, but Goethe, Schiller and Kant each played their part in the movement. They laid all stress on national education as the one method of salvation and unity. "Let everyone," said Goethe, "according to his talents, according to his tendencies, according to his position, do his utmost to increase the culture and education of the common people, to strengthen it and to widen it; so that Germany may not lag behind other peoples, but may become fit for action when the day of her glory shall arise." Dr. Rodolphe Broda contrasts this earlier Germany of 'plain living and high thinking' with the present Germany of the 'Welt Politik' and the 'mailed fist' and writes as follows:—

"In spite of the increase in the material power of the German Empire, her reputation abroad does not stand so high today as it did when Germany was called the land of philosophers and poets. It is assumed in many quarters that German culture, once so pre-eminently idealistic is in process of becoming pre-eminently materialistic. Nothing but the rise of new and vigorous ideal forces from the heart of the German people themselves can allay the gloomy forebodings of Europe."

These words are a striking comment on the important place that literature holds in building up and maintaining national life.

There is no need in India to dwell at length on the part which Mazzini played by his writings in the struggle for Italian unification and independence. His name is a household word among Indian national workers today, and his writings have been to them almost as much as to his own countrymen a source of inspiration.

An illustration less well known and of current interest is that of the silent and bloodless Turkish Revolution which has taken place so suddenly and unexpectedly. While I was at Cambridge I came into intimate contact with a member of the Young Turk Party who was a Lecturer in Turkish. He was himself a powerful writer and took his share in preparing the way for the great change. He has just recorded his own im-

pressions of the moving forces behind the Revolution and he places in the very front rank the influence of Literature. In particular he lays stress on the poems, plays and romances of Namik Kemal Bey.—"Almost all Kemal's stories" he writes "are based on the early history of the Ottoman Empire. In his stirring and unique style he glorifies the deeds of the Ottomans of old. His ideas appeal to the younger people.....In my opinion no one has contributed so much as this poet-patriot to the work of preparing the Turkish youth for the constitutional struggle." This unique power of literature should be remembered today in the endeavours to build up a noble ideal of Indian national life.

When we turn from the sphere of literature to that of Art and trace its connection with national vitality, the same lessons of history may be read, though the line of artistic development is more wavering and apparent exceptions call for separate consideration.

Perhaps the clearest example of the effect of Art upon a nation's history may be obtained by reviewing the intimate relation which existed between the Great Masters of Italian painting and Italian civic life. The Art Movement in Italy begins with the outburst of religious joy and fervour which came in the age of St. Francis of Assisi—

'He who in his catholic wholeness used to call
the very flowers
Sisters, brothers—and the beasts—whose pains
are hardly less than ours.'

The spiritual revival with its love for nature and for all mankind left its mark upon every city of Italy and kindled into action the civic virtues. Dante, the poet, Giotto, the painter, rose like morning stars together heralding the dawn. The glory of that Italian sunrise is not the glory of individuals merely, but rather the glory of a whole people, pulsating with new life, living to the full their active citizenship in the different Italian States, endeavouring to build up in each the 'City Beautiful.' The like had never been seen in the West since the days of Pericles, when Athens was at its prime.

The decline indeed came rapidly. As wealth and prosperity increased, religion and morals grew more and more corrupt. The intellectual Renaissance was accompanied by no new moral fervour, save for the momentary prophetic splendour of Savonarola at Florence. The rivalry between the different Italian States lost the character of healthy emulation and sank lower and lower into sordid internecine feuds. At last the foreigner was brought in to settle quarrels between brother Italians, and the long night of Italian subjection began. This darkness was not again to be dispersed till the days of Garibaldi and Mazzini. When foreign domination became the leading factor in Italian life, both poets and artists lost their inspiration and the 'Lamp of Sacrifice' went out in the Temple of the Lord.

At this point a parenthesis is needed in order to notice one of those seeming contradictions to the principles here laid down. The anomaly is this, that the art of a nation often appears to reach its most finished form, not in the dawn of a People's new birth, but in a period of decline. To take examples—Athenian sculpture only perfected itself, and worked itself out, as it were, in the time when Athens was losing its greatness. Artistic genius of the highest order existed and masterpieces were produced, not merely in the days of Pericles, but also after the vandal Roman conquerors had destroyed the Athenian state. Again in the example of Italy referred to above,—while poetry felt immediately the chilling touch of decay, Art lingered on and found in many ways its final expression in the later period when the country was degenerating. Yet once again the most ornate and magnificient development of Gothic Architecture in England was coincident with the decay and superstition of the fifteenth century. King's College Chapel at Cambridge, the wonderful Norfolk Churches, and many of the most beautiful additions to the great English Cathedrals, were the work of artists who wrought during a century of moral and national decline. We shall come across the same paradox when we touch on Indian Art.

How shall we account for this apparent exception to the law of national life on its spiritual side? Ruskin himself, as far as I am aware, has not dealt fully with the problem, and this makes his own theory of artistic development historically incomplete

and even misleading. The true explanation appears to be as follows. Art at first pursues the same course as Litrature. The period of a nation's new birth is for both alike the formative period—the period when new moulds are prepared for the future, the period when fresh lines of advance are marked out with vigorous, masterly strokes, the period when new ideals of beauty and form are germinating in men's minds. But on the other hand it is usually the case that these fresh impulses take much longer to develop in the sphere of Art than in that of Literature. A tradition, a school, a style, has to be formed and re-formed by an artistic succession, and only step by step can some of the highest altitudes of Art be scaled. The work of the early days, when the new Art appears, is crude and rough and unpolished, but wonderfully fresh and instinct with vigour. Then comes the long process of carrying out little by little the new ideas. During this second period the work becomes more perfect in technique, but it lacks something of the joyousness and freedom of the spring time of the Nation's history which has passed away. It takes instead, like Shelley's lyre,—

a deep autumnal tone
Sweet though in sadness.

It is like fruit which has lost its early bloom, but is beautiful even in the over-ripeness of decay.

To illustrate my meaning by examples from different artistic schools—the late Greek sculpture, in spite of its consummate beauty and perfection of outword form, shows the florid touch, the straining at effect, which is the mark of decadence. The 'Laocoon' and the 'Dying Gladiator' have lost the repose and dignity of the early Attic School, even though they have gained in mastery of technique. Again the very perfection of finish in a Rafael or an Andrea del Sarto marks the culmination of a great Art epoch and its first touch of decline. As Browning makes Andrea, "The faultless Painter', himself say :—

"The days decrease
And autumn grows, autumn in every thing.
Eh! the whole seems to fall into a shape,
As if I saw alike my work and self
And all that I was born to be and do
A twilight piece.....
I can do with my pencil what I know,
What I see, what at the bottom of my heart
I wish for,—if I ever wish so deep—
Do easily, too,—when I say perfectly
I do not boast.....all is silver grey,
Placid and perfect with my art : the worse !"

'The worse !'—The Artist himself recognises that the end has nearly come.

A parallel to this may be drawn from nature. When daylight is drawing to a close and the clouds usher in the night, there is often seen, in the midst of the soft 'silver-grey' of evening sunset, a flush of golden radiance which recalls the beauty of dawn. Sometimes the sky of evening is more dazzling in colour than the sky of morning. But the colour fades away and night begins. Even so in the Art of a great nation there is sometimes a radiant beauty which appears at the sunset of a nation's life. When the nation's greatness is passing away and the light of a people's life is declining, great monuments of artistic genius may still arise and give a twilight glory to the scene. These will have gained their inspiration far back in the past from the glow of the nation's awakening, but they will also show the finished touch and the completed form which forebode the end of an art epoch.

If we turn now to India and consider the great periods of its literary and artistic achievement, we shall find the same marks of national awakening that have been pointed out in other lands. We shall find also the same marks of decline and fall. At one time poetry and song, at another time Art and Architecture, show the joy of an awakened and progressive people.

In the earliest recorded days when the fair, light Aryan race, in the dawn of their youthful vigour, came marching through the great mountain passes into the land of the Five Rivers, they came singing hymns of joy and songs of victory to the bright, shining ones whom they believed to be their protectors and guides. There was little of metaphysical theory or self-questioning in these primitive poems, but much of natural beauty and vigour and life. Their very power to move us today lies in the freshness and simplicity of their inspiration, in the breath of the morning of the world that hangs about them like an atmosphere. Here and there indeed, as the collection grew more complete, the

deeper problems of existence are touched upon, and the pensive note of

The still, sad music of humanity

is sounded ; but generally there is a healthy objectivity, a joy in being alive, a delight in nature, which tells us that the race which composed them is still young and full of living energy and prepared to run a glorious course. The Vedas are the Youth-Songs of the future Indian Nation.

A later period came—how late we do not know—and a new cycle of poetry of a different type was formed. What the new movement was we can only now conjecture. The details of the history are wrapped in obscurity and remain yet to be unravelled. But it may be surmised that two great national events are pourtrayed in the two great epic poems of India,—(i) a second migration of Aryans from the North-west and their heroic combat with the earlier settlers, (ii) the victorious passage of the Aryans to the South. Whether historical research correct this general impression of the poems or not, need not now be discussed. We can read them today as the self-expression of the higher race in India during a great and noble epoch of Indian History. As in the Vedas, so in these glorious epics, the chief charm and beauty lies in their joyous freshness, their spontaneous flow and energy of movement, their overbubbling life, their heroic ideals, their triumphant vigour.* They are the martial poems of a conquering people—a people ready to do great deeds and achieve great ends, a people who were worthy to dominate the thought and tradition of India and build up a common sentiment for the whole Indian Peninsula. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana, since the days of their first composition, have cheered the hearts and kept up the courage of more millions of mankind than any other poems in the world. Without them it would have been almost impossible for the great Aryan Civilisation to have survived through all the later centuries of stress and change. They form today the staple of education for countless numbers of Indian village folk, who can neither read nor write, but know their story by heart and rejoice in hearing them recited. How much poorer the world would have been without this epic cycle and all that followed from it, the West is only slowly beginning to appreciate and understand. In these days when commercial education and technical institutions are apt to loom so large in the imagination of young India, it is well to remember that a single poem or writing, that touches the hearts of the people, may do more than all commercial successes put together to raise the Nation and influence posterity.

It is impossible here to consider other later literary developments in India and their relation to national life. It may be well instead to turn to the sphere of Indian Art and read some of its lessons; for they are equally instructive.

The Aryans who had migrated to the Ganges Valley lost at length their first fresh joyous spirit and became introspective. Life itself under the strain of religious questioning and philosophic enquiry, appeared more and more complex and mysterious. At last a new message was given to the common people by the most saintly of India's children, Gautama, the Enlightened. In his 'Great Renunciation' a new ideal was presented, and in his teaching the 'Noble Eightfold Path' was marked out, whereby it was hoped that release might be obtained from the wheel of birth and suffering and death. The doctrine of the Buddha, so difficult to-day to reinterpret in its early form, came to the people of that age in India with the inspiration of new hope. A great spiritual and moral enthusiasm covered the land and drew with a strange attractive power both high and low, rich and poor. An order of Buddhist monks and nuns was founded and the greatest in the land laid aside their greatness to preach among the lowly. In each city and village lay-brethren ministered to the monks and shared their spiritual fervour. A new morning broke upon India, and for centuries the Buddhist order flourished, permeating for a time the life of the country with noble sentiments and ideals.

Never before or since has India been so near achieving national unity and corporate life as in those great and glorious days when the tide of Buddhism was at the full. The nation then became self-conscious and

* The expressions here used can hardly be applied to the later additions to the poems. These have lost the freshness of the earlier sections and were probably added by inferior writers when the great epoch was over.

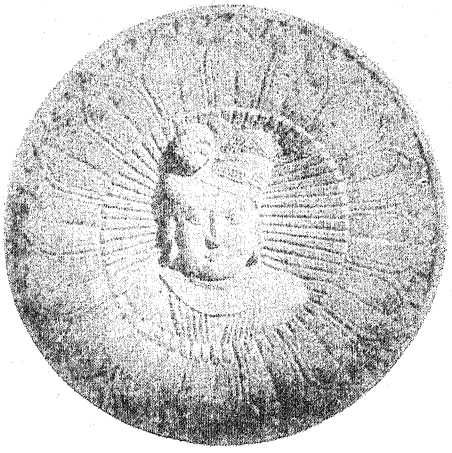
expressed itself in Art. On the sacred spots where the saints of Buddhism had found their peace, great monuments were erected and their story was told in sculpture and bas-relief. Only a few ruins of this creative period now remain. Many of these have been excavated in recent years and more await recovery. Many, alas! have been ruthlessly destroyed by vandal hands. From those that have come down to us we can understand and appreciate the soul of a great people overflowing with its new message and eager to tell it to future generations,—above all, eager to lavish honour upon its saints and teachers and to leave behind for them a worthy memorial that should not pass away. One of the most famous of these remains is the great gateway that stands before the Sanchi Tope. The engineering skill in its construction is only equalled by the beauty of its carving. The work is crude, almost over-rich in the wealth of its detail, but it is fresh and living and has the promise of development and refinement in future ages. Another remarkable example is the Bharahat Tope to the south of Allahabad. Here we see represented in bas-relief scenes from Indian life of surpassing historical interest and singular artistic skill. A good specimen of the decoration may be found in the medallions which show us the type of Indian features of the period, strong and masculine, highly intellectual and full of character. A somewhat rough but deeply interesting bas-relief depicts the gift of the Jetavana Park to the Buddhist 'Wanderers' for their use in retirement and meditation. On one side are represented the huts to be put up in the Park for the wanderers to occupy; in the centre is Anatha Pindika himself, the donor, holding in his hand the water of donation. Every detail is clear and vivid and there is very little that is merely conventional.

It is impossible to stay longer to describe the different types and characteristics of Buddhist Art or to speak of its later developments—how its architectural and decorative forms travelled from country to country, and left their distinctive mark as far southward as Ceylon and as far eastward as Japan,—how Japanese Art itself, the glory of the Japanese Nation, gained its first great forward impulse from the same Buddhist Movement. The influence of India on the far east is being made more and more clear by means of historical and archæological research and not the least on its artistic side. Who knows whether the debt may not be repaid in the future by a fresh impetus in India from the new Art movement in Japan?

But there is a further line of Indian Art development in the past which calls for fuller investigation than it has hithert received—the Hindu architecture which followed the decline of Buddhism. Vincent Smith in his 'Early History of India' concludes one of his last chapters with the following words:—

"India was exempt from foreign aggression for nearly 500 years from the defeat of Mihiragula in 528 A.D. until the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni at the beginning of the eleventh century; and was left free to work out her own destiny in her own fashion. She cannot claim to have achieved success. The history of this long period is on the whole, a melancholy record of a degradation and decadence in government, literature, religion and art, with the exception of Temple Architecture."

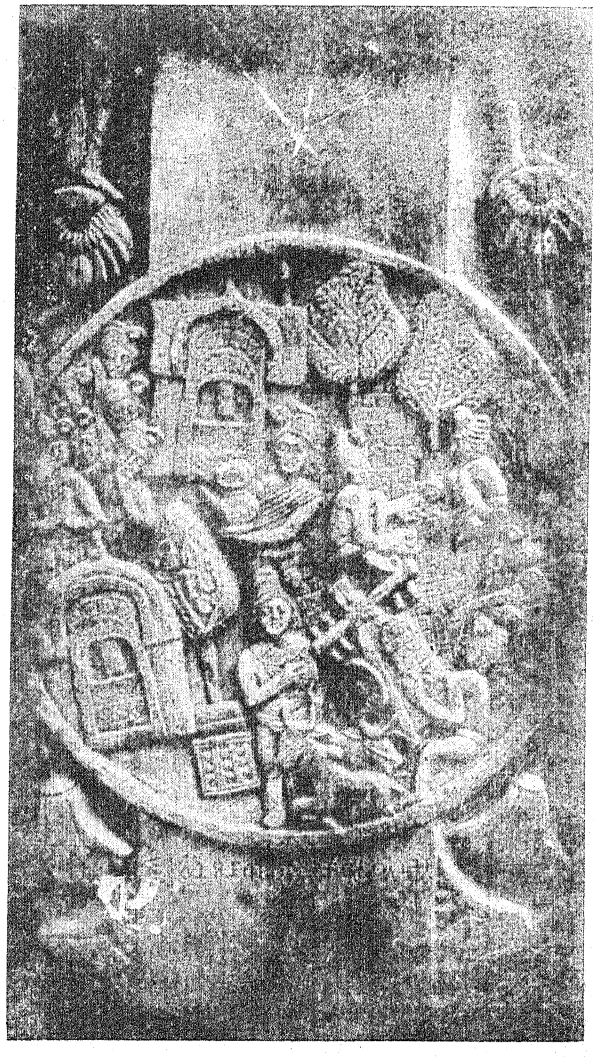
I do not stop here to consider the unfairness of the inference which Vincent Smith proceeds to draw, namely, that India having failed during this period in self-government cannot be expected to achieve success in the future. The Buddhist Era itself, lasting for nearly a thousand years, with self-government and self-development, is a sufficient answer to such a misreading of the lessons of history. But, taking the summary of this special period as it stands as substantially correct,—and there can be no question that it was a period of decadence—what is the meaning of this exception of Temple Architecture? Could a people, we ask ourselves, who could erect masterpieces of architecture, which are still one of the wonders of India, have been really declining in vigour and national life? Must there not have been some saving feature in the situation, some high and lofty ideal still remaining? The answer that I would suggest is that we have here again in India the 'after glow' of a great Art Epoch, working itself out to a magnificent conclusion even when the national life itself was declining. We may even see the last rays of light lingering on long after the subjection of the Muhammadan conquest, and purely Hindu designs and forms mingling strangely with Arabic letterings and scrolls. If this be in any sense the true explanation of the



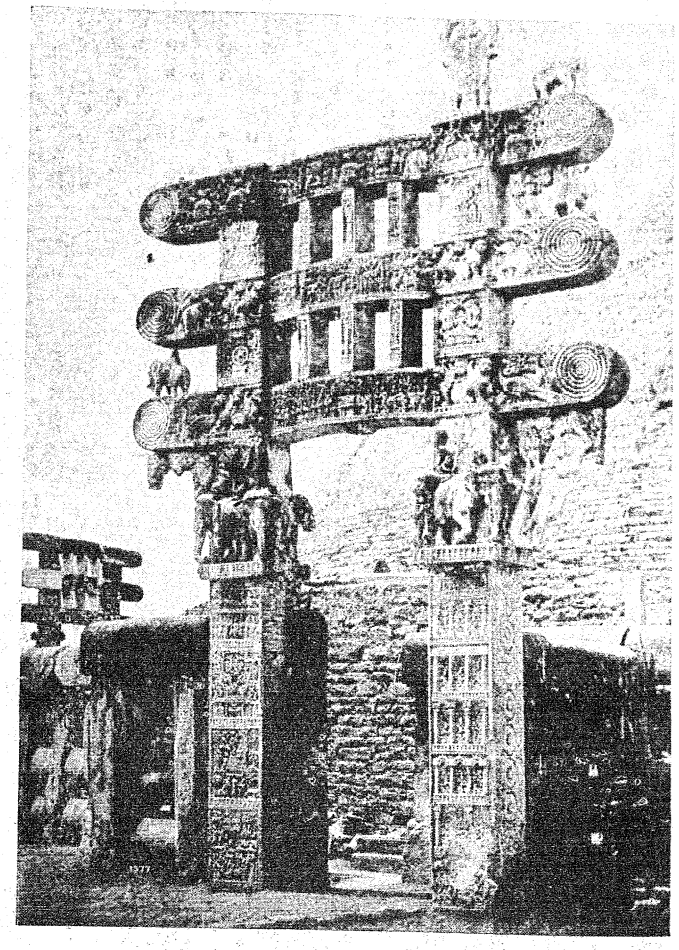
MEDALLION ON THE BHARAHAT TOPE SHOWING ANCIENT INDIAN HEAD-DRESS. I.



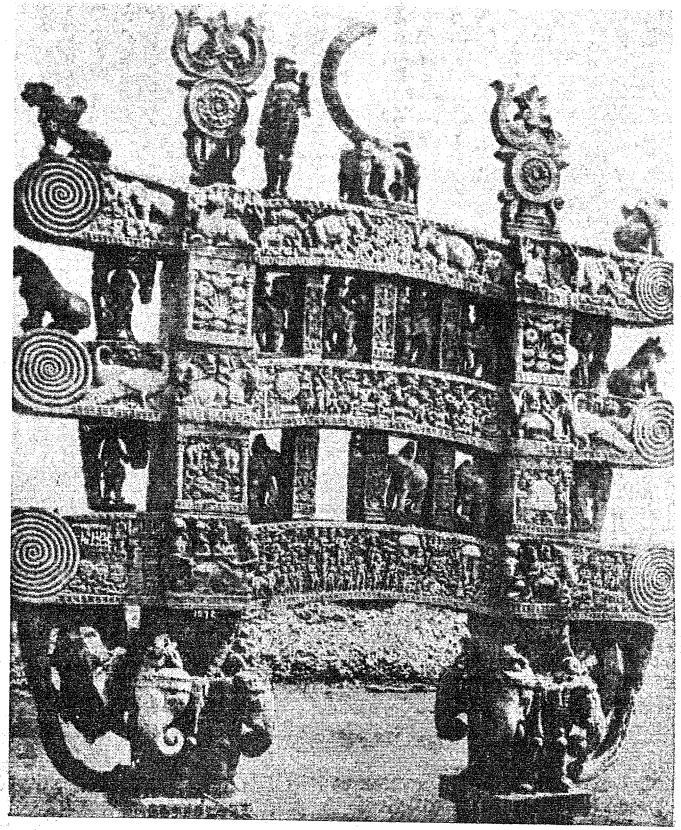
MEDALLION ON THE BHARAHAT TOPE SHOWING ANCIENT INDIAN HEAD-DRESS. II.



ANA'THAPINDIKA'S GIFT OF THE JETAVANA PARK, A BAS-RELIEF FROM THE BHARAHAT TOPE.



EASTERN GATE OF SANCHI TOPE.



REAR VIEW OF THE NORTHERN GATE OF SANCHI TOPE.

phenomenon in India, then it is strikingly similar to the gorgeous English Architecture which marked the period of England's decline or the painting of the late Italian Renaissance. The same historical explanation will hold good for all.*

The question remains to be considered whether the National Movement, which has sprung up today in India with such remarkable force and insistence, gives as yet any promise of producing a great Literature or Art; whether India is actually awaking to joyous self-expression and finding new powers of poetic and artistic vitality.

The Movement is too young in many parts of India to expect to see results immediately of such a kind. But no one who has studied closely the remarkable history of Art, Music and Literature in Bengal, where the Movement has had a much longer time to develop, can fail to notice that in that Province it is an Awakening not merely of a class but of the people, and also that it has already passed its perilous early stage and advanced to that point where a common inspiration gives an atmosphere and tone to life and makes a great Art and Literature possible. The time indeed may yet be far distant when such fruits will be fully manifest; it is still the day of small things; but the simple early beginnings of a national poetry, music and painting, peculiarly Indian in character, are already visible and what is more, the ideal is now being sedulously cultivated and cherished by the people themselves.

I shall not soon forget my experience on going with Mr. Justice P. C. Chatterji of Lahore to a gathering of the Bengali community in Delhi who had met to do him honour. The Hall was crowded and hour after hour we sat still and listened, not to the usual formal address of welcome and conventional speeches and replies, but to what was infinitely more impressive—the songs and music of New Bengal, the Bengal of the National Movement, the Bengal of the Renaissance. There were the humblest clerks and servants, men living on a few rupees a month, sitting side by side with College Professors, Lawyers and Doctors, all animated by one passion—the love of the Motherland, and, in that Motherland, of Bengal. I could not, alas, understand a single word, but I could feel the spirit of the music and the poetry, and my heart went out to that great, suffering Bengali people, who could compose and sing such songs of their own home-land and whose little colony here in far-off Delhi still loved their mother-tongue and its music better than any sound on earth. While I sat there listening, my mind went back to a history I had just been reading of Calcutta life in the days of the 'English fever,' when to learn and quote English was everything, and to gain a name in Europe was the pinnacle of glory. And now,—what a change had come! No falling off, indeed, in brilliant English capacity, but all the heart's affection, imagination, devotion, centred in Bengal. And what a difference in results! No more mere clever Western imitations, but the delicate, tender Eastern painting of Abanindra, the music and poetry of Rabindranath Tagore,—to mention only two names out of many that are famous today in this Bengal Renaissance. I have no capacity of judging personally the literature, being ignorant of Bengali, but I have seen something of the Art and heard something of the music of new Bengal, and as a student of history and nationality I feel confident that the Awakening that is taking place is no artificial or galvanized movement, manufactured by enthusiasts who cannot touch the masses, but a genuine uprising which the people themselves can appreciate and carry forward in a thousand different ways.

In other parts of India the signs are not so clearly marked, but it seems almost certain that the lead which Bengal has given will be followed, and we may perhaps witness in our own generation throughout the whole Motherland, one of those periods of joyous self-expression when a Nation is born anew and a great People finds its unity. The joy may be mingled with the travail pains of birth, difficulties may arise and call for endurance, but all this will be gladly suffered when Life for the younger generation becomes filled with song and

* Prof. F. S. Western of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, has pointed out to me a passage in Dr. Rashdall's recent treatise on Moral Philosophy, entitled 'The Theory of Good and Evil,' which takes the same view of this apparent anomaly in artistic development that I had already taken in this essay. Speaking of the moral decline of the late Italian Renaissance Dr. Rashdall writes as follows;—"High excellence in Art involves such a long period of technical training that the greatest technical perfection of an Art Movement often comes long after the decline of the moral and intellectual forces that produced it."

Hope puts on her mantle gemmed with flowers.

It may be asked in conclusion—and the question is often put to me by my own students—what part can be taken by the younger generation of Indians, who are inspired by the new spirit, to further the National Movement on its literary and artistic side. I would answer in the first instance, do not allow your University culture and refinement to die away unused or become hardened by rough contact with money-making and business life. If you have acquired any literary tastes from your arts' courses, utilize them by writing, in your own mother tongue, on the new national themes. The work that remains to be done in spreading by means of good literature the new ideas is vast, and the serious workers as yet are very few. Think out the problems of nationality, as you see them in your own and in other lands, and clothe your thoughts in language that may appeal to your fellow-Indian men and women. The problems are very difficult and only by a succession of thinkers, viewing each subject from different points of view, can permanent results be obtained. If you can still further enshrine your thoughts in the beautiful forms of poetry and art, the gain to your country will be the greater; but that is not the gift of all. Every one however in his own sphere may *cultivate a taste* for what is both national and beautiful. In Indian homes for instance very seldom up to the present has the artistic level of the past been restored; the ornaments of home life have become degraded, not only by base imitations from the West, but by low appreciation of what is beautiful in Indian articles themselves. I have often almost despaired when I have seen in educated homes room after room stuffed to suffocation with tawdry things and littered with dust,—no thought of simplicity and refinement, but only of extravagance and vulgar display. Again I have seen literature of the feeblest and most vapid modern type filling up book-shelves and tables which might have been stored with the treasures of the past. The younger generation of educated Indian men and women are the natural leaders of the future, those on whom will rest the responsibility of carrying forward the new spirit. If I have convinced any one by what I have written that Literature and Art are not negligible factors amid the rush and hurry of modern life, but rather mighty forces making for national development, then my object will have been accomplished if here and there an Indian reader may find in these spheres some work to be accomplished for the Motherland.

C. F. ANDREWS.

COLOUR LINE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HOW THE NEGRO IS UPLIFTING HIMSELF DESPITE ODDS

THIS article contains nothing but the impressions of the writer regarding a live world-topic. The data for the paper has been gathered in a conscientious manner, considerable time and effort having been spent in the study of the subject. The author has arrived at the conclusions set forth, after conferring with responsible "white" and "black" citizens of the United States of America. The facts and figures presented have not been carelessly or lightly put together. In the preparation of the article the grave responsibility involved in the task has always been kept prominently in the mind of the writer.

This subject ought to appeal especially to the people of Hindostan, as they are confronted with "the crime of colour," in their own land. To those Indians who have come into the realization that "want should not display pride," and who are ever studying what other people are doing

to help themselves in order to formulate programmes for the uplift of the Indian masses, the present article should have more than mere academic or human interest, as it is expressly written with a view to provide them with a few practical suggestions and food for solid thought.

Educated Indians infrequently come across news narratives, copied from American newspapers, giving accounts of a Negro being hounded to death, illegally and brutally, by white "lynchers." They also, as a rule, have hazy notions of the utter contempt in which the coloured man is held by the "white" Americans. But, even the most highly educated people of India know little of the odds against which the Negro has constantly to contend, and of the wonderful progress he is making, despite the difficulties and handicaps under which he labours. For Indians, the struggle of the Negro to place himself on a level with the enlightened nations of the world, is fraught with lessons.

Regarding the Negro question, the main thought that occurs to the writer is the injustice and inhumanity meted out to the coloured man by the whites. To begin with, the Africander is not here in the United States of his own free will. His forebears did not come to America of their own accord, but were brought here under compulsion by the whites. They were kept in slavery, with rare exceptions, in the most abominable and wretched style; made to do the white man's work—till his fields, raise crops for him, keep his house in order, nurse his children and raise the families—and kept in utter ignorance. The white owner sold them like cattle—the white overseer swore at them most inhumanly and was unsparing of the lash. The last generation of the Negroes grew up under conditions such as these; and the present one was begotten by men and women whose environment and training was of the crudest and most dispiriting nature. The Negroes of tomorrow, though they are being raised under conditions vastly different, and improved in many respects, yet are face to face with the concentrated hatred and superciliousness of the white man, and are being forced to grow under the limitations and inequalities brought into existence by the white man's colour-consciousness.

The war of the sixties freed the Negro. That great and good man, Abraham Lincoln, with the assistance and co-operation of broad-minded men in the Northern United States, filed away the bonds that held the Negro in slavery in the Southern States. The Emancipation Proclamation, issued after a bloody civil war, which raged for many months and caused great carnage and bloodshed, set the Negro free. By the beat of a drum the coloured man in the United States was given equal rights and opportunities with the whites. The law recognized him as the white man's equal—gave him the same privileges as a citizen.

But, the Afro-American's equal rights merely exist on government documents. Despite the professions to the contrary, the pall of slavery, of inferiority, still hangs over the coloured man and in the year of Christ nineteen hundred and eight the Africander in America, no matter what his education, what his attainments or even how singularly successful he may have been in amassing the riches of this world, is still a mere "nigger"—liable to be hated, despised, maltreated and molested—even done to death—by the wretchedest specimen of humanity, ill-mannered, boorish, without education, without refinement, without much money, Christian only in name, his only claim to superiority lying in his white hide.

The equal opportunities that the Negro is enjoying are very much like the equal rights and privileges the people of Hindostan are supposed to have in their own country. The late Queen Victoria, the Good, proclaimed her Indian subjects free denizens of the British Empire. The British Parliament, more than once, has declared that the colour, creed or country line made no difference whatsoever, but that the people of India were British citizens, with rights and prerogatives as such. One Viceroy after another, sent to Hindostan to represent His Britannic Majesty, iterated, and reiterated, time and again, in season and out of season, the promises made by the British Sovereign and Parliament. And yet we are confronted in India with the baneful castes of ruler and ruled—we find ourselves constantly hampered, since the natives of the soil are frequently unable to secure even-handed justice from the law-courts in

criminal cases when pitted against a white man—we find ourselves in the back seats so far as the administration of the country is concerned, not permitted to enter the government service except through a small, dismal-looking postern gate—and the liberty of the press and the freedom of speech has become practically *non est*, because of the Seditious Act, *et la*.

The white man metes out the same treatment to coloured people in India and out of India. It makes little difference whether the coloured man is an Indian, a Chinese, a Japanese or an Afro-American; the Anglo Saxon and even the Latin arrogates to himself superiority on the score of "colour." Some white men have the far-sight to look ahead of them and have adjusted their conduct toward the brown, yellow or Negro races, for the reason that they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the coloured races are "up and doing", and marching toward progress and modernization. Some whites have charity enough to deem the coloured people their brethren, though most of them look upon them as inferior to themselves and therefore their behaviour often takes an ungracefully patronizing aspect. There are some who, in countries like Japan, Siam, and Persia, honestly or pretentiously show consideration to the coloured people—to Asiatics and Africanders. But the average European and American, subconsciously if not consciously, betrays superior airs when dealing with coloured people of every origin and character.

The white man in the Northern United States is much more charitable in his conduct toward the Negro than his brother in the Southern parts of the country. Many of the Southerners, I have talked with, have left an impression on my brain that within their hearts they seriously doubted whether the coloured men possess souls. The irony of this lies in the fact that these very white men, in many cases, not only have white children, but their unbridled, lustful lives have led them to propagate illegitimate half-breeds, and it seems at once ludicrous and woeful that they are capable, in the first instance, of endowing their progeny with souls, and in the latter instance producing soulless people.

All white men in the South are not of such low calibre, as to consider the average Afro-American without a soul. Far from it. Some of the Southern white men are the props and pillars of Negro uplift and their broad-minded philanthropy has been the means of great beneficence to the coloured man. But, the rank and file of the Southern white men and women are tainted with the heritage of slavery days. They still look upon the Negro as a chattel—with little or no brains—without moral nature and with practically no genius for relinquishing the old, time-worn methods and adapting himself to the new regime of modern civilisation. The average, matter-of-fact white man, looks upon the Afro-American in much the same way as he does upon his machinery—as an automaton, to be used for the benefit of his white master.

It is more than a generation since the Negro was proclaimed a free citizen; but the attitude of most Southern American whites toward their Negro compatriots is still characterised by much the same rancour. Socially, the Afro-American has no intercourse with the white man except as his servant. He usually lives in the quarter of the town designated as "Nigger-town." He travels in railroad cars set apart for his exclusive use, as if he was afflicted with some dread disease which he might communicate to the white man. Even in the tram cars there is a portion of the carriage designed for "the betters," where the Negro is allowed no entree. In the South and in many parts of the North, the White man's church absolutely bars entrance to the Negro; and the Negro, therefore, perforce establishes places of worship of his own. As has been already hinted, there are Southern white men, without number, who look upon Negro young women, as their forefathers did on the slave women, as preys to their lusts and passions, and as a result of shamefully forcing themselves upon poor, defenceless cowed-down coloured women, a half-breed known as "Mulatto," a cross between white and black, looking like both and hated by both, is constantly increasing.

To such a frightful extent are the whites residing in the Southern States obsessed with a sense of their superiority over the "niggers," as they are contemptuously called, that woe almost always betides the unfortunate coloured men who, through dint of perseverance, shrewd business sense

and hard work succeed in life and gather a competence. Their houses are maliciously set on fire; their carriages permanently injured; their horses lamed; their barns wrecked; their women-folk insulted and shamed. A cobbler friend of mine, a bright young coloured gentleman, clean cut, conscientious, clever and a painstaking worker, a graduate of Tuskegee, that invaluable school founded and presided over by Mr. Booker T. Washington, himself a Negro and an ex-slave, but recognised as an educator and nation-builder of the highest type, related to me how, in a prosperous town in Mississippi, the automobile and estate of a wealthy Negro doctor were burned down by jealous white men, and the act was so astutely planned and carried out that the blame could not be ascribed to anyone and the criminals never were brought to book.

The belief that the Afro-American is the Caucasian's inferior and criminal and immoral by nature is so deeply branded into the inner consciousness of the white man residing in the South that many a Negro has forfeited his life for trivial social offences. If, rightly or wrongly, the impression gets abroad amongst the white people that a Negro is showing signs of independence—that he is no longer subservient to the whites, holds his head high and is, what is technically called, "biggity," he is apt to be mobbed, strung from a tree, and shot dead by a hundred men, simultaneously—and this cowardly act, perpetrated by a dastardly set of people, is left unpunished, to be repeated *ad infinitum*, *ad nauseatum*. Many a Negro man, through influence of liquor, through frenzy of emotion or religious ecstacy, has attempted to shake hands with a Southern white woman, who, through hysteria and inherent misconception of the Negro's morality, has raised the alarm that a black man had dared to assault or insult her, and the unfortunate coloured man has been killed by the "virtuous" white men.*

Slavery has so dulled the ethical nature of the average Southerner that to him the words of Jesus: "Let him amongst you who is without sin cast the first stone," carry no weight.

Yet, if we were to examine closely, the white man is to blame for most of the immoral nature that is stated to have been inherited by the black man. In slavery days, when the coloured person was considered the personal property of his owner, along with cows and horses, be it remembered, the white masters of the slaves encouraged immorality of the most vicious kind amongst them, so that they would multiply and increase the money-value of the white man's estate. Like the horses and hogs, the white man employed regular breeding methods to increase the slave population, and to the utter shame and humiliation of the Southern slave-owners, it must be said that in many instances they became conscienceless to such an extent that they committed the grossest acts of immorality with a commercial end in view. With such a record to damn the white man, he is yet blatant enough to fling into the face of the Negro that he is immoral. There are very few white men in the South who take cognisance of this fact and make due allowance for it.

The Negro is also condemned for his proclivity for petty thieving. This, too, is a direct hand-me-down from slavery days. In those times the average slave was not allowed full rations and the food apportioned for his use was of the most miserable quality; and whenever the coloured man

* Booker Washington, the well-known Negro educationalist and reformer has issued an appeal for Justice for his race evoked by the promiscuous killing of blacks in the Middle West and Southern States:—

"Within the past sixty days twenty-five Negroes have been lynched in different parts of the United States. Of this number only four were even charged with attacking women; nine were lynched in one day on the charge of being connected with a murder; four were lynched in one day on the charge that they had passed resolutions approving the murder of an individual; three were lynched in one day on the charge that they had taken part in burning a gin-house; and others were lynched for miscellaneous reasons. *One was publicly burned in open day-light in presence of women and children, after oil had been poured upon his body, at Greenville, Texas, and reports state that a thousand people witnessed the spectacle in the open square of the town.* One other victim was eighty years of age.

"How long can our Christian civilisation stand this? I am making no special plea for the negro innocent or guilty, but I am calling attention to the danger that threaten our civilisation. The lynchings terrify the innocent, but they embolden the criminal. The criminal knows that it is much easier to escape the mad fury of the mob than the deliberate vengeance of the law; but no man is so innocent that he can be safe at all times from the frenzy of the mob. Statistics show that during the past ten years an average of thirty-two negroes a year have been lynched on the charge of attacking women. Granting that thirty-two per year are guilty, is that a just reason for condemning over 30,00,000 adult negro men who have no part in such crimes? Are we, as a nation, to allow 32 criminals a year out of a race 10,000,000 Negroes to throw us into frenzy and change the complexion of our civilisation so that we are held up to foreign nations as an uncivilised people not governed by law or order?"

Washington is the negro leader who was entertained at luncheon at the White House by Mr. Roosevelt a fact which endeared the President to 10,000,000 coloured people in the United States but which rather prejudiced him with the Southern whites, who believe that "the negroes must be kept in their place," and that the speedy execution of offenders by the mob secures better results than are due to the process of the law.

found the opportunity, he would steal and appropriate any victuals he could lay his hands on.

Reference should be made here to the manner in which the white man in the South employs devious methods to keep the coloured man indebted to himself and thus keeps him under his thumb, his virtual slave, though not so in name. It seems that in many of the Southern States it is an unwritten law that the Negro should remain with the landlord to whom he is indebted until he is able to pay his debt. The landlord makes it his business to see that the day when the coloured man has paid to him what he owed—the principal and high compound interest—shall be indefinitely deferred. This credit system is so operated that merchants make exorbitant profits from the Negro trade. Cases have occurred when the Negro fled away from the plantation of the landlord without paying to him the accumulated debt, and took up work in another part of the State, but was forced back to the first place by means of threats and intimidation, in many instances by actual whipping.

Broadly speaking, the policy of Southern white men has been to keep the Negro a serf. Schools for Negroes exist in the South; but they are not as numerous as they ought to be and the teachers employed in them are usually inefficient. Furthermore, the divorce laws in many of the Southern States, Louisiana, for an instance, have been too lax in favor of the Negro to give him a chance to progress to any great extent along moral lines. It has been reported to the writer that in certain parts of the State of Louisiana, a Negro woman or man can secure divorce for fifteen dollars, within a half hour's time. The statement may be somewhat exaggerated; but indicates the tendency of the divorce laws governing Negroes.

The colour-consciousness of the United States, while it hampers the Negroes to a fearful extent, has a still more deleterious effect upon the whites, and is an unfortunate thing for the community in general, since the Negro has contributed a great deal toward the development of the Southern United States, and holding him back from making progress, eventually reacts upon the nation.

So far, the dark side of the picture has been shown. The evil effects of the colour-line operating in the United States, especially in the Southern part of the country, have been described. To stop here, however, involves injustice, to both the white man and the Negro in America. There is another side to the question—a much more bright, suggestive sequel to the story.

There always have been white men in the United States who have made the Negro's cause their own—pleaded from platform and pulpit that the coloured man should be given a "show"—advocated by means of the newspaper, magazine, pamphlet and book that reparation should be made to the Africander for holding him in slavery, by giving him a start in life—by helping him to help himself—by putting him on his feet. It was the awakened consciousness of the white man residing in the North which snapped the chains that held the Negro in slavery. As has been observed, the Negro still has to shake off the bonds that lock him in the toils of the landlord—he has yet to conquer the attitude of superiority which the white man assumes toward him—he has still to improve himself mentally, materially and morally, before he can get the utmost out of his rights as a free citizen of the United States. Highly cultivated Negroes are to be met with throughout the United States; but taken as a race, the Afro-American is still exceedingly backward. White men have rendered invaluable service in uplifting the Negroes *en masse* and they are still doing a great deal in raising the status of the people, by improving their minds and educating them in thrift and useful industry. Probably the noblest and most fruitful work done by white people has been carried on at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, which was founded by a white man, is at present presided over by a white man, and has been maintained largely by means of funds contributed by white people.* The work of teaching was entirely carried on by white men and women during the early years of the life of the institution, and even today a fairly large percentage of teachers and instructors are white people. Likewise, the institutions started by Negroes

* For a detailed account of this institute, see Modern Review for June, 1908.



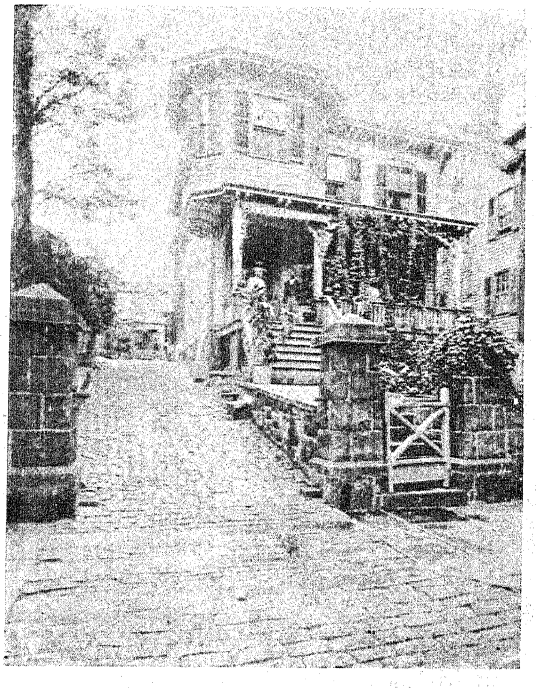
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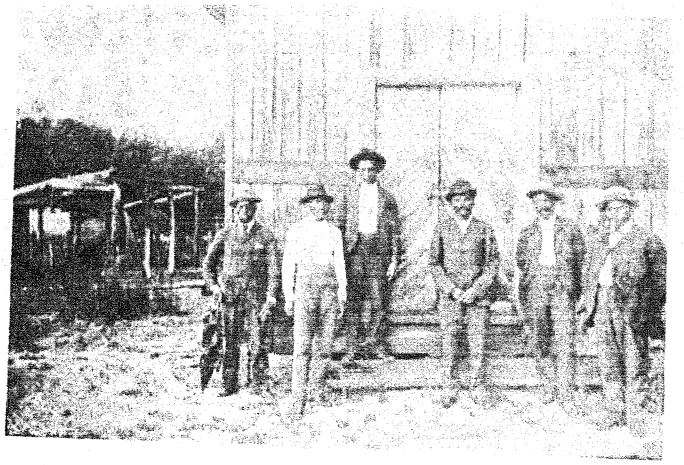
HOLLIS BURKE FRISSELL, LL. D., THE WHITEMAN WHO IS AT THE HELM OF THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE.



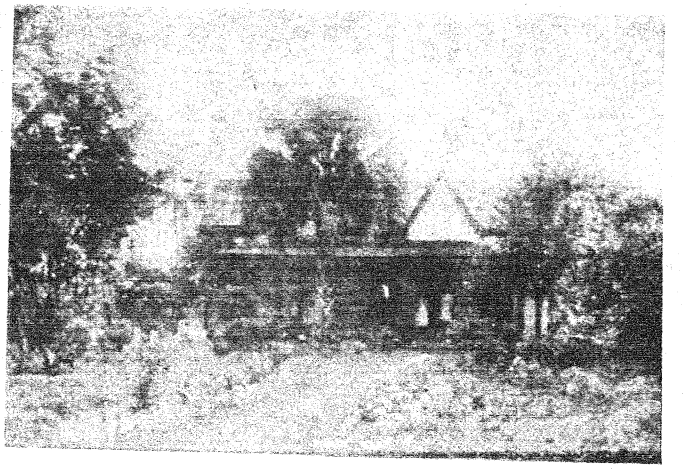
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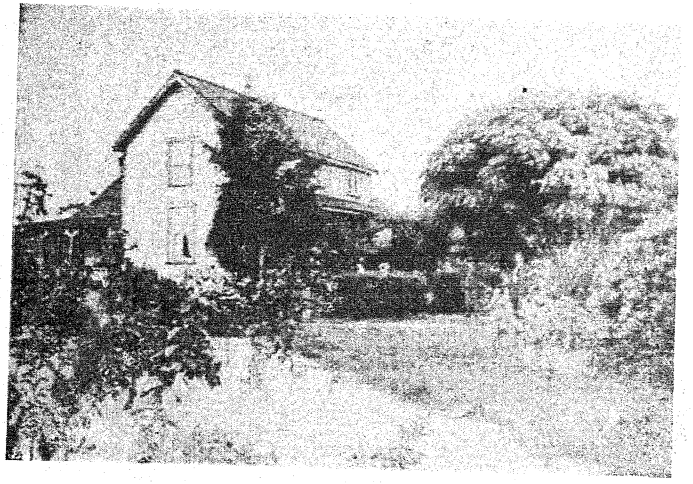
HOUSE OF A WELL-TO-DO NEGRO.



City Council of a City owned and operated by coloured men.



Residence of a Negro Postmaster of a City in Florida.



Residence of a Negro Mayor of a City.



A Building designed and erected by Negroes.

to help themselves have been liberally financed by white people in the North as well as in the South.

Not only philanthropic motives, it may be remarked, have inspired the white man, in every instance, to assist the Negro; but economic incentives as well have acted as an impetus in this direction. Many of the Southern white men, for instance, have not always been actuated by altruistic motives in helping institutions which teach the Negroes the utility of living in the country instead of leading a vagabond life in the city; which instruct the coloured man in employing modern methods and machinery and thus increase his efficiency as a farm-hand and workingman; which inculcate in the hearts of the Afro-Americans love for homes and wives. They see in these institutions an indirect benefit to the white man and to the country at large. The Federal Government also realizes the practical value of the schools which are taking into hand raw Negro boys and girls and turning out trained, conscientious, laborious, efficient, economical and patriotic men and women, and helps them along.

This is stated here, not with a view to belittle or cast aspersions on what the white man is doing to further the evolution of the Negro. Whatever the American white man may do, he cannot accomplish enough to justify his boasting to himself or to the world that he is spending money and effort purely as a "charity." His forefathers have done such a grievous injury to the Negro by enslaving his ancestors and keeping them in bondage and dense ignorance that it will require many generations of concentrated endeavour to uplift the Negro, before the debt can be fully discharged. Furthermore, at the present time the Negro man is the best all-round workingman in the farm and factory, and the Negro woman the best worker in the kitchen and nursery that America has. The colored laborer, in my mind, certainly is far superior to the scum that the American immigration companies are importing into North America. The Afro-American speaks English—which the Latins, Greeks, Slavs and Swedes, and such other imports from Europe, do not. The warm-blooded Latins, on the slightest provocation, are likely to cut one another's throats; the Doukhobors from Russia, men and women, periodically divest themselves of all their clothes and undertake extensive pilgrimages in search of Christ; almost all the laborers imported from Europe, soon after their arrival in America, develop anarchistic tendencies; but the Negro works steadily and without grumbling. If the coloured man has any fault at all in this direction, it is the same as the Hindu has. He is usually prone to be contented with his wretched lot and discontent is seldom his failing. He is easily intimidated as a rule, does not strike, nor does he partake in labor troubles. All these factors render him peerless as a farmer and artisan. With the schools exerting their influence to spiritualise the coloured man and invest him with a sense of duty and responsibility, he is becoming a still more invaluable citizen.

The most hopeful sign of the Negro situation to-day is that he is not in a drugged state, lying unconscious of his real condition; but is keenly appreciative of his opportunities, eager to give "absent treatment" to his defects and failings, zealously engaged in filling up his deficiencies and alive and progressive in the best sense of the word. Considering the short length of time that has elapsed since they were freed, the Negroes have done marvellously well. To-day there are thousands of coloured men and women, cultivated and refined, engaged in the multifarious walks of life—all eminently successful. As business men, as manufacturers, property-owners, financiers, and as workers on the farm and in dairy and other industries, the Negroes have shown that they possess the virility to score wonderful success in the teeth of opposition, and while facing almost insuperable odds. Negroes are proving to the world at large that they have great talent as organisers. Despite what his detractors say to the contrary, slowly but steadily the Negro is demonstrating that he is capable of self-government and competent to take the top-notch place in all realms of human activity.

Already fifty-six per cent of the Negroes are literate. This is worthy of note, since a little over a generation ago the coloured men and women were cent per cent illiterate. The Negroes are evincing such a passion to educate themselves that probably in another generation or two it will be hard to come across any coloured person

who will be utterly incapable of reading and writing. Furthermore, the wide-awake Negro leaders* are not only encouraging literary education amongst their people, but are advocating a system of instruction which will prepare the whole man or woman—fully develop the body, mind and heart of the young Negro. The government of the land is looking after their primary education, aiming that every Negro child shall be provided with the opportunity to learn to read and write; and the Negroes themselves are starting institutions in all vital centres with a view to give technical and agricultural instruction, along the most efficient and modern lines. Coupled with this, cheap newspapers under Negro control, editorial and otherwise, are carrying on the propaganda work of Negro uplift in the very heart of the rural districts.

* Refer to the Article: "A Negro Eduator's Unique Ideals and Successful Methods," which appeared in the July issue of The Modern Review.

SAINT NIHAL SING.

THE YELLOW GOD

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BY

H. RIDER HAGGARD,

Author of "King Solomon's Mines," "She," "The Brethren," "Benita," &c.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE MOTHER OF JEEKI.

"JEEKI," said Alan next morning, "I tell you again that I have had enough of this place; I want to get out."

"Yes, Major, that just what mouse say when he finish cheese in trap, but missus call him 'Pretty, pretty, come along,' and drown him all the same," and he nodded in the direction of the Asika's house.

"Jeeki, it has got to be done—do you hear me? I had rather die trying to get away than stop here till the next two months are up. If I am here on the night of the next full moon but one, I shall shoot that Asika and then shoot myself, and you must take your chance. Do you understand?"

"Understand that foolish game and poor look-out for Jeeki, Major, but can't think of any plan." Then he rubbed his big nose reflectively and added, "Fahni and his people your slaves now, 'spose we have talk with him. I tell priests to bring him along when they come with breakfast. Leave it to me, Major."

Alan did leave it to him, with the result that after long argument the priests consented or obtained permission to produce Fahni and his followers, and a little while after the great men arrived, looking very dejected, and saluted Alan humbly. Bidding the rest of them be seated, he called Fahni to the end of the room and asked him through Jeeki if he and his men did not wish to return home.

"Indeed we do, white lord," answered the old chief, "but how can we? The Asika has a grudge against our tribe, and but for you would have killed every one of us last night. We are snared, and must stop here till we die."

"Would not your people help you if they knew, Fahni?"

"Yes, lord, I think so. But how can I tell them who doubtless believe us dead? Nor can I send a messenger, for this place is guarded, and he would be killed at once. We came here for your sake because you had Little Bonsa, a god that is known in the east and the west, in the north and the south, and because you saved me from the lion, and here, alas! we must perish."

"Jeeki," said Alan, "can you not find a messenger? Have you, who were born of this people, no friend among them all?"

Jeeki shook his white head and rolled his eyes. Then suddenly an idea struck him.

"Yes," he said, "I think one, p'r'aps. I mean my ma."

"Your ma!" said Alan, "oh! I remember. Have you heard anything more about her?"

"Yes, Major. Very old girl now, but strong on leg, so they say. Believe she glad go anywhere, because she public nuisance; they tired of her in prison, and there no workhouse here, so they want turn her out starve, which, of course, break my heart. Perhaps she take message. Some use that way. Only think she afraid go Ogula-land because they nasty cannibal and eat old woman."

When all this was translated to Fahni he assured Jeeki with earnestness that nothing would induce the Ogula people to eat his ma, moreover that for her sake they would never look carnivorously on another old woman, fat or thin.

"Well," said Jeeki, "I try again to get hold of old lady and we see. I pray priests let her out of chokey, as I sick to fall upon bosom, which quite true, only so much to think of that no time to attend to domestic relation till now."

That very afternoon, on returning to his room from walking in the dismal cedar garden. Alan's ears were greeted by a sound of shrill quarrelling. Looking up, he saw an extraordinary sight. A tall, gaunt, withered female, who might have been of any age between sixty and a hundred, had got Jeeki's ear in one hand, and with the other was slapping him in the face while she exclaimed:

"O, thief, whom by the curse of Bonsa I brought into the world, what have you done with my blanket? Was it not enough that you, my only son, should leave me to earn my own living? Must you also take my best blanket with you, for which reason I have been cold ever since? Where is it, thief, where is it?"

"Worn out, my mother, worn out," he answered, trying to free himself. "You forget, honourable mother, that I grow old, and you should have been dead years ago. How can you expect a blanket to last so long? Leave go of my ear, beloved mother, and I will give you another. I have travelled across the world to find you, and I want to hear news of your husband."

"My husband, thief; which husband? Do you mean your father, the one with the broken nose, who was sacrificed because you ran away with the white man whom Bonsa loved? Well, you look out for him when you get into the world of ghosts, for he said that he was going to wait for you there with the biggest stick that he could find. Why, I haven't thought of him for years, but then I have had three other husbands since his time, bad enough, but better than he was, so who would? And now Bonsa has got the lot, and I have no children alive, and they say I am to be driven out of the prison to starve next week as they won't feed me any longer, I who can still work against any one of them, and you've got my blanket, you ugly old rascal," and collapsing beneath the weight of her recited woes, the hag burst into a melancholy howl.

"Peace, my mother," said Jeeki, patting her on the head. "Do what I tell you and you shall have more blankets than you can wear, and, as you are still so handsome, another husband, too, if you like, and a garden and slaves to work for you and plenty to eat."

"How shall I get all these things, my son?" asked the old woman, looking up. "Will you take me to your home and support me or will that white lord marry me? They told me that the Asika had named him as the Mungana, and she is very jealous, the most jealous Asika that I have ever known."

"No, mother, he would like to, but he dare not, and I cannot support you as I should wish, as here I have no house or property. You will get all this by taking a walk and holding your tongue. You see this man here; he is Fahni, king of a great tribe, the Ogula. He wants you to carry a message for him, and by and by he will marry you, won't you, Fahni?"

"Oh! yes,—yes," said Fahni, "I will do anything she likes. No one shall be so rich and honoured in my country, and for her sake we will never eat another old woman, whereas if she stays here she will be driven to the mountains, to starve in a week."

"Set out the matter," said the mother of Jeeki, who was by no means so foolish as she seemed.

So they told her what she must do, namely, travel down to the Ogula and tell them of the plight of their chief, bidding them muster all their fighting men, and when the swamps were dry enough, advance as near as they dared to the Asiki country,

and, if they could not attack it, wait till they had further news.

The end of it was that Mother of Jeeki, who knew her case to be desperate at home, where she was in no good repute, promised to attempt the journey in consideration of advantages to be received. Since she was to be turned adrift to meet her fate with as much food as she could carry, this she could do without exciting any suspicion, for who would trouble about the movements of a useless old thief? Meanwhile Jeeki gave her one of the robes which the Asika had provided for Alan, also various articles which she desired, and, having learned Fahni's message by heart and announced that she considered herself his affianced bride, the gaunt old creature departed happy enough, after exchanging embraces with her long-lost son.

"She will tell somebody all about it, and we shall only get our throats cut," said Alan wearily, for the whole thing seemed to him a foolish farce.

"No, no, Major. I make her swear not split, on ghosts of all her husbands, and by Big Bonsa hisself. She sit tight as wax, because she think they haunt her if she don't, and I, too, by and by when I dead. P'r'aps she get to Ogula country and p'r'aps not. If she don't, can't help it, and no harm done. Break my heart, but only one old woman less. Anyhow, she hold tongue, that main point, and I really very glad to find my ma, who never hoped to see again. Heaven very kind to Jeeki, give him back to family bosom," he added unctuously.

That day there were no excitements, and to Alan's intense relief he saw nothing of the Asika. After its orgy of witchcraft and bloodshed on the previous night, weariness and silence seemed to have fallen upon the town. At any rate no sound came from it that could be heard above the low, constant thunder of the great waterfall rushing down its precipice, and in the cedar-shadowed garden where Alan walked till he was weary, attended by Jeeki and the Ogula savages, not a soul was to be seen.

On the following morning, when he was sitting moodily in his room, two priests came to conduct him to the Asika. Having no choice, followed by Jeeki, he accompanied them to her house, masked as usual, for without this hateful disguise he was not allowed to stir. He found her lying upon a pile of cushions in a small room that he had never seen before, which was better lighted than most in that melancholy abode, and seemed to serve as her private chamber. In front of her lay the skin of the lion that he had sent as a present, and about her throat, heavily set in gold hung a necklace made of its claws, with which she was playing idly.

At the opening of the door she looked up with a swift smile, that turned to a frown when she saw that he was followed by Jeeki.

"Say, Vernoon," she asked in her langorous voice, "can you not stir a yard without that ugly black dog at your heels? Do you bring him to protect you? If so, what is the need? Have I not sworn that you are safe in my land?"

Alan made Jeeki interpret this speech, then answered that the reason was that he knew but little of her tongue.

"Can I not teach it to you alone, then, without this low fellow hearing all my words? Well, it will not be for long," and she looked at Jeeki in a way that made him feel very uncomfortable. "Get behind us, dog, and you, Vernoon, come sit on these cushions at my side. Nay, not there, I said upon the cushions—so. Now I will take off that ugly mask of yours, for I would look into your eyes. I find them pleasant, Vernoon," and without waiting for his permission, she sat up and did so. "Ah!" she went on, "we shall be happy when we are married, shall we not? Do not be afraid, Vernoon, I will not eat out your heart as I have those of the men that went before you. We will live together until we are old, and die together at last, and together be born again, and so on and on till the end, which even I cannot foresee. Why do you not smile, Vernoon, and say that you are pleased, and that you will be happy with me, who loved you from the moment that my eyes fell upon you in sleep? Speak, Vernoon, lest I should grow angry with you."

"I don't know what to say," answered Alan despairingly through Jeeki, "the honour is too great for me who am but a wandering trader who came here to barter Little Bonsa against the gold I need"—to support my wife and family, he was about to add, then remembering that this statement might

not be well received, substituted, "to support my old parents and eight brothers and sisters who are dependent upon me, and remain hungry until I return to them."

"Then I think they will remain hungry a long time, Vernoon, for while I live you shall never return. Much as I love you I would kill you first," and her eyes glittered as she said the words. "Still," she added, noting the fall in his face, "if it is gold that they need, you shall send it them. Yes, my people shall take all that I gave you down to the coast, and there it can be put in a big canoe and carried across the water. See to the packing of the stuff, you black dog," he said to Jeeki over her shoulder, "and when it is ready I will send it hence."

Alan began to thank her, though he thought it more than probable that even if she kept her word, this bullion would never get to Old Calabar, and much less to England. But she waived the matter aside as one in which she was not interested.

"Tell me" she asked, "would you have me other than I am? First, do you think me beautiful?"

"Yes," answered Alan honestly, "very beautiful, when you are quiet as now; not when you are dancing as you did the other night without your robes."

When she understood what he meant the Asika actually blushed a little.

"I am sorry," she answered in a voice that for her was quite humble. "I forgot that it might seem strange in your eyes. It has always been the custom for the Asika to do as I did at feasts and sacrifices, but perhaps that is not the fashion among your women; perhaps they always remain veiled, as I have heard the worshippers of the Prophet do, and therefore you thought me immodest. I am very, very sorry, Vernoon. I pray you to forgive me who am ignorant, and only do what I have been taught.

"Yes, they always remain veiled," stammered Alan, though he was not referring to their faces, and as the words passed his lips he wondered what the Asika would think if she could see a ballet at a London music-hall.

"Is there anything else wrong?" she went on gently. "If so, tell me that I may set it right."

"I do not like cruelty or sacrifices, O Asika. I have told you that bloodshed is *orunda* to me, and at the feast those men were poisoned and you mocked them in their pain; also many others were taken away to be killed for no crime."

She opened her beautiful eyes and stared at him, answering,

"But, Vernoon, all this is not my fault; they were sacrifices to the gods, and if I did not sacrifice I should be sacrificed by the priests and wizards who live to sacrifice. Yes, myself, I should be made to drink the poison, and be mocked at while I died, like a snake with a broken back. Or even if I escaped the vengeance of the people, the gods themselves would kill me and raise up another in my place. Do they not sacrifice in your country, Vernoon?"

"No, Asika; they fight if necessary and kill those who commit murder. But they have no fetish that asks for blood, and the law they have from heaven is a law of mercy."

She stared at him again.

"All this is strange to me," she said. "I was taught otherwise. Gods are devils, and must be appeased lest they bring misfortune on us; men must be ruled by terror, or they would rebel and pull down the Great House; doctors must learn magic, or how would they avert spells? wizards must be killed, or the people would perish in their net. May not we who live in a hell strive to beat back its flames with the wisdom our forefathers have handed on to us? Tell me, Vernoon, for I would know."

"You make your own hell," answered Alan when, with the help of Jeeki, he understood her talk.

She pondered over his words for a while, then said,

"I must think. The thing is big. I wander in blackness; I will speak with you again. Say now, what else is wrong with me?"

Now Alan thought that he saw an opportunity for a word in season, and made a great mistake.

"I think that you treat your husband, that man whom you call Mungana, very badly. Why should you drive him to his death?"

At these words the Asika leapt up in a rage, and seeking something to vent her temper on violently boxed Jeeki's ears and kicked him with her sandalled foot.

"The Mungana!" she exclaimed "that

beast! What have I to do with him? I hate him as I hated the others. The priests thrust him on me. He has had his day—let him go. In your country do they make women live with men whom they loathe? I love *you*, Bonsa himself knows why. Perhaps because you have a white skin and white thoughts. But I hate that man. What is the use of being Asika if I cannot take what I love and reject what I hate? Go away, Vernoon, go away; you have angered me, and if it were not for what you have said about that new law of mercy, I think that I would cut your throat" and again she boxed Jeeki's ears and kicked him on the shins.

Alan rose and bowed himself towards the door, while she stood with her back towards him, sobbing. As he was about to pass it, she wheeled round, wiping the tears from her eyes with her hand and said,

"I forgot. I sent for you to thank you for your presents, that," and she pointed to the lion skin, "which they tell me you killed with some kind of thunder to save the life of that old cannibal, and this," and she pulled off the necklace of claws, then added, "As I am too bad to wear it, you had better take it back again." And she threw it with all her strength straight into Jeeki's face.

Fearing worse things, the much maltreated Jeeki uttered a howl and bolted through the door, while Alan picking up the necklace, returned it to her with a bow. She took it.

"Stop," she said. "You are leaving the room without your mask and my women are outside. Come here," and she tied the thing upon his head, setting it all awry, then pushed him from the room.

"Very poor joke, Major, very poor indeed," said Jeeki, when they had reached their own apartment. "Lady make love to *you; you* play prig and lecture lady about holy customs of her country, and she box *my* ear till head sing, also kick me all over and throw sharp claws in face. Please you do it no more. The next time, who know? she stick knife in *my* gizzard, then kiss *you* afterward and say she so sorry, and hope she no hurt *you*. But how that help your departed Jeeki who get all kicks, while you have halfpence?"

"Oh! be quiet," said Alan, "you are welcome to the halfpence if you would only leave me the kicks. The question is, how am I to get out of this mess? While she was a beautiful savage devil one could deal with the thing, but if she is going to become human it is another matter."

Jeeki looked at him with pity in his eyes.

"Always thought white man mad at bottom," he said, shaking his big head. "To benighted black nigger thing so very simple. All you got do, make love and cut when you get chance. Then she pleased as Punch, everything go smooth and Jeeki get no more kicks. Christian religion business very good, but won't wash in Asiki-land. Your reverend uncle find out that."

Not wishing to pursue the argument, Alan changed the subject by asking his indignant retainer if he thought that the Asika had meant what she said when she offered to send the gold down to the coast.

"Why not, Major? That good lady always mean what she say, and what she do, too," and he dabbed wrathfully at the scratches made by the lion's claws on his face, then added, "she know her own mind, not like shilly-shally, see-saw white woman, who get up one thing and go to bed another. If she say she send gold, she send it, though pity to part with all that cash, because 'spect some one bag it."

Alan reflected a while.

"Don't you see, Jeeki, that here is a chance, if a very small one, of getting a message to the coast. Also it is quite clear that if we are ever able to escape, it will be impossible for us to carry this heavy stuff, whereas if we send it on ahead, perhaps some of it might get through. We will pack it up, Jeeki; at any rate, it will be something to do. Go now, and send a message to the Asika, and ask her to let us have some carpenters, and a lot of well-seasoned wood."

The message was sent, and an hour later a dozen of the native craftsmen arrived with their rude tools and a supply of planks cut from a kind of iron-wood or ebony tree. They prostrated themselves to Alan, then the master of them, rising, instantly began to measure Jeeki with a marked reed. That worthy sprang back and asked what in the name of Bonsa, Big and Little, they were doing, whereon the man explained with humility that the Asika had said that she thought the white lord wanted the wood

to make a box to bury his servant in, as he, the said servant, had offended her that morning, and doubtless the white lord wished to kill him on that account, or perhaps to put him away under ground alive.

"Oh, my golly!" said Jeeki, shaking till his great knees knocked together, "oh, my golly! here pretty go. She think you want bury me all alive. *That* mean she want to be rid of Jeeki, because he got sit there and play gooseberry when she wish talk alone with you. Oh, yes, I see her little game."

"Well, Jeeki," said Alan, bursting into such a roar of laughter that he nearly shook off his mask, "you had better be careful, for you just told me that the Asika is not like a see-saw white woman, and never changes her mind. Say to this man that he must tell the Asika there is a mistake, that however much I should like to oblige her, I can't bury you because it has been prophesied to me that on the day you are buried, I shall be buried also, and that therefore you must be kept alive."

"Capital notion that, Major," said Jeeki, much relieved. "She not want bury you just at present; next year perhaps, but not now. I tell him." And he did with much vigour.

This slight misconception having been disposed of, they explained to the carpenters what was wanted. First, all the gold was emptied out of the sacks in which it remained as the priests had brought it, and divided into heaps, each of which weighed about forty pounds, a weight that with its box Alan considered would be a good load for a porter. Of these heaps there proved to be fifty-three, their total value, Alan reckoned, amounting to about £100,000 sterling. Then the carpenters were set to work to make a model box, which they did quickly enough and with great ingenuity, cutting the wood with their native saws, dove-tailing it as a civilised craftsman would do, and finally securing it everywhere with ebony pegs, driven into holes which they bored with a hot iron. The result was a box that would stand any amount of rough usage, and, when finally pegged down, one that could only be opened with a hammer and a cold chisel.

This box making went on for two whole days. As each of them was filled and pegged down, the gold within being packed in saw-dust to keep it from rattling, Alan amused himself in adding an address with a feather brush and a supply of red paint such as the Asiki priests used to decorate their bodies. At first he was puzzled to know what address to put, but finally decided upon the following:

"Major A. Vernon, c.o. Miss Champers, The Court, near Kingswell, England," adding in the corner, "From A.V., Asiki-land, Africa."

It was all childish enough, he knew, yet when it was done he regarded his handiwork with a sort of satisfaction. For, reflected Alan, if but one of those boxes should chance to get through to England, it would tell Barbara a great deal, and if it were addressed to himself, her uncle could scarcely dare to take possession of it.

Then he bethought him of writing a letter, but was obliged to abandon the idea, as he had neither pen, pencil, ink nor paper. Whatever arts remained to them, that of any form of writing was totally unknown to the Asiki. Even in the days when they had wrapped up the Egyptian, the Roman, and other early Munganas in sheets of gold and set them in their treasure-house, they had no knowledge of it, for not even an hieroglyphic or a rune appeared upon the imperishable metal shrouds. Since that time they had evidently decreased, not advanced in learning, till at the present day, except for these relics and some dim and meaningless survival of rites that had once been religious, and were still offered to the same ancient idols, there was little to distinguish them from other tribes of Central African savages. Still, Alan did something, for obtaining a piece of white wood, which he smoothed as well as he was able with a knife, he painted on it this message:

"Messrs. Aston, Old Calabar. Please forward accompanying fifty-three packages, or as many as arrive, and cable as follows. All costs will be remitted. 'Champers. Kingswell. England. Prisoner among Asiki. No present prospect of escape, but hope for best. Jeeki and I well. Allowed send this with gold, but perhaps no future message possible. Good-bye. Alan.'"

As it happened, just as Alan was finishing this scrawl with a sad heart, he heard a movement, and glancing up, perceived standing at his side the Asika, of whom he

had seen nothing since the interview when she had beaten Jeeki.

"What are those marks that you make upon the board, Vernoon?" she asked suspiciously.

With the assistance of Jeeki, who kept at a respectful distance, he informed her that they were a message in writing to tell the white men at the coast to forward the gold to his starving family.

"Oh!" she said, "I never heard of writing. You shall teach it me. It will serve to pass the time till we are married, though it will not be of much use afterwards, as we shall never be separated any more, and words are better than marks upon a board. But," she added cheerfully, "I can send away this black dog of yours," and she looked at Jeeki, "and he can write to us. No, I cannot, for an accident might happen to him, and they tell me you say that if he dies, you die also, so he must stop here always. What have you in those little boxes?"

"The gold you gave me, Asika, packed in loads."

"A small gift enough," she answered contemptuously, "would you not like more, since you value that stuff? Well, another time you shall send all you want. Meanwhile the porters are waiting, fifty men and three, as you sent me word, and ten spare ones to take the place of any who die. But how they will find their way, I know not, since none of them have ever been to the coast."

An idea occurred to Alan, who had small faith in Jeeki's "Ma" as a messenger.

"The Ogula prisoners could show them," he said, "at any rate as far as the forest, and after that they could find out. May they not go, Asika?"

"If you will," she answered carelessly. "Let them be ready to start to-morrow, at the dawn, all except their chief, Fahni, who must stop here as a hostage. I do not trust those Ogula, who more than once have threatened to make war upon us," she added; then turned and bade the priests bring in the bearers to receive their instructions.

Presently they came, picked men all of them, under the command of an Asiki captain, and with them the Ogula, whom she summoned also.

"Go where the white lord sends you," she said in an indifferent voice, "carrying with you these packages. I do not know where it is, but these man-eaters will show you some of the way, and if you fail in the business and live to come back again, you shall be sacrificed to Bonsa at the next feast; if you run away, then your wives and children shall be sacrificed. Food shall be given you for your journey, and gold to buy more when it is done. Now, Vernoon, tell them what they have to do."

So Alan, or rather Jeeki, told them, and these directions were so long and minute, that before they were finished Asika grew tired of listening and went away, saying as she passed the captain of the company,

"Remember my words, man, succeed or die, but of your land and its secrets say nothing."

"I hear," answered the captain, prostrating himself.

That night Alan summoned the Ogula and spoke to them through Jeeki in their own language. At first they declared that they would not leave their chief, preferring to stay and die with him.

"Not so," said Fahni, "go, my children, that I may live. Go and gather the tribe, all the thousands of them who are men and can fight, and bring them up to attack Asiki-land, to rescue me if I am still alive, or to avenge me if I am dead. As for those bearers, do them no harm, but send them on to the coast with the white man's goods."

So in the end the Ogula said that they would go, and when Alan woke up on the following morning, he was informed that they and the Asiki porters had already departed upon their journey. Then he dismissed the matter from his mind, for to tell the truth he never expected to hear of them any more.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ALAN FALLS ILL.

After the departure of the messengers a deep melancholy fell upon Alan, who was sure that he had now no further hope of communicating with the outside world. Bitterly did he reproach himself for his folly in having ever journeyed to this hateful place in order to secure—what? About £100,000 worth of gold which, of course,

he never would secure, as it would certainly vanish or be stolen on its way to the coast. For this gold he had become involved in a dreadful complication which would cost him much misery and, sooner or later, life itself, since he could not marry that beautiful savage, Asika, and if he refused her she would certainly kill him in her outraged pride and fury.

Day by day she sent for him, and when he came, assumed a new character, that of a woman humbled by a sense of her own ignorance, which she was anxious to amend. So he must play the rôle of tutor to her, telling her of civilised peoples, their laws, customs, and religions, and instructing her how to write and read. She listened and learned submissively enough, but all the while Alan felt as one might who is called upon to teach tricks to a drugged panther. The drug in this case was her passion for him, which appeared to be very genuine. But when it passed off, or when he was obliged to refuse her, what, he wondered, would happen then?

Anxiety and confinement told on him far more than all the hardships of his journey. His health ran down, he began to fall ill. Then, as bad luck would have it, walking in that damp, unhealthy cedar garden out of which he might not stray, he contracted the germ of some kind of fever which in autumn was very common in this poisonous climate. Three days later he became delirious, and for a week after that hung between life and death. Well was it for him that his medicine chest still remained intact, and that, recognizing his own symptoms before his head gave way, he was able to instruct Jeeki what drugs to give him at the different stages of the disease.

For the rest his memories of that dreadful illness always remained very vague. He had visions of Jeeki and of a robed woman whom he knew to be the Asika, bending over him continually. Also it seemed to him that from time to time he was talking with Barbara, which even then he knew must be absurd, for how could they talk across thousands of miles of land and sea.

At length his mind cleared suddenly, and he awoke as from a nightmare to find himself lying in the hall or room where he had always been, feeling quite cool and without pain, but so weak that it was an effort to him to lift his hand. He stared about him, and was astonished to see the white head of Jeeki rolling uneasily to and fro upon the cushions of another bed near by.

"Jeeki," he said, "are you ill, too, Jeeki?"

At the sound of that voice his retainer started up violently.

"What, Major, you awake?" he said. "Then thanks be to all gods, white and black, yes, and yellow too, for I thought your goose cooked. No, no, Major, I not ill, only Asika say so. You go to bed, so she make me go to bed. You get worse, she treat me cruel; you seem better, she stuff me with food till I burst. All because you tell her that you and I die same day. Oh Lord! poor Jeeki think his end very near just now, for he know quite well that she not let him breathe ten minutes after you peg out. Jeeki never pray so hard for anyone before as he pray this week for you, and by Jingo! I think he do the trick, he and that medicine stuff, which make him feel very bad in stomach," and he groaned as under the weight of his many miseries.

Weak as he was, Alan began to laugh, and that laugh seemed to do him more good than any thing that he could remember, for after it he was sure that he would recover.

Just then an agonized whisper reached him from Jeeki.

"Look out!" it said, "here come Asika. Go sleep and seem better, Major, please, or I catch it hot."

So Alan almost shut his eyes and lay still. In another moment she was standing over him, and he noticed that her hair was dishevelled and her eyes were red as though with weeping. She scanned him intently for a little while, then passed round to where Jeeki lay and appeared to pinch his ear so hard that he wriggled and uttered a stifled groan.

"How is your lord, dog?" she whispered.

"Better, O Asika, I think that last medicine do us good, though it make me very sick inside. Just now he spoke to me and said that he hoped your heart was not sad because of him, and that all this time in his dreams he had seen and thought of nobody but you, O Asika."

"Did he?" asked that lady, becoming intensely interested. "Then tell me, dog, why is he ever calling upon one Bar-bar-a? Surely that is a woman's name?"

"Yes, O Asika, that is the name of his mother, also of one of his sisters, whom, after you, he loves best of anyone in the whole world. When you are here he talks of them, but when you are not here he talks of no one but you. Although he is so sick, he remembers white man's custom which tells him that it is very wrong to say sweet things to lady's face till he is quite married to her. After that they say them always."

She looked at him suspiciously, and muttering,

"Here it is otherwise. For your own sake, man, I trust that you do not lie," left him, and, drawing a stool up beside Alan's bed, sat herself down and examined him carefully, touching his face and hands with her long thin fingers. Then noting how white and wasted he was, of a sudden she began to weep, saying between her sobs,

"Oh! if you should die, Vernoon, I will die also, and be born again, not as Asika, as I have been for so many generations, but as a white woman, that I may be with you. Only first," she added, setting her teeth, "I will sacrifice every wizard in this land, for they have brought the sickness on you by their magic, and I will burn Bonsa-Town and cast its gods to melt in the flames, and the Mungana with them. And then amid their ashes I will let out my life," and again she began to weep very piteously and to call him by endearing names and pray him that he would not die.

Now Alan thought it time to wake up. He opened his eyes, stared at her vacantly, and asked if it were raining, which indeed it might have been, for her big tears were falling on his face. She uttered a gasp of joy.

"No, no," she answered, "the weather is very fine. It is I—I who have rained, because I thought you die." She wiped his forehead with the soft linen of her robe, then went on, "But you will not die; say that you will live, say that you will live for me, Vernoon."

He looked at her, and, feeble though he was, the awfulness of the situation sank into his soul.

"I hope that I shall live," he answered. "I am hungry, please give me some food."

Next instant there was a tumult near by, and when Alan looked up again it was to see Jeeki, very lightly clad, flying through the door.

"It will be here presently," she said. "Oh! if you knew what I have suffered, if you only knew. Now you will recover whom I thought dead, for this fever passes quickly, and there shall be such a sacrifice—no, I forgot, you hate sacrifices—there shall be no sacrifice. There shall be a thanksgiving, and every woman in the land shall break her bonds to husband or to lover, and take him whom she desires without reproach or loss. I will do as I would be done by; that is the law you taught me, is it not?"

This novel interpretation of a sacred doctrine, worthy of Jeeki himself, so paralysed Alan's enfeebled brain that he could make no answer, nor do anything except wonder what would happen in Asiki-land when the decree of its priestess took effect. Then Jeeki arrived with something to drink, which he swallowed with the eagerness of the convalescent, and almost immediately went to sleep in good earnest.

(To be continued.)

KING EDWARD'S FRENCH ANCESTRESS

AMONG the direct ancestresses of King Edward VII is one who, at first sight, seems curiously out of place in the illustrious company with whom her lot was cast. It is somewhat startling to discover on the long list of high-born women from whom he derives his descent, a French "provinciale", a plain Huguenot lady, the daughter of an impoverished country gentleman. This French grandmother of our Hanoverian kings was not above reproach; certain passages in her life are open to criticism, but, taking her all in all, she was an intelligent as well as a beautiful woman, faithful to those whom she loved, charitable to the poor and

of whom not an unkind word or a mean act is recorded. That she was ambitious there is no doubt, but though her extraordinary rise in life may have dazzled her at the outset, it eventually cost her much suffering and, in her lonely old age, her husband dead and her only child a prisoner, the "parvenue" Duchess may have regretted the more peaceful career that might have been hers in her native province.

In the seventeenth century, there lived in Poitou, between La Rochelle and Niort a country gentleman, named Alexandre Desmier, Lord of Olbreuze. His family had for the last six hundred years occupied an honourable position in the country, but, when our story opens, its fortunes were on the decline: the Desmier de' Olbreuze were zealous Huguenots and had suffered severely during the religious wars of the sixteenth century. By his first wife Jacqueline Poussard de Vaudre, Alexandre d' Olbreuze had several children. Eleonore, the subject of this sketch, was born on January 3rd 1639, at her father's manor house of Olbreuze, near Usseau; she was one of a numerous family and was reared in the habits of homely simplicity that reigned in remote provinces like Poitou. The girl grew up beautiful and intelligent, with a sunny joyousness of temper that was irresistibly fascinating. Her charming personality attracted the attention of the Princess de Tarente, wife of Henri de la Tremoille, one of the great nobles of his day; it was usual at that time for young women of good birth and reduced fortunes to belong to the household of some great lady and Eleonore's family considered her fortunate when in 1662, the Princess engaged the handsome "Poitevine" as her companion.

The Princess was by birth a German, the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; her husband like herself, was a Huguenot and therefore all the more interested in the daughter of Alexandre Desmier.

When at the age of twenty-three, Eleonore accompanied her mistress to Cassel, then to Holland, where the Prince took service in the Dutch army, she little thought that she was bidding her native country a lifelong adieu. In Germany she met her fate; among the illustrious personages who crossed her path, were three brothers of the house of Brunswick, the sons of George, Duke of Lünebourg, head of the house of Guelfe.

The elder of the three, George William, was handsome and dissipated, the second John Frederick devoted to philosophical pursuits, the third, Ernest Augustus, who became Elector of Hanover, intelligent and ambitious. He had married Sophia, the daughter of the King of Bohemia and of Elizabeth Stuart, sister to Charles I of England, the "Queen of hearts."

Two of the Guelfe princes, George William and John Frederick fell in love with the handsome maid of honour whose Gallic wit and liveliness contrasted with their countrywomen's more stolid temperament. John Frederick was satisfied with writing her long letters, but the impetuous George William followed her to Holland and in 1664, implored her to consent to a morganatic marriage, his position as a sovereign prince preventing him from acknowledging a commoner as his wife.

Eleonore declined to give an immediate reply, but the proposal was a tempting one for the penniless daughter of an obscure country gentleman. Moreover, the death of her mother and her father's second marriage had loosened her home ties and the Princess of Tarente strongly urged her to yield to the prayers of her princely suitor. We are told that in 1665, on Eleonore's twenty-sixth birthday, her mistress gave a fete in her honour and presented her with a locket containing the portrait of the enamoured Duke.

While Mdlle d'Olbreuze hesitated, George William succeeded to the Duchy of Celle and, in consequence, hastened back to Germany, whence he wrote to Eleonore, begging her to join him. This she ended by doing, and in September 1665, she arrived at Osnabruck, where Duchess Sophia, the wife of Ernest Augustus, received her. Sophia became, in after years, our heroine's bitterest enemy, but in those early days she, like the rest, was captivated by Eleonore's face and manners. Mdlle d'Olbreuze, she writes, does not speak much, but "very pleasantly" and she describes the new comer as tall, beautiful and fascinating.

On arriving at Osnabruck, Eleonore was convinced that the Duke of Celle meant to abide by his previous proposal of a morganatic marriage and she had decided to fall

in with his plans; great then was her disappointment and bitter her humiliation when he explained that he now considered even a morganatic marriage impossible. What he proposed was to bind himself by a written contract to treat Eleonore in private as his wife and to leave her a suitable provision in the event of his death, but no ceremony, however secret, could, he argued, take place. The girl, in whom the loose maxims of the day had not stifled her childhood's teaching, was at first genuinely distressed, but, from interested motives, the Electress Sophia urged her to consent to what the Court ladies were pleased to call a "marriage of conscience"; moreover Eleonore was flattered and touched by the Duke's attachment and she finally yielded to his pleading.

A contract was drawn up in which George William stated that he had decided never to marry and therefore to leave his inheritance to the children of his brother, Ernest Augustus, but that Mdlle d'Olbreuze, having promised to live with him as his wife, he pledged himself to be faithful to her. This curious document was duly signed by George William, Eleonore, Ernest Augustus and his wife; the latter's dream of the Guelfe possessions being one day united in her son's favour now seemed, thanks to our heroine's moral weakness, likely to become a reality.

"Madame de Harbourg", as Eleonore was called, accepted her equivocal position with apparent satisfaction.

"I am the happiest woman in the world," she writes to M. de Genebat, a friend of her family, "it is mutual consent that really makes a marriage. His Highness has pledged his faith to me in the presence of his relations who signed the contract in which he promises to have no wife but me."

On September 15th, 1666, she gave birth to a daughter, the hapless Sophia Dorothea who by rights should have worn the crown matrimonial of Great Britain.

If anything could redeem our heroine's error in consenting to a "marriage of conscience" that was in reality no marriage at all, it is the wise influence she exercised over George William. From being careless and dissipated, he became "a model of constancy" and, for the first time, he devoted much attention to the affairs of his duchy. Even the duchess Sophia owns that this improvement made "devout people consider that an attachment that had such good results constituted a real marriage in the eyes of God."

For Eleonore's sake, the Duke restored the Castle of Celle on a splendid scale; to please her, he made welcome a number of French refugees; he was proud of her beauty and of the brilliant conversational powers, the heritage of her race, that enlivened the dullness of a small German Court and, in the end, his desire to vindicate her good name, to strengthen her position and to legitimatise her child, made him consent to the marriage ceremony that, eleven years before, he had declared to be impossible.

In April 1676, after long negotiations and with the consent of the Emperor, the Duke of Celle married "Madame de Harbourg" and shortly afterwards their daughter was betrothed to Prince Augustus of Wolfenbüttel.

From that moment, the Electress Sophia's patronage of Eleonore changed to bitter hatred: the daughter of the Stuart kings was ready to stand by the obscure "demoiselle" for whose sake her brother-in-law renounced all hopes of a princely alliance, but when the beautiful French girl developed into a capable woman and became lady of the land, matters assumed a different aspect. In after years, Sophia's aversion and jealousy towards the mother went far to wreck the daughter's life, but for the time being the "parvenue" Duchess tasted the sweets of power to her heart's content.

Since, the Duke of Celle had, through his wife's influence, become interested in politics, his importance considerably increased and even Louis XIV, during his endless struggle with Austria, found it convenient to pay some attention to a sovereign whose alliance was worth securing. So highly indeed did the "Roi Soleil" value Eleonore's good will that he graciously recognized her marriage and sent her a costly present of diamonds, much to the displeasure of the Electress Sophia, who spitefully wondered why the magnificent French monarch chose to honour a plain "demoiselle" from Poitou. In further recognition of the Duchess's good offices, Louis XIV bestowed on the envoys of Celle at his Court the rank of ambassadors, other Governments followed his lead and the French Duchess was justly credited with having

raised the status of her adopted country in the diplomatic world.

Her tiny Court was magnificently appointed and the Italian traveller Gregorio Leti, is loud in his praise of the furniture, horses and carriages, the beauty of the gardens and, above all, of Eleonore's social talents and excellent taste; she seems to have invested her German surroundings with her own graceful charm. A number of her countrymen, chiefly Huguenots, had come to Celle at her invitation, bringing with them a faint aroma of courtly and cultured Versailles. Strange to say, the chief military appointments of the duchy were given to Frenchmen: Jérémie Chauvet, Messieurs de Beauregard, de Launay, de Ridonet, de Boisdavid, de Suzannet, de Lescours, de Vaux, de Malortie, de Boisclair, de la Fortiere, de Vergne, de Pouguet, Henri Desmier d'Olbreuze, our heroine's half brother, filled important posts; the Marquise d'Olbreuze, the Marquise de la Rochegiffart, Mesdemoiselles de la Motte, de Charriard and de la Fortiere were ladies in waiting to the Duchess. The descendants of many of these refugees may, to this day, be traced in the country where they were hospitably made welcome. The Duke shared his wife's partiality for everything French; and he and his brother together paid the expenses of a company of French actors, who alternately resided at Hanover or at Celle.

The revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 and the persecution of the French Huguenots that followed, somewhat cooled the friendship that mutual convenience had formed between Louis XIV and the sovereign of Celle; George William and his Duchess bitterly resented the French King's refusal to exempt Eleonore's relations from the pains and penalties that they incurred as protestants and, having failed in their attempt to improve the social condition of their "Poitevin" cousins, they extended still more lavish hospitality to the French refugees. On one occasion, it was noticed that at a State banquet at Celle, the duke was the only German present and he found himself obliged to answer the criticisms of his countrymen by protesting that the French invasion in no way diminished his devotion to his fatherland.

So far, Eleonore's career may be said to have been a successful one; she had attained a position to which, in her wildest dreams, the dowerless daughter of Alexandre Desmier could not have aspired, but the second half of her life was marked by acute suffering and her trials began with the marriage of her only child.

Although Duke George William had unwisely bound himself to leave his territorial possessions to his brother's children, he was prepared to bestow a large fortune on his daughter, who ranked as an heiress as well as a beauty. Her betrothed, the prince of Wolfenbüttel, died when she was ten years old and since then several princes had sought her hand.

Sophia Dorothea had inherited her mother's tall figure, dazzling complexion and large, dark eyes. She was intelligent and well educated, impulsive and warm-hearted, headstrong, gay and lively; evidently there was more of the French than of the German element in her composition. The princes of Sweden, Denmark, and Nassau wished to marry her, but none of these suitors were encouraged by her uncle, the Elector Ernest Augustus. He and his wife were fearful that this neice's husband might reject the renunciation signed before his marriage by Duke George, and thus destroy their cherishcd scheme of uniting under one head, the possessions of the house of Guelfe and, to avoid this, they worked to bring about an alliance between their only son George Louis and his first cousin.

Over and over again, the Electress had expressed her contempt for the French "parnenue" and her child, but political ambition proved the stronger passion and both she and her husband resolutely worked on the Duke of Celle's naturally weak character.

To Eleonore, the scheme was distasteful; she knew that the cold, selfish George Louis, with his low taste and morbid reserve, was no mate for her handsome high-spirited child, whose French blood and breeding unfitted her for the life that lay before her at the Elector's Court, but her objections were overruled and she had to yield to the inevitable. "I imitate her pretended satisfaction" writes d'Arcy the French envoy, to whom the Duchess had confided her misgivings.

The marriage took place on December 2nd, 1682. The bride was only sixteen, the

bridegroom six years older. Ten months later, in October, 1683, a son, the future George II of Great Britain was born to them, but even then Sophia Dorothea's married life was a miserable failure. The prince openly neglected his wife and spent his time in the company of Melusina von Schulenberg and the Countess Platen, who, many years later, acquired an unenviable notoriety in England as Duchess of Kendall and Lady Darlington. Sophia Dorothea was not of a submissive and uncomplaining nature; she sought, at first, to forget her matrimonial troubles: in the winter of 1685, she joined her husband and his father at Venice, and, like a child let loose, flung herself into a vortex of amusement. Then, when, after the birth of her daughter, who eventually became Queen of Prussia, her life at Hanover became intolerable, she openly expressed her detestation of her husband's favourites. Remembering the kindly and courteous French refugees, among whom her childhood had been spent, she often exclaimed—"I would be happier as a Marquise at the French Court than as the wretched princess of Hanover." Hanover being at that time at war with France, her impetuous speech was construed into an expression of hatred towards her husband's country! Even her children were taken from her and the Electress Sophia alone had a voice in their education.

The final catastrophy that made Sophia Dorothea a lifelong prisoner is one of those mysterious historical dramas that have not been and probably never will be satisfactorily explained. The papers that might throw a light upon the matter have unaccountably disappeared, but from the slight evidence that is forthcoming, the unfortunate princess seems more sinned against than sinning.

During the winter of 1688, there appeared at the Court of Hanover a young nobleman, Count Philip von Konigsmark, whose family had long been on friendly terms with the Duke and Duchess of Celle. He was handsome, chivalrous and brilliant, but his wild life and adventures were well known throughout Germany and his openly professed devotion for the young princess of Hanover was, to say the least of it, imprudent.

When Konigsmark appeared on the scene Sophia Dorothea was smarting nnder her father's refusal to assist her in obtaining a judicial separation from her husband and Count Philip's professions of devotion were all the more welcome. Prince George was at Berlin, but his favourites, who remembered Sophia's biting words of contempt, sent him garbled and distorted versions of her conduct in his absence and laid a stress upon Konigsmark's frequent visits to the Palace. One July day, in 1694, the Count as usual, spent the evening with the princess and her ladies; from the moment he left their presence, he disappeared from mortal view!

Tradition points out a doorway in the Palace of Hanover, where it is said, the princess's champion was stabbed by her husband's orders at the suggestion of Countess Platen.

In vain did Konigsmark's sisters, one of whom Aurura was all powerful at the Saxon Court, summon the Government of Hanover to give some explanation of their brother's disappearance. Their demands were set aside.

Although in an official note to its envoys abroad the same Government thought it fit to state that there was no connection between the "certain coolness" that existed in the heir apparent's "ménage" and the unaccountable disappearance of Philip von Konigsmark, its proceedings belied this statement. Immediately after the tragedy, the princess's papers were seized, her attendants were arrested and she herself sent to the solitary Castle of Ahlden in her father's duchy of Celle to await the decision of the magistrates who were appointed to judge the cause.

The selfish and grasping policy that had promoted the princess's ill starred marriage was again at work to make her a helpless prisoner for the rest of her life. Had the sentence of divorce been given according to the usual forms, she would have, as a protestant, been free to marry again, and in this case her important dowry and her possible claims to her father's duchy would have passed from the house of Hanover. It was therefore decided that on no account must she be set free, and her father's contemptible subservience to his brother's wishes helped to bring about this result.

The official reports of Sophia Dorothea's

cross examination still exist in the archives of Hanover: she owned that her conduct had been "imprudent," that appearances were against her, but she earnestly denied any graver charge. Melle. de Knesebeck, her lady in waiting, although threatened with torture, energetically protested that her mistress was innocent and that she never received Konigsmark except in her attendant's presence.

The princess's judges desired that she should reply in person to the accusations brought against her, but this the Government of Hanover refused to permit: the presence of a young and still beautiful woman, her vehement protests, might have defeated its object. Duke George of Cell had become a mere puppet in his brother's hands, but Eleonore, although she could no longer influence her husband, moved "heaven and earth," says the Hanoverian councillor Hattorf, to secure a fair trial for her daughter. Her efforts, alas, proved vain!

On the 30th of December, 1695, the sentence was issued: the princess was deprived of her fortune, prohibited from marrying again and henceforth she was to be known as the Duchess of Ahlden from the name of the Castle, where at the age of twenty-nine she was immured for the rest of her life.

That the proceedings against Sophia Dorothea were conducted unfairly, seems certain, but it is difficult, the necessary evidence being wanting, to prove this otherwise than by inference; even in the private correspondence of the prolific letter-writer, the Electress Sophia, the letters penned during her daughter-in-law's trial have been suppressed.

Our paper deals with Eleonore d' Olbreuze, rather than with her daughter; time and space forbid us to quote the historical writers, German and English, who, of late years, have endeavoured to unravel the story of the unfortunate consort of our first Hanoverian sovereign.

The blow that shattered Sophia Dorothea's life was fatal to her mother's happiness. Having failed to obtain for her child the fair trial to which she was entitled, Eleonore endeavoured, at least, to comfort the unfortunate princess, who in the full flush of womanhood, beautiful, high spirited, sensitive and generous, was condemned to a living death. At her request, M. de Casacan, a Huguenot minister, visited Ahlden, where he found the prisoner "in despair." Later on, the duchess was allowed to see her daughter at stated intervals; but these visits must have well nigh broken her heart: Sophia Dorothea was treated with unsparing severity: her attendants had to bind themselves by oath to let no one approach her; day and night, she was closely guarded, she could receive neither letters nor visits without the express permission of her father and father-in-law.

Both Eleonore and her daughter made frantic efforts to break the iron bonds that slowly crushed the prisoner's high spirits. In 1698, William III of England visited Cell and the Duchess entreated him to interfere on behalf of the princess, but du Heron, the French envoy, informed his Government that Duke George made his guest understand that he brooked no interference in his domestic affairs. That same year, Sophia Dorothea humbled herself so far as to write to her husband, who, his father being dead, was now Elector of Hanover; after begging his pardon for having displeased him, she asked to be allowed to "embrace her dear children", after this, she adds—"I would die content". She wrote in the same strain to the Electress Sophia, but the answer to both letters was a stern refusal.

Her mother's visits were her only comfort; we are told that the Duchess, on these occasions, wept so abundantly that her eyesight became seriously impaired. It is pleasant to hear that the French "emigrés", among whom Sophia Dorothea had grown up, remained faithful to her in her downfall; in due course of time. they too were allowed to see her and the archives of Hanover mention the Marquise d'Olbreuze, Messieurs de Beauregard, de la Bessiere, de Malortie, de Lescours, de St. Laurent, de Maulevrier, de Pibrac, de Biemont, among those who, at long intervals, were permitted to visit the Duchess of Ahlden.

In 1705, the Duke of Celle died; he had become a mere puppet in the hands of his ambitious sister-in-law and he kept the promise made to his brother that he would never see his daughter again, but although his wife was unable to influence him in the matter that lay nearest her heart, she proved herself to the last a devoted nurse and companion. After his death, she retired to her

dower house at Lünebourg, whence she emerged the following year to be present at her granddaughter's marriage to the Prince royal of Prussia. The father of Frederick the Great, if we may believe his daughter the Margravine de Bairenth, was anything but an amiable character, but he wrote kindly to his unfortunate mother-in-law, who, in her answer thanks him for his "obliging letter" and pathetically alludes to her "sad condition" and to her earnest, but, alas, vain wish, to make acquaintance with her young daughter's bridegroom.

When in 1714, the Elector of Hanover ascended the British throne as George I, to the exclusion of the royal Stuarts, Eleonore and her grand-children, the Prince of Wales and the Queen of Prussia, made a final attempt to break the iron circle that shut out the prisoner of Ahlden from the outer world, but again their efforts proved useless.

Three years later, in 1717, the widowed Duchess asked her son-in-law's permission to remove her residence from Lünebourg to the Palace of Celle, which was nearer Ahlden. Her request was granted and in the home of her brilliant married life, Eleonore spent her declining years. In spite of her increasing infirmities, she continued to visit her daughter, to provide her with books and to write her long letters, that unfortunately have been destroyed or lost. In her days of splendour, the Duchess had been noted for her generosity, and her charitable spirit seemed to increase as time went on, she gave large sums of money to the poor of Celle after carefully inquiring into the merits of each case; even her cousins and dependants in distant Poitou were not forgotten. She had inherited from her father certain lands, the revenues of which she bestowed on her less fortunate relatives.

On February 5th, 1722, Eleonore d'Olbreuze breathed her last, surrounded by the faithful French attendants, whose devotion had brightened the isolation of her old age; even her bitter enemy, the German duchess of Orleans, was struck by the piety and peacefulness of her death: "The Duchess of Celle," she writes, "has made a beautiful end. God grant that mine may be like hers!"

According to her express wish, Eleonore was buried without any pomp in the Church of Celle. She bequeathed her fortune to her grand-children, with the life interest to their mother, to whom she left her jewels, furniture and her property in Poitou. Sophia Dorothea was not allowed to attend her mother's death-bed, but the lengthy business letters that she wrote to Chapuzot, Eleonore's French "intendant," prove with what attention and care she strove to carry out her parent's wishes. Another letter, written to Ramdohr, one of her business advisers, gives us an insight into the workings of the prisoner's mind. We gather that, after some years of acute suffering, Sophia Dorothea had bowed in submission to God's Higher Will. After alluding to the birth of her first grandchild, she writes: "Divine Providence has provided for my children. It will also provide for their mother as is best for her. I trust all that concerns me to Its care. I could not be in safer hands." Twenty years later, on the 3rd of November, 1726, the princess resigned her weary spirit into the Divine Hands, whom she had learnt to trust. The States of Hanover expressed a desire that she should be buried as a sovereign's daughter, but George I, declared that the Duchess of Ahlden was a stranger for whom no official mourning should be worn and Sophia's coffin was quietly laid by that of her mother in the Guelfe chapel at Celle.

One year later, when George I was visiting Hanover, a letter was put into his hands, in which the wife he had so cruelly treated summoned him to meet her at the judgment seat of God before the year was out! On reading the lines, he was struck with apoplexy and shortly afterwards, on the 11th of June, 1727, he expired, leaving the memory of a man, in whose character it is difficult to discover one single redeeming virtue.

Two years later, Eleonore's lands in Poitou were sold by her grandchildren, George II and the Queen of Prussia, to one of their relatives, the Chevalier de Gagemont, but although their connection with France was severed, our Hanoverian Kings remembered and willingly acknowledged their French parentage. When the Revolutionary outbreak drove thousands of "emigres" to England, those, who like the Demoiselles de ST. Hermine were able to prove their re-

lationship to the British sovereign, received important gifts of money. Another refugee, the Baron de Guilhermy, whose wife Melle. de Lambertye was descended from Héléne d'Olbreuze, Marquise de Lescours, our heroine's sister, was on cordial terms with the Duke of Kent. We have had occasion to peruse the royal Duke's kindly letters to his French cousin, letters that are treasured to this day by the "emigré's" descendants.

The illustrious women, Empresses, Queens, Electresses and Princesses, from whom His Majesty Edward VII derives his descent, might possibly consider the French "parvenue" much in the same light as she was regarded by the haughty Electress Sophia, but to us, the contrast between her obscure birth and her sovereign rank, no less than her talent and beauty, her faithfulness to her friends, her charity to the poor and above all, her martyrdom as a mother, render Eleonore Desmier d'Olbreuze, Duchess of Celle, an interesting and, in some respects, a sympathetic character.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

BUDDHISM IN BENGAL—HOW IT CAME TO DISAPPEAR

THE gradual decline and ultimate disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth must strike every oriental scholar as an inexplicable puzzle, destined to perpetuate learned controversies about the *real cause*.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri, late Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and a distinguished member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, hazarded an opinion in the following words:—

"Whatever might have been the fate of Buddhism in other parts of India, in the Provinces of Eastern India, it had to suffer serious persecutions; may, it may be said, that Buddhism was expelled from Eastern India by fire and sword."*

This opinion appears to be based more upon the use of disreputable epithets (to be found in Brahmanical literature) against the Buddhists by calling them "thieves and robbers," than upon tangible facts of history. But better proofs may be still available in North Bengal to throw doubt upon the correctness of this learned opinion.

Bengal was one of the well-known nurseries of the Mahâyâna School of Buddhism, which introduced and established on a firm footing, a system of image-worship of the Buddhas and Bodhisattwas, and thereby secured a strong popular support, as strong as could be reasonably conceived.

Buddhist kings of the Pala dynasty ruled over the Eastern Provinces of India as Lord Protectors of this faith, until the kings of the Sena dynasty came to gain a partial supremacy over some parts of the country. Fire and sword could, therefore, get a chance only during the short ascendancy of the Sena kings, before they were driven back by the Moslems.

Have we any proofs to support the theory of fire and sword during this short interval? The Sena kings were, undoubtedly, staunch supporters of the Brahminical revival, that was then going on in all parts of India. But were they really so blind to their own interests as to exasperate their Buddhist subjects with fire and sword?

Bijaya Sena Deva, the first monarch of this dynasty, could not achieve more than a partial occupation of Varendra, where he is said to have flourished according to the account left by his son and successor, Ballala Sena Deva, in the preface of his great work, the *Danasagara*. He too could not subjugate the whole country, although he is credited with the conquest and rebuilding of the historic city of Gauda. His son, King Lakshmana, embellished the city of his father, and established a kingdom, which was soon after dismembered by the Moslem invasion.

If any of the Sena kings had a real chance of expelling the Buddhists by fire and sword, he could be no other than King Lakshmana. But we have some proofs, still available in North Bengal,—something better than a

* J. A. S. B., Vol., LXIV. p. 55.

mere conjecture,—to show that his attitude towards Buddhism could not have been absolutely hostile.

Purushottama Deva, a celebrated Buddhist Scholar of the day, was employed by King Lakshmana to compile a new edition of the Paninian grammar, which still goes by the name of *Bhasavritti*. The name discloses the secular character of the compilation, and the work itself discloses the fact that it was concerned only with the non-Vedic rules of Panini's Grammar. The annotator, Sristidhar Acharya, gives us the motive for the compilation of non-Vedic rules alone. He says,—the Vedic ceremonies having died out, King Lakshmana ordered Purushottama Deva to compile only the non-Vedic portions of Panini's Grammar evidently with the object of expunging all unnecessary rules.* The attitude disclosed by this, can hardly support the theory of fire and sword.

We have also the words of King Lakshmana himself, inscribed in one of his numerous copper-plate grants, to show that rent-free lands used to be still given to Buddhist temples. In a copper-plate grant, discovered in North Bengal, we have the following:—

"Bounded on the East by the Eastern *ail* of the rent-free *aman* and given to the God Buddha-Bihari, which is sown with an *arha* of seed."†

Buddhist images, votive chaityas, caves, and stupas are still visible in many places in North Bengal,—nowhere associated with signs, or local traditions, of persecution by fire and sword.

A chaitya of this description was removed by Mr. Westmacott, a former Collector of Dinajpur, who also testified to the "singularly perfect" nature of Buddhist carvings still preserved in "Jogigupha" in the Rajshahi Division. ‡

* Bhasavrittyartha-vivriti.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 1.

‡ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 187.

That Buddhism declined and entirely disappeared, not only from the Eastern Provinces, but also from all Provinces of India, is an undeniable fact. But the reason seems to lie in the introduction of re-constituted Hinduism, under which Buddha came to be worshipped and acknowledged as an *avatar* of Visnu; and this happy device must have made the use of fire and sword unnecessary.

A four-handed female image of stone, with a short inscription at the foot to show that it represented the Tara of the Buddhists, has recently been dragged out from obscurity, from a village in Bogra, by Babu Rajendra Lal Acharya, Sub-Deputy Collector, who has also been fortunate enough to discover a stone slab, with inscriptions on both sides, illustrating the methods of adaptation, by which later Buddhism must have been assimilated by the Hindu revival.

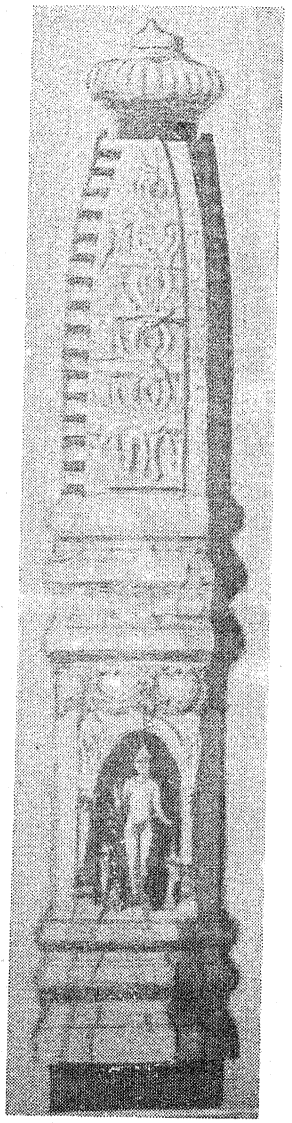
On the obverse, the figure of Buddha will be seen to have been converted into that of Narayana, by the addition of two more hands, holding *gada* and *padma*. But the figure over head, bathed by an elephant on either side, corresponding exactly with the design found on the Eastern gate of the Sanchi tope, reveals the Buddhist origin of the stone-slab. Similar conversions of Buddhistic images are available to testify to the spirit of toleration and adaptation which characterised the Hindu revival, and which, in one sense, may be called the final transformation of the Buddhism of the Mahâyâna School.

On the reverse, is visible a lotus, the usual Buddhist emblem, with ten petals, in each of which is inscribed an *avatar*-image of Visnu, including that of Buddha.

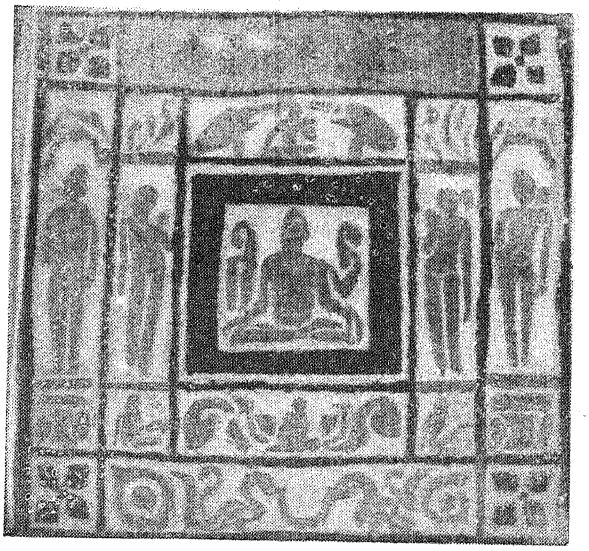
It is perhaps this spirit of adaptation to which we must direct our investigations, before we commit ourselves to any theory of persecution by fire and sword.

AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA.

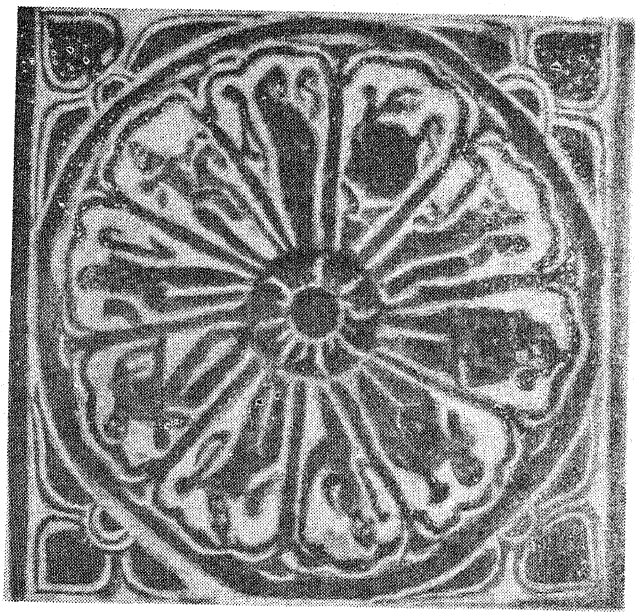
There come high-tide moments in all lives when contemplating some heroic deed, when our ears are filled with the bugle notes of a great inspiration, when the vitalizing words of some great thinker or teacher reach our soul through our eyes with a message of illumination. We then see our life in new perspective; the pettiness and emptiness of living on low levels shame the soul out of self-complacency, and we seem to see wondrous visions of our possibilities, glimpses of what we might become. It is a coming face to face with our higher self that may transform our lives for all the years if we only will. Let us realize our possibilities, make them real, vital, growing, not uselessly held as a warm living seed may rest for years in the dead hand of a mummy. Realizing possibilities is the soul of optimism, and optimism is the soul of living.



A CHAITYA (DINAJPUR).



BUDDHIST STONE IMAGE (BOGRA) *Obverse.*



BUDDHIST STONE IMAGE (BOGRA) *Reverse.*



HON. W. J. BRYAN.

THE POLITICAL ISSUES IN THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF THE UNITED STATES

1. William Jennings Bryan.

WITH intense dramatic force and electric response from the great throng at the National Convention Hall in Denver, the name of William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, was announced as a Democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Mr. Bryan was nominated on the Democratic ticket for the third time on July 10, 1908. Judging by the great uproar of applause which swept the delegates to their feet at the first public mention of his name before the national convention, the overwhelming margin by which the nomination went to him on the first ballot, and the tone of the subsequent newspapers, Mr. Bryan's popularity is today far more increased in spite of his failures to lead his party to victory in 1896 and 1900. Those people and papers which fought hard against Mr. Bryan on the previous occasions have now offered their unanimous support. Judge Parker, the nominee of the last campaign, and Governor Johnson, another Democratic candidate for 1908, have agreed to support Mr. Bryan.

The "New York Times" of July 16, publishes a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the anti-Imperialist League recommending that the friends of the league withold their votes from William H. Taft for President and support William Jennings Bryan. The statement says in part:—

"We believe in the Constitution of the United States. It gives the President and Congress certain limited powers, and secures to every man within the jurisdiction of our Government certain essential rights. We deny that either the President or Congress can govern any person anywhere outside the Constitution.

Because we thus believe, we recommend our friends and fellow-citizens to withhold their votes from William H. Taft, who stands upon the Republican platform which denies independence to the Philippine Islands and looks to local 'home' rule as the only goal to be attained.

So, as long as these islands are held as possessions in defiance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and without Constitutional authority, the United States is pledged to the tremendous task of fortifying them and of their defence in time of war, while they remain a continuous menace to American labor and American industry."

The statement concludes:—

"Though other ways of opposing the attitude of Mr. Taft may be welcomed, it is obvious that the direct support of Mr. Bryan is an effective means of rebuking imperialism, because of his sincerity and his earnest purpose to secure to the Philippinos their independence, and because he stands upon a platform which meets upon this vital issue our unqualified approval."

For a view of the situation at a longer range, which serves to eliminate confusing details, I will place before my Indian readers the leading political principles of Mr. William Jennings Bryan.

For the last ten years Mr. Bryan has raised his voice on the true Democratic principle contained within the American Constitution.

Mr. Bryan made the first campaign in 1896. He was then 36 years of age and he is now 48. All these years he has not held any public office, but he has been constantly before the public as a party leader and a great expounder of questions and issues from the standpoint of the Democratic party. He has made a steady growth in influencing and moulding the public opinion and in winning the popular goodwill by virtue of his two professions which he has been carrying on. His main work has been that of a platform lecturer, in which capacity he has been almost everywhere in the country speaking to large audiences often upon subjects not of a controversial sort, and by his eloquence and tact dispelling that great prejudice against him that had survived from the fight on the free silver question. Then as a writer, and as editor of his weekly paper the "Commoner," he has been in constant touch with his

political followers and kept before the public the high standard of Democracy which this Great Republic represents. He is now a necessity to the people as a political teacher; he is more in demand as a speaker than ever before, and his readiness and skill as an orator have greatly increased.

Since 1896, Mr. Bryan has been spoken of as "Radical," "impossible," "visionary", and sometimes as "dangerous," but now he is not so dangerous as Roosevelt, the head of the Republican party. Curiously enough, Mr. Roosevelt, emboldened by his second election, virtually incorporated all the principles which Mr. Bryan has been teaching all these years. Never before has such profound surprise and indignation been manifested among the Republicans and the privileged class, as was aroused by the strong advocacy of all Bryan-Democratic reforms, and a still stronger determination to carry out these reforms, by President Roosevelt.

Mr. Bryan, a statesman and a keen politician, has been constantly before the American people since his famous speech of "The Cross of Gold and the Crown of Thorns." It was Mr. Bryan who spoke out so forcibly that Labor has been crucified on a Golden Cross; it is through his great political principles of Democracy that he hopes to bridge the wide gulf between Labor and Capital. From the moment he raised in protest the "Cross of Gold," Bryan has been seriously the leader of the Democratic party. He has encountered serious opposition from his own party; he has fought, not with organized methods, but with democracy; he has appealed to the members, and directly to the people themselves. "Like Roosevelt and Hughes, La Follete and Folk, (f. n. l.), Bryan has wielded the power of public opinion. To have and to hold this power he has gone up and down this land day in and day out, year after year, teaching and preaching, pleading, debating, defending; he has been watched, criticised, lauded, but best of all—he has been defeated and defeated and defeated." A veteran Democrat, a physician and an educator of maturity, once remarked to the writer with solemn conviction, that Mr. Bryan has done greater work by being out of the Presidency than he would have done otherwise.

And he is unmoved and unchanged as much as his organization. It hates and dreads Mr. Bryan as much as the regular Republican hates and fears Roosevelt. Mr. Bryan is the acknowledged leader of his party, and all the world admits that he "is a loyal leader, sincere, true to his principles, courageous, patient and full of hope."

Mr. Bryan as a reformer stands for that Great Ideal of American Democracy which has been lowered in many ways. Rank selfishness, the unlimited privilege of the monied class and their ultimate control of the government and the economical destiny of the nation, has been the chief result. Never before, perhaps, did the nation realise to such an extent the great power of the monied class over the government, the predatory wealth, and the utter degradation and poverty of the laboring class as now. No sooner did Mr. Roosevelt in his position as chief magistrate of the nation, advocate in his message to the people the Inter-State Commerce Commission, the prosecution of John D. Rockefeller and threaten the prosecution of E. H. Harriman, than the whole country was seized with a sickening financial panic, far outshining any previous financial depression.

According to Mr. Bryan, the chief evil is that the measure of success has been great, and the method by which the money has been acquired was never taken into consideration. Hence the lowering of American ideals, which has led to the debauching of society as well as to the corruption of politics—society in its larger sense; society in the social, political and business sense; all the relations between man and man. Political life can hardly be separated from social and economic life; if man is corrupt in part, he is apt to be wrong all through. It is this ideal which has led to extravagance; to gambling in business; to corruption of politics; and lastly, to the corruption of Government—Government being used as an asset in business. Mr. Bryan believes in individual action, and that each one can do his part in raising the ideal of the nation. He is himself a strong individualist, and lays great stress upon the moral responsibility of each man and woman, but he sees and recognizes the influence of the conditions of life both in causes and cures.

What Mr. W. J. Bryan and the Democratic party stand for:

A Government "of the people, by the people and for the people," with the Democratic maxim of "Equal rights to all and privileges to none."

Initiative referendum:

(1) Election of the United States Senators by direct vote of the people. This reform is regarded as the gateway to all national reforms.

(2) The Government control of private monopolies; enforcement of the criminal law against trusts and trust magnates; and the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

(3) Tariff reform—immediate revision of the tariff by the reduction of import duties. Articles entering into competition with articles controlled by trusts should be placed upon the free list.

(4) The introduction of an income tax as part of the revenue system and the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect a tax upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burden of the Federal Government. A national inheritance tax to reach the "swollen fortunes" already in existence.

(5) The right of Congress to exercise complete control over inter-state commerce.

(6) The Postal Savings Bank, and national control of the banks of private depositors.

(7) Eight hours labor a day.

(8) Full protection by both national and state governments of all foreigners, but opposition to the admission of British emigrants who cannot be amalgamated with the native population.

(9) Opposition to the experiment in Imperialism as an incurable blunder which has involved the nation in enormous expense, brought out weakness instead of strength, and laid the nation open to the charge of abandoning the doctrine of self-government.

Favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands.

In the July issue of "Collier's" magazine, Mr. Bryan gives his "Conception of the Presidency" in the following words:

"The President's power for good or for harm is often overestimated. Our government is a government of checks and balances; power is distributed among different departments, and each official works in co-operation with others. In the making of laws, for instance, the President joins with the Senate and the House; he may recommend, but he is powerless to legislate, except as a majority of the Senate and the House concur with him. The Senate and the House are also independent of each other, each having a veto over the other; and the President has a veto over both; except that the Senate and the House can, by a two-thirds vote, override the President's veto. The influence of the President over legislation is, therfore, limited; he shares responsibility with a large number of the people's representatives.

Even in the enforcement of law he is hedged about by restrictions. He acts through an Attorney-General (whose appointment must be approved by the Senate), and offenders against the law must be prosecuted in the courts, so that here again the responsibility is divided. In the making of important appointments, too, he must consult the Senate, and is, of necessity, compelled to exercise care and discretion. The most important requisite in a President, as in other officials, is that his sympathy shall be with the whole people, rather than with any fraction of the population. He is constantly called upon to act in the capacity of judge, deciding between the importunities of those who seek favors and the rights and interests of the public. Unless his sympathies are right, the few are sure to have an advantage over the many; for, the masses have no one to present their claims. They act only at elections; and must trust to their representives to protect them from all their foes.

Second, the President must have a knowledge of public questions and the ability to discern between the true and the false; he must be able to analyze conditions and to detect the sophistries that are always employed by those who seek unfair advantages.

He must possess the moral courage to stand against the influences that are brought to bear in favor of special interests. In fact, the quality of moral courage is as essential in a public official as either right sympathies or a trained mind.

A President must have counselors, and, to make wise use of counselors, he must be open to conviction. *The President is committed by his platform to certain policies, and the platform is binding;* he is also committed to certain principles of Government, and these he is in duty bound to apply in all matters that come before him. But there is a wide zone in which he must act upon his own judgment, and here he ought to have the aid of intelligent, conscientious, and faithful advisers. The law provides these, to a certain extent, in giving him a Cabinet, and *the vice-president ought to be made a member of the Cabinet ex-officio, in order, first, that the president may have the benefit of his wisdom and knowledge of affairs and, second, that the vice-president may be better prepared to take up the work of the President in case of a vacancy in the presidential office. There ought to be cordial relations also between the President*

and those who occupy positions of influence in the co-ordinate branches of the Government, for our Government is not a one-man government, but a Government in which the chosen representatives of the people labor together to give expression to the will of the voters.

But the Presidency is the highest position in the world, and its occupant is an important factor in all national matters. If he is a devout believer in our theory of Government, *recognises the constitutional distribution of powers*, trusts thoroughly in the people and fully sympathizes with them in their aspirations and hopes, he has an opportunity to do a splendid work: he occupies a vantage ground from which he can exert a wholesome influence in favor of each forward movement.

The responsibilities of the office are so great that the occupant ought to be relieved of every personal ambition, save the ambition to prove worthy of the confidence of his countrymen; for this reason, he ought to enter the position without thought or prospect of a second term.

While the burdens of such an office are heavy, and while the labors of the office are exacting and exhausting, the field of service is large, and, measuring greatness by service, a president, by consecrating himself to the public weal, can make himself secure in the affections of his fellow citizens while he lives, and create for himself a permanent place in his nation's history."

In the next two articles I intend to take up the Republican party and its nominee and the Socialist party, its history and its significance.

NEW YORK. G. MUKERJI.

THE BENGAL COUNTRY COW FOR DAIRY PURPOSES

"SARIRAMADYAM khalu dharmasadhanam." "The first duty of life," said Herbert Spencer, "is to be a good animal." As for the individual, so for the state, and for the entire community, their highest duty is to see that the country produces the maximum quantity of food for the people that it is capable of producing. In our article "Three acres and a cow" we showed that arable farming in our country under existing laws and conditions is a complete failure, and the only way to make it a partial success, is by supplementing it with dairy farming. The question that confronts us when we think of dairy farming, is "what cows to select for the dairy?" Of course, it is natural for one to think of the Bengal country cow in this connection as being the cheapest and easiest to secure. But let us see how far it will be profitable to keep a dairy of country cows.

In selecting a cow for a dairy, the main point to consider for a dairy farmer, is what quantity of milk it will yield, and at what cost. In Europe and America pure milk is valued by large dealers not according to quantity alone as among us in Bengal, but also according to quality judged by its content of butter-fat. With them the selection of the cow is made after a due consideration of the fat-content of the milk it yields. They have devised elaborate machines such as Gerber's in Europe and Babcock's in America for the quick determination on a commercial scale of the quantity of butter-fat simultaneously for several samples of milk without recourse to actual chemical analysis. Milk is paid for according to its fat-content apart from mere quantity. With us, here, in Bengal, the case is quite different. We pay the same price for all grades of pure milk, whether rich or poor. The seller has no inducement to bring into the market rich milk rather than poor milk, provided both are pure, when he knows that the cost of production of milk rich in butter-fat is much greater than that of producing milk poor in fat. If he find that the maintenance of a dairy of country cows costs him about one-half more than a dairy of Nagra cows for the same quantity of milk yielded, he would be a fool if he allowed his partiality for the country cow to ruin his trade by giving preference to the country cow unless and until the purchasing public also reciprocated by fixing a proportionately higher price for the richer milk of the country cow. For private persons, however, keeping cows for their family use the case is different. To them richness of milk is an important consideration in determining their selection of the cow.

The other points to consider in the selection of a cow for dairy purposes are the length of the period of lactation, and the length of time after calving when the cow will again conceive. The usual period of lactation is 9 months; and the cow usually conceives after the seventh month from calving. But there are great variations in these periods according to the idiosyncracies of the individual cow. As these points are impossible to determine before a purchase has been made, they can have no influence in regulating the choice of the cow. Docility and hardiness are also important considerations. The *Montgomery* cow of the Panjab is the most docile, and our country cow the hardiest.

Now as regards yield of milk we sometimes hear of country cows yielding daily as much as 5 or 6 seers of milk. We cannot but take these hear-say reports with a grain of salt. There is a prejudice amongst us against actually measuring the milk yielded by our own cow as it is supposed to reduce the milk-secretion. There is often a tendency to exaggerate from mere partiality to what is our own, and sometimes also from motives of self-interest to keep up the reputation of our cow among our neighbors so that in case it has to be sold it may fetch a high price. A cow yields her maximum of milk in her third year of calving from the third to the fifth month after calving. The maximum yield of a country cow as far as my experience goes is 4 seers daily—but after the fifth month the yield goes down till it may be two seers or even one seer daily at the ninth month. I should take the average daily yield of the best country cow to be 3 seers. Where the average yield is greater the cow is probably a cross with some other breed. There may, however, be a more than normal yield in the case of a particular country cow, but a dairy farmer cannot depend upon rare exceptions.

In Calcutta many different breeds of cows go under the common name of Nagra. Of these the *Montgomery* cows of the Panjab gives the largest yield. I have found them to yield more than 10 seers daily from the third to the fifth month, and about 7 seers at the ninth month—giving an average of 8 to 9 seers daily. The *Hissar* I have found to yield 9 seers, when at her maximum, and 6 seers daily at about the ninth month—average 7 to 8 seers. The so-called Bhagalpuri cow I have found yielding 7 seers at her maximum, and 5 seers at the ninth month—average 6 seers daily. It is therefore safe to assume the average yield of a so-called Nagra cow as 7 seers daily—corresponding to that of the *Hissar* which will cost Rs. 125 to Rs. 150 each according to the condition of the market while one of our best country cows will cost Rs. 50.

Now to compare the cost of production. Let us assume that one has to produce 1 maund of milk daily. To do so with country cows he will require 13 of them to start with at Rs. 50 each or Rs. 650 for the lot. With Nagra cows to produce 1 maund of milk daily he will require 6 of them at Rs. 140 each or Rs. 840 for the lot to start with, showing a difference of Rs. 190 in favour of the country cow in the initial cost of purchase. But what will be the cost of food? A country cow yielding 3 seers daily average will require daily: straw chaff 4 seers (where no pasture is available), oil-cake 1 seer, bran ½ seer, dal ½ seer and kura 1 seer; or monthly: straw 120 seers, cake 30 seers, bran 15 seers, dal 15 seers, and kura 30 seers: the monthly cost will be:

	Rs.	As.
Straw 120 seers @ 2 pice per seer ...	3	12
Dal 15 seers @ Rs. 4 per md. ...	1	8
Oil-cake 30 seers @ Rs. 2-8 per md. ...	1	14
Bran 15 seers @ Rs. 2-8 per md. ...	0	15
Kura 30 seers @ Rs. 1-4 per md. ...	0	15
Rs. ...	9	0

The 13 country cows will cost Rs. 117 per month in feed. Now a Nagra cow yielding 7 seers daily will require daily: straw chaff 6 seers, oil-cake 1¼ seers, bran ¾ seers, dal ¾ seers, and kura 1½ seers. It will require monthly: straw 180 seers, oil-cake 38 seers, bran 30 seers, dal 30 seers and kura 45 seers. The monthly cost will be at the same price as before:

	Rs.	As.
180 seers of straw	5	10
40 seers of oil-cake	2	8
Bran 22 seers	1	6
Dal 22 seers at Rs. 4 per maund ...	2	4
Kura 45 seers	1	14
TOTAL Rs. ...	13	10

The cost in feed for each Nagra being Rs. 13-10, the cost for the 6 Nagra cows will be monthly Rs. 82 against Rs. 117 for

the 13 country cows for the production of a maund of milk daily—thus showing a difference of Rs. 35 per month in favour of the Nagra cow as regards cost of food alone. There will be a further difference in favor of the 6 Nagra cows in the cost of milking and attendance. Whatever the milk yield, the time taken in milking a cow is generally about the same in all cases. The 13 country cows will take more than double the time that the 6 Nagra cows will take. The saving of time in the morning's milking is very important, specially for a town dairy. In the matter of attendance, too, the time taken by each cow is almost independent of the milk yield. For house-accomodation two Nagra cows may be taken as equal to 3 country cows. So that here too for the same total yield of milk—the 6 Nagora cows being equal to only 9 country cows, they have a considerable advantage over the 13 country cows required for producing 1 maund of milk. These considerations taken together will make a further difference of about Rs. 5 in favour of the 6 Nagra cows, making the total difference in their favour Rs. 40 a month, which for a small dairy producing only 1 maund of milk is a very serious consideration. This is for the period of lactation.

How will it be when the cows get dry either before or after becoming pregnant. Let us rather assume for comparison that they all become pregnant about the 7th month of lactation, and run dry from the 10th month after being 3 months in pregnancy. New cows in milk will have to take their place from time to time as necessary. The dry cows will have to be maintained for about 8 months without any return at a reduced cost. For town dairies the reduction will be slight. Allow Rs. 7 for each country-cow, and Rs. 10 for each Nagra cow. Here again for the 13 country cows the cost will be Rs. 91 per month and for the 6 Nagra Rs. 60—though as regards prospective milk yield they are about equal. Thus in the second period the previously shewn difference of Rs 40 for the lactation period of the second batch of new cows will be further augmented by Rs. 31 on account of the maintenance of the old dry cows, thus making the total difference in favour of the Nagra Rs. 71. This is a very serious consideration, and no dairy-man will hesitate to decide which class of cows to choose for his dairy.

There are other considerations which will induce the dairy man to decide against the country cow. With cows giving such small quantity of milk as three seers, it is impossible to rear the calf properly. If it is reared by suckling, it will require at least a seer of milk daily for the first three months. This would seriously affect the trade. He has to choose between the calf and his own failure in business if he is not to use foul means. He too often starves the calf, for the artificial feeding of a calf which if reared will grow up to a cow giving only 3 seers of milk is out of the question. The cost is prohibitive. Such a calf may succumb at any part of the milking period and absolutely ruin the dairy. A Bengal country cow when its calf is dead generally refuses to be milked, and quickly runs dry. The dairy man in such circumstances to save himself from ruin has recourse to certain make-shifts, *e.g.*, uses dummy calves (Hemla) or blows into the uterus (Phuka) and draws what little milk he can. The practice of blowing not only impairs fecundity but it is most brutal and if you stand by when this is done you would rather wish to go without the milk than see the poor animal put to such torture. Yet the *goala* cannot help it, as it seems really to encourage milk-secretion a little, though one cannot explain how this happens. The cow running dry so soon after the calf is dead, the *goala* is compelled to use foul means. He waters the milk to save himself from ruin, and as dirty water is less liable to be detected than tap-water he prefers the former with all its filth and disease germs. He has also a superstition that unless a cow's milk is watered it goes dry in a shorter time. More often he mixes skimmed buffalo's milk with his cow's milk bringing it by watering to the consistency of cow's milk. Once in the habit of watering his milk, the *goala* grows more and more unscrupulous till it becomes a fixed rule with him to water the milk, adding a *batasha* or a pinch of brown sugar for each powa of water added per seer of milk to sweeten it. The case is different with the Nagra cow as with the English cow. The milk-secretion does not stop immediately after the death of the calf. Indeed in the case of one cow I found

that by hand-milking the yield was larger after the death of the calf than before. Among our low class dealers the practice of blowing is however as much in vogue in the case of the Nagra as in the case of the country cow. At Chitpore this is a general practice, and once done the effect lasts 2 or 3 days so that when there is the prospect of selling a cow, this blowing is done about the time of sale and the cow yields somewhat more than the normal quantity. The purchaser is decieved and the complaint is common that the cow when brought home does not yield the quantity of milk that it did at the time of purchase. However this may be, there is no doubt that the Nagra has a great advantage as regards yielding milk after the calf is dead and ought so far as this goes certainly to be preferred to our country-cow. It is however a point to be decided by actual trial whether by following the English practice of separating the calf from the dam when only a week old and rearing it artificially, the milk secretion of the country-cow cannot be made independent of the existence of the calf. It will be a very interesting experiment for the Agricultural Department to try.

Now the certainty of a loss of Rs. 70 per month on account of the greater cost of food for the production of only 1 md. of milk by country cows, and the risk of absolute ruin of the dairy from the untimely death of the calf which may take place at any part of the milking period, should be conclusive reasons for the dairy farmer to discard country cows from his dairy.

For a town dairy again the question becomes still more important from another point of view. The country cow yielding 3 seers daily or 90 seers monthly at 3 annas per seer gives an outturn of 270 annas, or Rs. 17 monthly—during the 9 months of lactation. Of this, she consumes during the milking period of 9 months at Rs. 10 per month—Rs. 90. And for the 8 months following she is dry until the next calving. During the 8 months she is dry, she will consume at the rate of Rs. 7 per month, in food and Re. 1 per month in attendance—Rs. 64. Thus while she gives you only Rs. 153, she consumes Rs. 154 in 17 months. She consumes when dry more than what she yields as profit when in milk. For a town dairy where artificial feeding is necessary, and every blade of grass given, has to be paid for, the country cow can therefore have no place in an *honest* man's dairy.

What are the considerations in favour of the country cow? She is well-known to yield by far the richest milk. In fact the richness of a cow's milk varies invariably as the quantity yielded. While the average proportion of butter-fat in the milk of an English cow giving half a maund of milk daily is 3 per cent that of our Nagra is 4 per cent, and of our country cow 5 per cent. One might expect that for a country dairy producing only butter or *ghee*, and not selling fresh milk, the country cow should be given the preference. Where the initial cost of purchase is all in all, and there are ample grazing grounds, so that the cost of food is only a trifle, it might appear to be so; but let us now compare them as regards butter production. Suppose that a country dairy wishes to produce 5 seers of butter daily from country cows. The milk contains 5 per cent of butter fat or 1 seer of fat in 20 seers of milk. Our country *goala's* rule that a *seer* of milk yields a *chatak* of butter is only true because a great part of what he calls butter is mere water. To produce 5 seers of genuine butter we require 100 seers of our country cow's milk daily to be produced by 33 cows each yielding 3 seers average daily. Now our Nagra milk contains 4 per cent of butter fat *i.e.* 1 seer of fat in 25 seers of milk. To produce 5 seers of butter daily we require 125 seers of Nagra cow's milk to be produced by 18 cows only each yielding 7 seers of milk daily. The greater richness of a country cow's milk does not mean that the total yield of butter from a country cow is greater than from a Nagra cow. Even in respect of butter production, a Nagra cow is almost equal to two of our Bengal country cows, so that a country dairy in spite of ample pasture, has to give the preference to the Nagra even for the production of butter or ghee if it has the initial capital for it.

The most important point in favour of the country cow is its hardiness. It will stand exposure to the inclemencies of the weather as well as rough handling and ill-treatment, much better than the Nagra or any foreign breed. Furthermore, when the country cow dies on account of disease or accident, the loss is comparatively very

small, being only Rs. 50, but the death of one Nagra cow means a loss of Rs. 150. For private individuals who have no time to look after their own cows, and require only a small quantity of milk for their own family use, this consideration should outweigh every other. The richer the milk, the better is it liked. He cannot undergo all the expense of securing the necessary conditions for the prevention of accidents and diseases. For him, no doubt, the Bengal country-cow which can be left all day long tethered in a field exposed to sun and rain and yet maintain a degree of health and vigor sufficient for his needs—for him the country is the one best suited. But with a man doing business for profit, the case stands on an altogether different footing. "Nothing venture, nothing have." He must be well-armed with a previous training in dairy-farming both scientific and practical, before he should lay out capital in the business if he means to do honest work. With a knowledge of the laws and conditions necessary for maintaining health and vigor in the animals, and faithfully observing them, accident and diseases can be so far minimised as to be an altogether negligible factor. If he knows his duty, the consideration of diseases and accidents will not enter into his calculation, his sole object being to secure the largest profit by honest means from his dairy. To sum up:—the rule to follow in selecting a cow—would be 'a country cow for the family and a Nagra for the dairy.'

DVIJADAS DATTA.

HOW SHALL WE MEET THE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT?

(FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A NATIONALIST)

IT is now quite clear from various circumstances that Government have made up their mind to adopt a definite policy towards the progressive movement in India. Until recently there were no indications clear and strong enough to show that their choice of a definite policy with regard to the movement has been made. The general nature of their attitude was indeed repressive, but it was not quite certain whether that attitude was the outcome of a deliberate policy. Probably, Lord Morley, even with his great statesmanship, vast experience and infinite sources of information, had not clearly and fully grasped the Indian situation, and was taking time to work out his own solution. Recent events, however, unmistakably point to the conclusion that though he is still a little overpowered by a profound sense of the extraordinarily complex character of the problem, and does not seem to cherish a transcendent faith in the correctness of his own reading, yet he has arrived at some definite solution which to him at any rate appears satisfactory, as calculated to allay, if not to remove, the vast body of discontent that prevails in the country. His recent utterance at the Indian Civil Service Club, so frank and so clear in the enunciation of his views and policy, leaves not a shadow of doubt that he has after all succeeded in casting away his somewhat habitual mood of scepticism and hesitancy, and decided to follow a policy which, whatever might be its consequences immediate and remote, has at least the merit of being deliberate and definite. His frank, though for a statesman of his ability, knowledge and experience, unjustifiably belated, recognition of the Indian movement as a 'living' movement and not mere froth, "a movement for objects which we ourselves have taught the Indians to think desirable," coupled with the declaration that "we cannot now enter upon an era of *pure repression*" (the italics are mine), shows that he has, after all, chalked out a definite policy and that he means to pursue it for some time to come at least.

This inference is further strengthened by the recent legislative enactments, as well as by the numerous arrests and prosecutions of Indian editors, all belonging to the Nationalist School of political thought in India. It also derives some support from

certain remarks made by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in his recent speech at the meeting of the Legislative Council. His Excellency observed:

"Speaking with knowledge of the wishes of the Secretary of State I desire to say that neither the recent sad events nor the Press campaign.....will deter us from movement along the lines which have been plainly indicated. The reforms which are soon to be carried out will mark an important step in the direction of giving to Indians a greater share in the Government of the country. These reforms will not satisfy the more impatient spirits.....I hope and I believe that the best of Indian opinion will heartily co-operate with us in making the coming reforms a success, and will support the Government in taking necessary precautions against disorder."

All these proofs go to show that the authorities have now deliberately considered the Indian situation and decided to adopt a definite policy in order to meet it.

We must in a sense welcome this with satisfaction; for it is only by knowing clearly what the policy of Government is that we shall be able to frame our own policy and decide our own methods of work.

In ascertaining the policy of Government towards the Indian movement one has to bear in mind that naturally that policy is determined by considerations of the permanence of British rule in India. Whatever British statesmen in the early days of British rule might have said, either sincerely or out of diplomatic motives, about the end and aim of that rule, though they might have declared with constant reiteration that England's mission here was no other than to promote the cause of Indian freedom and elevation, there is no doubt whatever that this justification for British rule—which is in fact the only moral justification—has been now openly disclaimed, and Lord Morley himself has asserted, I think, in his famous Arbroath speech that the fundamental point of view from which every Indian question must be faced is the consideration of securing the permanence of British rule in India. Everything else must be subordinate to this vital and all absorbing factor.

Bearing this fundamental fact in mind, let us inquire what is the policy of Government as evidenced by their recent pronouncements and acts. That policy may be briefly described as follows: Conciliate the Moderates and repress the Extremists. Taking advantage of a fairly strong division of Indian progressionists into Moderates and Extremists and being convinced by certain occurrences that the Indian movement for progress is living, Government wish to conciliate the Moderates by reforms which they deem sufficient for the purpose and to put down the Extremists by measures of repression.

Government have, apparently, been convinced of two things: (1) that the Indian movement is genuine and is moreover for objects which those who come under English influence naturally desire, and (2) that if some substantial scheme of reform is not carried out, and the Moderates not conciliated, they will swell the ranks of the Extremists and thus add to the prevailing discontent, thereby constituting a grave danger to British supremacy in India.

There is no doubt, that Government heartily desire, in view of the growing influence and strength of the Nationalist party, to foster and if possible, to perpetuate the split between the Moderates and the Extremists. It is nothing but their old, old policy of *Divide et Impera*—a policy in which they are such great adepts.

Why does the conciliation of the Moderates form a plank in the policy of Government? Because Government fear that otherwise the Moderates will join the Extremist party, and both united will form such a formidable opposition as to succeed, in due course, in undermining the foundations of British rule in India. It is the prevention of this union between the two parties and the terrible consequences that may follow from it that is the true reason why Government seek to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Moderates. They are anxious to introduce reforms in the administration not so much for the sake of reform itself but because they are confronted with the ugly fact that otherwise they will lose the good will and the support of the Moderates.

The case of the Extremists is, however, quite different. Their object is not merely to obtain some petty reforms in the existing system of administration from an unwilling and selfish Government; their goal is far different, being nothing less than national independence. And since this aspiration, however natural, just and laudable in itself, is opposed to the permanence of British rule in India, which is the first con-

sideration of every British ruler and, in fact, the bed-rock of British policy in India, the proper treatment to be meted out to Extremists is repression. Another reason for putting down the Extremist propaganda is its recent growth; the propaganda being recent may lend itself to easy destruction.

Such is the general nature and the *rationale* of Lord Morley's policy, and in view of it we must settle our own policy and determine our own methods of work.

The times are most critical, and a formulation of a definite, well-considered policy and a rigid adherence to it, as far as may be, is absolutely necessary in the interests of our cause. The present situation has in it the making of the future for better or for worse, and if we do not rise to the occasion and put forth our best efforts and act in a spirit of wisdom, courage and sacrifice, we shall have to thank ourselves for any subsequent failure in our national work.

Before proceeding to deal with the question of our policy and methods of work in the present circumstances, a few critical observations upon Lord Morley's policy may not be out of place here.

The first question that suggests itself is: Will Government succeed in conciliating the Moderates and retaining their sympathy and support for any length of time?

This does not seem to be likely, if the Moderates are true to themselves and their principles. The reforms which the Secretary of State wishes to introduce will be always limited by the paramount consideration of maintaining British supremacy, and that supremacy can hardly be maintained except by withholding rights of equality from the Indian people and retaining all real power and authority in British hands. The colonial form of self-government, which is the goal of the Moderate party, is no doubt consistent with a nominal recognition of British supremacy, but if such self-government is to be at all genuine, and not a mere sham, it cannot fail, in the peculiar circumstances of India, which is connected with England by no natural tie of race, language, religion or history, by which alone two nations can be permanently united together, to develope into absolute national independence. British statesmen are not blind to this consideration; they know full well that to extend to India any system of self-government such as obtains in the British colonies is to prepare the way for the ultimate loss of their Indian Empire, and hence they are as strongly opposed to the ideal of the Moderate party as to that of the Extremists. It is this consideration which lay at the root of Lord Morley's characterization of the demand for colonial self-government as a visionary and absurd demand for the moon.

But the Moderates have, as is well-known, pledged themselves to the ideal of self-government on the colonial line, and unless they are weak and unwise enough to recede from their position, they cannot rest satisfied with anything short of such self-government.

This means a long and sharp conflict between the powers that be and the Moderate party, and in the face of such a conflict how can Lord Morley hope to conciliate that party by measures of reform which amount, at best, to a few petty concessions not in the least calculated to give any real power to the sons of the soil? No, neither the Moderates nor the Extremists can really hope to be satisfied with Government, unless, indeed, Government are induced, by pressure of public opinion or by the possibility of losing India altogether, to accept the demands of the Moderates for self-government, or the Moderates lower their ideal and are satisfied with a few reforms here and there in the existing system of administration. Unless either of these alternatives takes place, a bitter conflict is inevitable and all talk of conciliation cannot but be regarded as hollow and insincere.

Another piece of criticism one is tempted to pass upon Lord Morley's Indian policy is: Will he succeed in destroying the Extremist movement by measures of repression however strong and severe?

This opens the very large and important question of the true character of the Extremist movement and the forces that lie behind, inspire and support it.

Is not the Extremist movement, meaning thereby the movement for national freedom and greatness, as much a legitimate and natural consequence of Western influences as any other Indian progressive movement, Moderate or otherwise? Is not

national freedom one of the very objects "we have taught the educated Indians to think desirable"?

Who can answer this question in the negative? And if it cannot be answered otherwise than in the affirmative, what can a policy of repression avail before the inherent strength and might of that movement? On the contrary, the chances are that such a policy may recoil upon the British rulers themselves.

Materialisim may deny it and agnosticism may question it, but to the eye of spiritual insight, there is no doubt whatever that human events are, in the final analysis, shaped by divine forces, and it is in fact one of these divine forces whose advent and operation we perceive in the resurgence of India and other Asiatic lands that is going on at present. The world goes on the principle of justice, and it cannot be that India or for that matter, any other country is destined to remain sunk for ever in the mire of subjection. India's close connection with England, and through her with Western life and thought, however brought about in the first instance, can have no other meaning than this: *viz.*, to elevate India to the status of a free, progressive nation fully worthy to take her proper place in the comity of nations, and thus to make her a proper channel for the interchange and interaction of the two mighty currents of civilization, Eastern and Western. To read any other meaning into British rule in India is practically to deny Divine Existence and to posit a materialistic non-moral view of life.

The Indian movement for freedom, for a full, worthy national life is thus a Divine movement, and the might of the mightiest power in the world will have to confess itself impotent to destroy it by any measures of repression. It is as if puny man were to wage war with God, and dare to expect victory against the All-powerful. What can be more futile and unwise than this?

The Indian movement for freedom is an aspiration, a natural, holy and beneficent aspiration, and nothing save the moral weakness of the Indian people themselves can thwart or prevent its ultimate realization.

Statesmen in the pride of their power are apt to read or rather to misread history as if it was the handiwork of man, and therefore to set themselves against movements which apparently are carried on by a few helpless persons with very scanty resources, but which have really a higher source of strength in them than what can be derived from the necessarily limited powers of man. But does not history testify to the utter futility of such opposition, however strongly backed by all the resources of physical force?

Let the English nation lay to heart this lesson writ so large in the pages of history and shape its Indian policy accordingly and then the solution of the Indian problem cannot fail to be peaceful, satisfactory and beneficent to both the parties concerned, and indeed, to the whole world.

To revert to the question: How shall we shape our policy in view of the measures of repression adopted by Government?

I will answer this question as a Nationalist who believes that India's aspiration for a free national life is perfectly natural, just, legitimate and beneficent, and that its realization is bound to come in the fulness of time.

In approaching this question, we must bear in mind three things, namely that (1) we must have full and invincible faith in the justice and righteousness of our cause and in its ultimate triumph; (2) that the realization of our ideal cannot be unduly accelerated by hasty or violent action; it can only be gradual and in strict harmony with the conditions of evolution and (3) that if our movement is wrecked (which God forbid), it will be wrecked on the rock of our apathy, lack of union and tenacity of purpose, and of treachery, or of violence, and not by the superior power and resources of the British Government. Our failure, if it comes, will come from within and not from without. External opposition, however powerful, we can successfully withstand, but our cause cannot last a single day, if our ranks are torn by internal dissensions, and our action hasty or slipshod or violent.

The first thing is to keep cool, and not allow ourselves to be carried away by excitement. Real strength is always accompanied by coolness and scorns to dissipate its energy by vehemence or unbecoming and unnecessary outbursts of fury or anger. The temptations to acts of violence are indeed strong, and the ardour of youth

particularly will find them difficult to resist, but in the interests of our cause, they *must* be overcome. We need not refrain from exercising the rights of self-defence which are recognised by the Penal Code, whenever the occasion demands such exercise, but care must be taken not to overstep the proper legal limits, and if suffer we must, we ought to suffer like heroes, bravely, coolly and cheerfully.

An ideal cannot be realized, unless it becomes the conscious ideal of the bulk of the people, and evokes in them strength and enthusiasm enough to work for it even at a sacrifice. During the last few years, the ideal of national independence has indeed made great progress; a distinct party has arisen with organs and associations devoted to its cause. The work hitherto done by way of propagating the ideal, is so far so good, but there are yet large masses of men outside the influence of this or any other ideal, whose consciousness must be awakened by steady and systematic work.

The dissemination of the doctrine of independence cannot, therefore, be given up. An ideal must spread before it can succeed; and how can it spread if not by constant preaching? There must be a change in thought, an internal change, before there can be an external change.

But when it is contended that the preaching of the gospel of independence is necessary, it does not follow that the preaching may be in any form or language whatever. An ideal can only be gradually realized and any form of preaching which might lead to hasty, violent or rebellious action must be discouraged. It is one thing to say, 'We must at once drive away the English and be free,' and quite another to say, "Our ideal ought to be the ultimate realization of our national independence, and our energies and our scheme of work should be so directed that when the fulness of time comes, that ideal may become an accomplished fact." The one concentrates itself exclusively on the ideal, and takes no thought of the limitations arising from actual conditions; the other lays down the ideal as well as points to the necessity of adopting certain ways and means for gradually bringing about certain internal and external changes before it can be realized. The one is a fiery appeal to sentiment, the other, a well-balanced appeal to reason. The one is rebellion, the other is evolution.

It cannot, therefore, be too strongly insisted that though the propagation of the gospel of free nationalism cannot be dispensed with, yet such propagation should not be reckless or violent, and, moreover, it should be accompanied by a clear and strong statement of the immediate work to be done. The task of building up a free Indian Nationality is bound to be gradual and very laborious. Owing to the peculiar conditions of India and her having lain under a foreign yoke for a very long time it is vain to hope for its realization by a mere perfervid and sensational presentation of the ideal. Growth can only be from within, and a good deal of practical work must be done before the ideal can near its realization, and sound preaching ought to insist not only on the ideal but also on the immediate work to be done.

The National Congress has declared itself in favour of Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. Can it be honestly said that we have done or are doing all that lies in our power to promote these movements? Why should not organized and systematic efforts be made to spread the Swadeshi movement among the masses? Why should not an educational survey of every district be undertaken by the leaders of that district, and primary schools established in places where there are none? The amount of illiteracy in India is very large and though direct teaching by means of lectures cannot fail to have considerable effect, yet the process of self-evolution cannot be stimulated except by the diffusion of education, and progress without a real inner awakening will be in the nature of an exotic likely to succumb at once to adverse influences. I do not mean to say that the cause of national independence will not succeed until and unless every person can read and write; but I do say that that inner awakening which is essential to its success cannot come until the present terrible illiterary in the country is sensibly diminished. The case would have been different if the spirit of nationality had been already ingrained in the national character. It is possible to conceive a nation deeply imbued with the sense of nationality maintaining its independence or

striving to regain it, if lost by some strange irony of fate, even though a large proportion of its population is innocent even of the three R's. But a nation in which the spirit of freedom is yet to be aroused, cannot hope to rise if the vast majority of its people be steeped in crass ignorance.

Such practical work must never be neglected in the mere sentimental pursuit of the ideal. We must silently but steadily and vigorously, without making fuss or show, carry on the work of promoting Swadeshi, Boycott and popular education.

In order to carry on this work in a systematic manner, district associations should be organized, and there should be, in each district, at least two or three men highly educated, who will consecrate their lives to that work.

It is a distinct step in advance that besides Provincial Conferences, District Conferences are also held. There should be Taluka Conferences as well, and what is even of more importance, the work of a conference ought to be systematically continued from year's end to year's end.

The primary need is to promote education, improve agriculture and to foster indigenous industries. If this is done side by side with the cultivation of the patriotic sentiment and the love of freedom, the Nationalist movement will be so firmly founded as to be able to defy all opposition however powerful.

Social reform, too, must receive due attention. It is no doubt a matter of great satisfaction that old prejudices are dying out and the need of progress in social matters is being more and more widely recognised. But politics has so much dominated our minds that the awakening of the social consciousness has yet to show itself in concrete and persistent action. The elevation of the depressed classes, the breaking down of caste barriers, the raising of the marriageable age—all these reforms are so essential to the building of a free Indian Nationality that it would be suicidal to neglect or delay them. And certainly the present times which have given birth to a passionate yearning for nationality are most opportune for successfully carrying out these reforms.

I am firmly convinced that the maintenance of the caste system in its present form is absolutely incompatible with the growth of a vigorous and united nationality. The principles of equality, liberty and justice apply with no less force to social matters than to political affairs. You cannot make these principles your basis of action in one department of life and totally ignore them in another. You cannot maintain caste distinctions and cherish caste feeling and at the same time expect the different Indian communities to be firmly knit together by the silken bonds of nationality; nationality cannot grow and develope in the midst of endless unreasoning distinctions. The present caste system must go to the wall if India is to become a nation.

There is thus enormous practical work to be done before we can hope to be a free political unit, and if we allow ourselves to be impatient after the pursuit of the ideal and neglect the work that lies immediately to our hands, the consequence will be bitter failure and disappointment.

No one knows or can definitely prophesy when or by what actual steps Indians will gain a free national existence; nor is it necessary to know just now. This much, however, I know, and can confidently assert, that a people cannot be long kept away from a destiny to which they have entitled themselves by the necessary moral and social training. And the work upon the faithful performance of which I have insisted above, constitutes just the very training which we must pass through before we can be morally fit for a free national destiny. Once this work is accomplished, it is a question of Divine grace which, I feel sure, cannot be withheld from those who deserve it. The best way to meet the repressive policy of Government is to perform the work outlined above in the true spirit of earnestness and sincerity. Let the gospel of freedom be preached without inciting men to hasty or violent action; let the movement of Swadeshi, Boycott and popular education be promoted as widely and as fully as we can, to the best of our resources, let the lower classes be raised and caste distinctions removed and social reform in general advanced; let the spirit of freedom be cultivated and the sense of nationality developed; and then we shall have made

ourselves morally fit for freedom, and when once morally fit for national freedom, what power on earth can stay our glorious career to a free and powerful national destiny?

R. G. PRADHAN.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN FACTORY COMMISSION

III. THE HEALTH OF OPERATIVES

WITH regard to the effect of the present conditions of employment on the physique of workers, it is important to note that as far as Bombay city is concerned—the city wherein, at the inspiration of a European mill-owner and Lancashireman, a daily paper roamed widely and wildly in any number of unauthenticated statements of facts and loudly shrieked about the "slavery" of the operatives into the bargain—the Commission, after a careful investigation, were able to state as follows: Relying on the statistics compiled by the Municipal Health Officer, they observed that, "comparing the spinners and weavers in the Bombay mills with the dock labourers, general labourers and domestic servants in that city, the mortality among the millhands, year by year over a period of seven years, *is considerably less than among the general labourers; the deaths from respiratory diseases are also less; but the death rate from phthisis is higher.*" But from the figures given the reader will notice that there is not much of a difference in the phthisis mortality, whereas there is a material difference in that of respiratory diseases and from all causes:

	Phthisis.	*Other Respiratory Diseases.*	*All causes.*
General Labourers	2·26	3·55	31·58
Factory Operatives	2·38	1·88	18·45

Thus it has been now established by the Commission beyond the shadow of a doubt that "millhands are healthier than general labourers." And yet it was on the fallacious cry raised in the paper that it was the "slavery" hours of labour which were vastly undermining the health of Bombay operatives that legislation was sought to be amended. It was *primarily* on this ground that the Government appointed the Freer-Smith Committee. The fact should be remembered that the Government will be extremely ill-advised in the future to rely on one-sided and even interested statements made in organs of public opinion on the labour question and take any hasty or rash or even unjustifiable action on such. In Bombay itself it is well-known *who* was the person who supplied the fallacious facts. At the time certain mills were reaping a rich harvest by selling a larger offtake, which necessarily required electric lighting after dark for the purpose. Those who had no electrical light were thus handicapped temporarily, because the boom of high prices was also temporary. It was clearly seen that there was *trade rivalry* and no more; and it was this rivalry or jealousy which created all the noise which ultimately led to the appointment of the Commission. As was said before, *the one good above all others* which this Commission has rendered to the mill-owning interests is the dispelling of the gross misrepresentation and even fallacious statements regarding adult male labour and the establishing of *the truth.* Of course, there were medical witnesses who differed, as they were bound to, including Dr. Nair himself, a member of the Commission. On this point the observations of that authority are extremely valuable. "In considering the weight to be attached to these opinions", that is the conflicting medical opinions, "it is to be remembered that they are, like the opinions to the contrary effect, *entirely unsupported by statistics;* and with one or two exceptions, they refer to the millhands in Bombay City only. *Now the only fairly accurate statistics available on the subject are for Bombay City, and they do not support the views put forward, except as regards the greater liability of the operatives to phthisis.* The contention that these statistics are in themselves unreliable is met, more or less completely, by the fact that *the death-rate in the Rutnaghiri District, from which Bombay mill-operatives are recruited, is one of the lowest in the whole Presidency.*"

After giving a resume of the evidence on

the subject of the mortality statistics among mill-operatives the Commission next formulate their own deduction. They conclude by saying that "throughout the enquiry this subject was constantly before us; in every inspection which we made, *we carefully examined the general physique of the operatives; and we were constantly on the watch for any signs pointing to the existence of physical deterioration. Despite the constant and careful attention paid to this matter, we did not duriug the whole course of our investigations, find any indications of physical deterioration among the male factory operatives.*"

But the Commission, while denying physical deterioration, apprehend that conditions of work in textile factories are *liable* to cause it. A the same time "there is the undoubted fact that the Indian operative readily adapts himself to circumstances, and to a great extent counteracts the evil effects of an increase of working hours by idling more while at work." That indeed is the universal phenomenon in every textile factory in this country. Such idling could never be tolerated in Lancashire or for that matter on the Continent and in the United States, where idling is unknown and where masters exercise most exacting discipline on the actual work to be done by operatives during working hours.

What then may this idling mean in Indian factories? This only that the tropical climate *naturally* prompts it. The idling is *automatic*, inspired by Nature herself. What could be more satisfactory for thus minimizing the possible evils of physical deterioration than periodical rest? It is not the long hours but rather *climatic conditions* which naturally prompt the operative to work less steadily than his brother does in the temperate regions of Europe. Were competent and impartial physiologists, fully conversant with the tropical conditions of the country, and their effects not only on factory operatives, but on ordinary men, clerks, bankers, merchants, lawyers, state officials and so forth, to state their opinion, they would be inevitably driven to the conclusion that physical deterioration from long hours in tropical climates must be taken as a matter of course. All the better classes just named get casual leave, privilege leave, and furloughs for a period, more or less. Thus they recruit their enfeebled health and remain pretty strong for good work. Similarly nature herself prompts factory operatives to do two or three things: (1) idle away a part of the day when they ought to be steadily at work with their machines; (2) absent themselves as many do and as could be *conclusively* established by the absentation of operatives in a mill during one or two months; and (3) taking leave for a long period to visit their *gaums* or native country and fully reenvigorate themselves by rustication. Even the ordinary office peon, who goes about in the sun and air on errands, goes to his *gaum* for a month or two after a service of three years. Why? It is hardly necessary to state the reason. When the Commission say that "on an average the worker in an Indian Cotton Mill spends from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours of the *actual working* day away from his work," they are saying what is an absolute fact. More. "Each operative generally takes two or three holidays each month, and an annual holiday which may extend from one to three months." The Commission support their statement by actual evidence of facts gleaned from mill records. "The books of two representative mills in Bombay, belonging to different owners, were scrutinised in detail by one of the members of the Commission." The general results were as follows:—

Average absence per operative per year, over the Three Year Period 1905-06-07.

Department	Mill A.	Mill B.
Carding	55 days	45 days
Throstle	62 ,,	51 ,,
Weaving	72 ,,	50 ,,

"That is, the average operative may be said to take two days off work every month, and a further annual holiday of from 3 to 7 weeks. In addition, he receives the Sunday holiday, and from four to ten native holidays during the year." It should be remembered that in Lancashire and on the Continent there are hardly four holidays in a year.

As to young adults working in factories the Commission say 'little information is obtainable,' but their observations lead them to think "that this class—the workers between the ages of 14 and 17, who are employed for the full working time of the factory—are in general in good physical condition, if somewhat undersized."

Then as to the physique of the *female* workers, it is reported to be "uniformly excellent. * * The general trend of the medical evidence is also to the effect that the female workers are of good physique, and are not in any way injuriously affected by their employment in factories."

The children examined during the course of their tour were, the Commission say, "in general of poor physique, thin and weakly looking, especially in cotton textile factories. Owing to the prevalence of abuses, the working of half-time children for full time, the employment of children underage, the neglect to give regular intervals, and so on, it is difficult to form a clear idea as to what the effect of the present legal working hours, if faithfully adhered to, would have been on the general health and physique of children." We are entirely in accord with this opinion. Child labour is generally abused. Many a mill-owner walks round the legislature and violates its provisions. And the worst of it is that there has been a deplorable lack of vigilance on the part of the official inspectors. Had there been strict vigilance and uncompromising prosecutions for breach of the law the Commission would have found the physique of the children in textile factories as good as, if not better than, those of adult males. More. Had the Commission gone more minutely into this part of their enquiry they would have discovered, at least in Bombay City, that *generally* the worst managed mills were habitual breakers of the law. Such class of factories *never* can secure an adequate supply of adult labour suited to their daily wants. Owing to their extremely, nay unjustifiably, penal rules for absence, wages and so forth, adult labour avoids such ill managed mills. Necessarily, a larger number of children have to be requisitioned to supply the deficiency. But it is impossible that child labour can produce so much as young labour or adult labour. Is it a wonder if the taskmasters, who want their quarter anna per lb. on production, grind down these poor children? Their parents, themselves eking out a bare subsistance, could hardly give them nourishing food for the pittance earned. So that it is evident that this grinding work coupled with inadequate nourishment deteriorate their physique. It is a *serious* matter, seeing how early must a number of them die. Premature mortality among a labouring population means enormous economic evil. That productivity which we expect from a healthy population, with a normal death rate, is diminished.

The injury, both from a sanitary and economic point of view, is, of course, incalculable. Mill agents in Bombay have for some time past been sending forth a wail against inadequate supply of unskilled labour. Part of this inadequacy is to be ascribed to such labour being employed in the docks, in tramway construction and other works, specially building, vigorously going on in the city. But it is to be largely ascribed to this premature child mortality caused by physical deterioration. Here the interference of the state by legislation is not only justifiable, it is demanded both by conditions of public health and public economy. Whatever, therefore, the state may do in regard to the improvement of the physique of factory children in mills will command general sympathy and it is to be devoutly hoped that the Government will take drastic measures within the contemplated factory legislation to remove the existing evils. Both mill-owners and official Inspectors should be made directly responsible for the infringement of the law. The former are always diligent in shirking their own responsibility by putting it on the shoulders of their managers. The latter are unnecessarily made their scapegoats. The law should not recognise mill managers at all but the agents or owners directly. When such is the case we may soon see a most salutary and gratifying change in the condition of child labour. At the same time Government should enjoin on factory inspectors the need of being very stern and unrelaxing in their vigilance. The Chief Inspector should not wholly depend on the reports of the Sub-inspectors, who more or less wink at the iniquities of the mill managers. Surprise visits should be paid by the Chief Inspector and the reports of the Sub-inspectors verified or contradicted. Cases of lax vigilance ought to be severely punished. Then alone may we see the law well administered and the benevolent object of the state amply fulfilled. *(To be continued.)*

ECONOMICUS.



Mount Asama.



The last scene of Tennyson's "Princess" at Karuizawa.

KARUIZAWA,—THE IDEAL SUMMER RESORT IN JAPAN

SITUATED at an elevation of about 3,270 feet above the sea-level, on a loose volcanic soil, surrounded on all sides by lovely hills, resounding with the soft murmur of streams and the chirping of birds, such is Karuizawa.

It is reached in about 6 hours from Tokyo, and eight from Yokohama. The journey leads through highly romantic and picturesque scenery. As the train rushes forward, the traveller sees the rugged peaks of *Myogi-San*, an ancient volcano on the left; on the right winds the old *Nakasendo* road over the lovely folds of the hills. The train passes through no less than 26 tunnels before it pulls up at the Karuizawa Station in the broad bright plain.

Visitors generally begin to come up from the first week of July, when the summer holidays in most of the Schools and Universities in Japan commence. There are several good foreign and Japanese hotels for the accomodation of visitors, and the hills are dotted with pretty little villas, somewhat like those we see in Darjeeling, which are rented by families for the whole season. The great popularity of the place, especially amongst foreigners, may well be judged from the fact that visitors hail not only from all parts of Japan, but even from China. The summer foreign population is about 700, *i.e.*, nearly double the native population.

Time hangs heavy on none that comes here, thanks to the many and varied attractions that this place offers to the traveller. In the first place might be mentioned the Karuizawa Athletic Association, which provides for Tennis, Base Ball, Basket Ball, etc. Anybody paying a small fee is eligible for membership. Tournaments in tennis are held in August, and tea is served on days when there are tournaments on. Not only all members and their friends but even strangers are cordially invited to come and see the games, while sipping their tea. Apart from the great attraction which this association offers to the sportsman or sportswoman, its usefulness as a social factor can not be overestimated. Matches in Base Ball too are sometimes arranged with the Japanese, and on such occasions, enthusiasm on both sides runs very high. The Association also gets up excursions and picnic parties every now and then to places of interest.

Near the Tennis courts is the *auditorium*, where once a week are held free concerts in the evening, the entertainers being ladies and gentlemen having a talent for music. On such evenings the hall is filled with eager music-loving ladies and gentlemen. The writer had the good fortune to be present at a theatrical performance of Tennyson's "*Princess*," got up by some foreign ladies and gentlemen in aid of the Seaman's Home in Japan. The play was held in the open air, on a bright afternoon in August, in the spacious garden of an English gentleman. In front of the audience, a little open place covered with green grass served as the stage, tall green trees forming the back ground. The surroundings gave a very natural air to the performance. There were several hundred people present and all enjoyed it immensely. Apart from the very laudable object for which this performance was held, it must be said to the credit of the ladies and gentlemen who took part in it, that they all acquitted themselves in a way which made all present think themselves more than repaid.

One of the favourite places where people generally go for excursion or picnic is the top of the *Usui-toge*, 4,000 feet above the sea-level. The ascent is easy, and the time taken to go up to the top does not exceed one hour. Several old tea-houses and an old temple mark the pass. The finest view can be had from the bare hill-top to the right of the pass, where a shed gives protection to people from the sun and the rain, who like to picnic in the open. From this place an extensive view can be had of *Ikao*

and *Akagi-san*, to the north-east and the *Koshu* range on the south.

The ascent of *Asama-yama* forms unquestionably the most interesting excursion from Karuizawa. This is an active volcano, always smoking, which is clearly visible from the town. Sometimes, in the night, the top of the mountain seems aglow. In 1783, occurred the last great eruption, the stream of lava which came down destroying a primeval forest with two villages on the north side. Showers of ashes generally come out during eruptions, but during the past few years stones have sometimes been ejected. The whole journey takes about five hours. The first part of the journey is made on horseback up to the foot of the mountain. This part occupies about three hours. The remainder of the journey is pretty steep and horses are left at the foot of the mountain. From this place in a little over two hours, the climber reaches the edge of the outer crater lip, and then on to the summit of the higher peak, 8,135 feet above the sea.

The ascent is generally made in the night, the climbers starting a little after supper. In this case, the view down the crater, some 1,000 feet in depth and about 1,300 feet in diameter, is truly remarkable. The red glow of the crater floor from which from time to time dense columns of steam or smoke are shot forth, occasionally mingled with stones, accompanied with deep rumbling noise as of a train rushing through a tunnel,—all these make the climber at once delighted and afraid. The sight is weird though interesting, grand though fearful. If the climber be fortunate enough to be on the summit at dawn, the magnificent view, embracing nearly all the grandest mountains of Japan, with the changing colours of the Eastern sky, will make an impression on his mind never to be effaced. The distant prospect of *Fuji-san*, the highest peak in Japan, as seen from the top of the mountain, is exceedingly grand.

The lava beds or lava stream is one of the most popular walks. This stream, now dead, is of the great eruption of 1783. Masses of rock piled on each other in great confusion give a very weird appearance to the place.

A considerable variety of sub-Alpine plants grow in and around Karuizawa, the *Usui-toge* being especially rich in golden lilies.

I cannot think of the pleasant time I had in Karuizawa, brief though it was, without remembering the soft murmurs of the willow, and the cool pleasant breeze, the beautiful clouds hanging on the hills ever changing their colours and the mist in the evening quietly creeping down the hills.

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI.

CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALISM

MR. E. Marsden, in his *History of India for Junior Classes*, which, we believe, is widely used in secondary schools in this country, while bringing to a close his account of the reign of Akbar, says:

"Akbar's will was law. He did what he liked; there was no power above him. But under the English Government, both in England and in India, there is the LAW, which every one knows and must obey. The King of England, cannot break the law any more than the poorest beggar."

Now, the King of England, of course, can not, and does not like to break the law; but have we not known District Superintendents of Police and Magistrates and Sessions Judges, to boot, who broke and abused the law with perfect impunity? The difference between a Mogul Emperor and an English Viceroy is undoubtedly great; but when Lord Curzon forged his will into law, and, in spite of the practically unanimous protest of the Bengalee people, partitioned their country by a proclamation, and legalized illegal proceedings by passing Validating Acts, was the law, or the will of that omnipotent proconsul exalted in these political feats? There is no questioning the fact that the Moguls banished their obnoxious subjects without a regular trial. Did Lala Lajput Rai feel any the happier in his exile at

Mandalay, simply because he was told that his deportation was ordered under Regulation III of 1818? Akbar and his successors had no legislative councils; what they did they did by themselves, with the advice of their trusted ministers; and executive orders took the place of the law as understood in the Western world. But if legislative councils have a solid official majority obsequiously following the lead of the Viceroy, if the people have no more than a microscopic representation in them, and if their representatives, again, are powerless to exercise any effective control over legislation, there are not many who will miss their disappearance. The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act is not a whit better than the ordinance of 1907, though the latter was a ukase issued by the head of the executive, and the former enjoyed the honour of a debate in the Supreme Legislative Council. When the will of one man can be made the law in a few hours, there is no practical difference between the will of an autocrat and British Indian law.

But, after all is said and done, the outstanding fact remains, that the Law is believed to be the corner-stone of the British rule in India, and it is the firm faith of the people that the Law will ever be respected by their rulers which has inspired the political agitation of the country. That agitation has hitherto been of a character which has, from certain quarters, received the name of mendicancy; but mendicancy or no mendicancy, the political activity of a subject country must always be constitutional. It is idle to expect that the Government will apatheticaly look on, when it believes,—whether rightly or wrongly, does not matter at all—that the ground is being cut away from under its feet, or to expect that a movement which is openly hostile to it will not be throttled in its infancy. Those who fancy, that if the people of India were once united in a struggle for independence they could easily throw off the British yoke, should ponder deeply over the following words of the immortal Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth. In the course of a speech delivered at the London Tavern on May 20, 1859, he said:

"It is easy to say that the oppressed nationalities should act alone. Unity of will and harmony of design are not every thing, especially when the task of liberation possesses the character of a formidable war. The forces must be collected and organised, and action must be combined on a preconcerted plan, and before that combination can be arrived at the disciplined army crushes the unorganised popular masses, and the hangman and the scaffold do the rest. This is the key to the mystery that with a couple of hundred thousand soldiers, millions of brave, liberty-loving people may be held in bondage for ages. Rare are the instances in history in which deliverance from oppression has been achieved without foreign assistance."

The last sentence in the above extract deserves special notice. But for the invaluable help of France, the American War of Independence would have terminated disastrously for the Americans. The life-long labours of Mazzini, the valour of Garibaldi, the sturdy patriotism of Victor Emmanuel, the keen-sighted statesmanship of Cavour would have come to nothing, if Napoleon III had not given a good start to the Italians. Foreign intervention saved Greece in her heroic struggles against the Turks. Where will India look forward to for a Marquis de Lafayette or a Napoleon III? China is decrepit, Persia disorganised and almost dismembered, the Amir too wise to think of quarrelling with the British Lion. Would then, Japan play the part of France if there were an Asiatic War of Independence in the twentieth century? Those who think she would, have no idea how astute her statesmen and rulers are. Our Anglo-Indian friends, therefore, wrong us when they think that we have so misread history as to entertain the thought of armed resistance to the British Raj. We know that if salvation is to come to India, it must come from within, and that in the dispensation of Providence, war is not the only means of national self-realisation. "Constitutional Nationalism" must be the motto of those who really care for the steady advancement of India along various lines.

The ideal of "Constitutional Nationalism" is identical with the one defined by that Nestor of Indian political life, the venerable Dadabhai Naoroji in the last Calcutta Congress: 'Swaraj' or self-government like that of the Colonies is the goal set before the eyes of those who accept this ideal. There are some who think that the ideal is not high and noble enough—that is to say, the goal is not distant enough—to rouse the enthusiasm of true and earnest patriots. They, therefore, propose "absolute swaraj"

or self-government outside the British Empire as the ideal to be fought for; for they are honestly of opinion that if the people did not strive after the noblest ideal, if they deliberately chose a lower one, there would be created in them a tendency to remain content with small mercies and their energies would consequently be dissipated. It is difficult to follow the logic of this position. If a father were to tell his boy who was in the fifth form of a secondary school that he must always so acquit himself in class that in time he might obtain the degree of Bachelor of Arts, would the omission of the name of the next higher examination in any way prejudicially affect his interests? We trow not. When he would graduate at the university, then would be the time to think of going higher up. For a country which is yet a thousand leagues off from self-government in any true sense of the phrase, 'swaraj' of the colonial type is good enough. The time for wrangling will come when this has been obtained.

Self-government of whatever type is extorted, not granted. John Stuart Mill says in his *Subjection of Women*:

> "History gives a cruel experience of human nature in shewing how exactly the regard due to the life, possessions, and entire earthly happiness of any class of persons was measured by what they had the power of enforcing."

As in the domestic circle, so in political affairs; as it has been in the past, so must it be in the future. Those are sure to be sadly disappointed who hope that the bureaucracy will part with an iota of its power of its own free accord. An European Magistrate once said to me: "We mean to stay in the country—we are not going to leave it in a hurry." Self-government to India means loss of power and prestige to the bureaucracy. The Indian Empire with its limitless resources, is of such vital importance to England—to her commercial supremacy, nay, even to her political greatness—that no thoughtful European writer believes that she will grant free institutions to the Indians in the near future. "Even England," says Bluntschli, "does not propose to give India parliamentary institutions." But what she will not give voluntarily, she may give on compulsion. That compulsion will, we believe, be mainly of a moral character.

John Morley has said that nothing but opinion, which is a most potent force, can effect great permanent changes. It depends on ourselves to create an irresistible public opinion in favour of self-government. Lord Curzon said in one of his speeches in Calcutta that the Government did not mind the protests and representations of the educated Indians, because they had not the masses of India at their back; when the voices of the latter would mingle with those of the former, it would accord a respectful hearing to all that they might have to say. Lord Curzon was perfectly right. So long as the classes fail to voice accurately the needs and grievances of the masses, so long as the latter remain inarticulate on account of their ignorance and illiteracy, the Government will claim to be the true representative of the vast majority of the people, and its position will continue to be unassailable; for no government can stand a single day, unless it is built on the rock of the common consent of its subjects; and their consent will not be withheld as long as it is not proved to a demonstration that they are better represented by their own kith and kin than by their rulers. Has that demonstration come? There is only one answer to this question: It has not. This means that the creation of the opinion we are speaking of is yet far out of sight.

The formation of public opinion in England in favour of self-government in India is of no less importance. This will be accomplished by her own great writers and statesmen. The race of Macaulay and Bright may be extinct; and Lord Morley of Blackburn may have rudely undeceived us; but Herbert Spencer died only the other day, and there are hundreds of men and women in England who are ever ready to right the wrong and to hold aloft the banner of truth and liberty and righteousness. They believe that the salvation of India as well as the security of England depends on the Indians coming into the possession of their own; for, as pointed out by the greatest of England's philosophers, absolutism abroad cannot but react on the free institutions at home, and if liberty-loving Englishmen tolerate the militant type of civilisation anywhere within their empire, they will be steadily though

imperceptibly marching towards a military despotism in their own country. In broad-minded and far-sighted philosophers like Herbert Spencer, the educated Indians have valued allies.

When two races come into collision, it is not necessarily the ethically inferior race that goes to the wall; the conquered may morally, aesthetically, even in intellectual activity of particular forms, be superior to their conquerors; and then the tables will be turned; the conquered, defeated in a lower sphere, will conquer their conquerors in a higher. "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et ortes." Then again, the victors may decline morally and intellectually, while the subject race may advance; instances of this are not rare in history. When this takes place, the regaining of its lost rights is only a question of time. Be that as it may, the attainment and maintenance of moral superiority should be a point of ambition with all thoughtful Indians. Let the people of India be more manly, truth-loving, straightforward, honest and self-sacrificing; let them acquire greater physical and intellectual vigour; let every Indian, in whatever field of activity, be distinguished for greater devotion to duty, and greater energy and ability than their white fellow-citizens; self-government will then follow, as surely as the night follows the day; for like water, talent is bound to find its level.

Bluntschli says:

"A people which is conscious of itself, and of a political vocation, feels a natural need to embody itself in a state. If it has the power to satisfy this impulse, it has a natural right to found a state."

Would it be wrong to say that that consciousness is just dawning upon the people of India, and that the vast majority of them have not had yet the faintest shadow of a dream of a political vocation? There must be years of preparation and silent work before the Indian people as a whole, and not merely small sections of it, can feel a natural need to embody itself in a state. Our rulers believe that up till now this impulse has been confined to a microscopic minority, that the masses are profoundly ignorant, rather altogether innocent of it, and that even supposing it were thrilling the nerves of the teeming millions of this continent from one end of it to the other, there is no proof that they have the power to satisfy it. We can disabuse our rulers only by actual work; the best test of our power will be the success with which we may grapple with the problems of Indian life in those spheres of activity in which we are left to ourselves. Capacity in social and industrial work is not a bad criterion of fitness for obtaining a larger share in the administration of the country. The advice that we must devote greater attention to social reform before we can expect equality with the whites in political life, may not be quite sincere; but there is no gainsaying the fact that unless we can set our own house in order, our political capacity will be considered by friends and foes alike as problematical. There are so many social evils staring us in the face that all talk about political emancipation sounds hollow beside them. In the stress and turmoil of the present moment, the Indian Nationalists—of different shades of political opinion as they are—must not forget the crying need of social reform.

The clue to the direction in which the work of the Indian Nationalists lies, is supplied by Sir J. R. Seeley in his *Expansion of England*. "If there could arise in India," says he, "a nationality movement similar to that which we witnessed in Italy, the English power could not even make the resistance that was made by Austria but must succumb at once. "If it (the Indian population) had," he says further on, "a spark of that corporate life which distinguishes a nation it could not be held in such a grasp as we lay upon it. But there is no immediate prospect of such a corporate life springing up in it." There is no necessity for us to overstep the limits of the law; we need not indulge in the day-dream of a war of independence; we may securely scout the practices of the Fenians, the White Boys and the Moonlighters; let us only educate our people; let us pull down the barriers that separate the different sections of the community; let some Indian Prometheus bring down from heaven a spark of the fire of corporate life that may warm and animate the inert mass of the Indian population; and then self-government will come of itself—for our rulers will not resist the irresistible.

If an attempt were made to define the

creed of constitutional nationalists, it would come to some such thing:

(1) India for the Indians first, for the Whites afterwards. It does not follow from this that there is any hostility to vested interests, or to any class of men who have a right to be where they are.

(2) A self-sufficient India—economically, politically and otherwise. This means a revival of her lost arts and industries and with a view to this, a strict boycott of foreign goods. It also means the acquisition by the people of physical, intellectual and moral fitness for the defence and administration of their own country.

(3) Within the limits of the Empire, a fair field and no favour. In other words, there should be equal opportunities for all classes, and then free competition, wherever it does not become tyrannous and unjust.

There is no ring of sedition in this creed; it does not trench upon the undoubted rights of any class or clash with the religious instincts of any people.

National regeneration requires years, nay, sometimes centuries, of unremitting toil in countless directions; it cannot be accomplished without patient waiting for generations and without that deferring of hope that maketh the heart sick. One false step, one rash act may undo all that was achieved by the self-effacing labours of many precious lives; one dark moment of loss of faith in the moral forces that are moulding the destinies of nations may launch a people in a sea of trouble and disaster, or may land it in a bottomless quagmire of national decrepitude. There is only one thing that can cheer us on in spite of all frustration of our hopes and of all baffling of our noble schemes; there is only one thing that can light our path in the midst of the impenetrable darkness that precedes the dawn of a new order of things;—it is the unflinching, unwavering, all-absorbing faith in a Living God, who alone holds in his inscrutable dispensation the happiness and misery of individuals as well as of races of men. It is in that direction that we must look for consolation and strength. And there can not be a more fitting close to this imperfect attempt at defining the duties and aspirations of Indian Nationalists than the wise words of the distinguished German writer we have already quoted:

"How far a people is able and worthy to form a state, cannot in the imperfect condition of international law be decided by any human judgment, but only by the judgment of God as revealed in the history of the world. As a rule it is only by great struggles, by its own sufferings and its own acts, that a nation can justify its claim."

RAJANIKANTA GUHA.

THE MATCH INDUSTRY

DURING the whole of the eighteenth century and in the early part of the nineteenth century the invention of a safe and reliable agent for furnishing fire was regarded as one of the great wants of the age; and a century ago a tinder box with a piece of flint and steel was as much an indispensable item of household economy as is the well-filled match box to-day.

In the present age of civilization there is scarcely a country on the earth's surface that does not know the utility of small chips of wood with coloured heads, having for their shelter and safety a small box of wood or paste-board with innumerable varieties of coloured labels bearing trade marks and marks of the place of their manufacture. Matches are now-a-days an indispensable article of daily life and used by rich and poor alike. In fact, the match industry, which is less than a century old, is one of the most important and advanced industries of the present age, and such has been the rapid progress in its improvement, that experts and specialists in this line are of opinion that the present day matches are the product of an industry which cannot possibly be much more improved in a technical point of view, besides being as regards price within the reach of all.

This industry is carried on to a great extent in Japan, Sweden and Austria, and

they practically supply the world's market. Although other countries, such as England, France and America, have this industry, their production is small and cannot even meet the local demands. In France, the match industry is monopolised by the government and no export or import is allowed. In India matches are imported to the value of about fifty lacs of rupees per year, of which Bengal consumes nearly one third. From some fifteen years back, there have been attempts at starting match factories in India, but as is generally the case with all such new industries in a new country, (and as has happened in Japan, America and Europe in this particular industry) almost all of them failed owing to inexperience, untrained labour and difficulty of getting the proper kind of wood. But success has resulted from these fruitless attempts, as can be shown by the existence of the few present going concerns, almost all of them being profitable. Experience and further serious and special investigation concerning this particular industry have shown that the possibilities of match factories working successfully in India are very great.

The wood used in match manufacturing is generally white soft wood, such as white fir, pine, aspen, willow, cedar, &c. In India it will not be possible at all places to get wood of as good a quality as those mentioned above but wood of a little inferior quality and which may be quite suitable for matches is abundant in various places and principally in the Punjab, Kashmir, Assam, Lower Bengal, Burma, Orissa, Madras, Mysore, Berar and Gujrat.

The match industry is divided into two main branches: (1) the wood department consisting in the making of sticks called "splints" and wooden portions of boxes known as "box veneer;" (2) chemical department and finishing of matches.

In foreign countries the wood department of a factory is generally located in forests where the wood is felled or very near the wood supplying station. These wood departments manufacturing splints and box veneers form a separate industry in themselves and are independent (in respect of capital) of the other department. This leads to the possibility of starting several small factories with small outlay for chemical and finishing department only and buying ready-made splints and box veneer from other factories having wood departments only. One splint & box veneer making factory is able to supply a number of small factories for finishing matches. Thus a number of small factories having different owners and either of the two departments may be started on small outlay. The labour and outlay being divided the combined industry forms a success.

When the outlay and capital form no question, a combined factory with both departments and under the same establishment, if possible, may be worked with great advantage. If the cost of transmission of wood logs from their cutting place to the splint-making place (which may not be close to it, and sometimes a long way off) be very small, and be even equal to the extra cost (as compared with the cost of establishment of a combined factory) of a separate splint and box veneer making establishment situated close to the wood supplying station, it is advisable to start a combined factory under the same establishment, thus saving outlay and sometimes labour and material.

An idea of the approximate capital and productions of match factories on different scales is given below. The factories will be equipped with the most up-to-date and improved machines and can produce safety, sulphur or pyrotechnic (coloured lights) matches.

ESTIMATES OF COMBINED FACTORIES.

	Capital invested.	*Production per day.*
(*a*)	Rs. 75,000	One lac or about 700 gross of complete match boxes.
(*b*)	Rs. 45,000	Fifty thousand complete match boxes.
(*c*)	Rs. 30,000	Thirty thousand complete match boxes.

A factory with a wood department only and producing splint and box veneer would require a capital of about Rs. 15,000, and would be able to supply materials for the working of two or three small factories with an outlay varying from five to fifteen thousand rupees each, and productions ranging from 100 to 200 gross of complete match boxes per day.

Mostly in England and partly in France, Russian, Austrian and Canadian wood is

used and even ready-made splints and box veneers are imported. Following this system of importing splints and box veneers, a large number of small factories could be started with an outlay of five to fifteen thousand rupees each, working profitably and side by side (as is the case in Japan) without injuring one another. There is room for 20 such match factories in Bengal alone, which would save 50% of the drain of wealth in the match trade. A small match factory would give employment to about 100 men, women and children. There are departments in this particular industry which could give work for men and women who are physically unfit for outdoor work or hard labour, and could even provide work for poor but respectable women unable to go out for menial service or outdoor work. In Japan hundreds of poor families earn their livelihood in this way.

Now considering the usefulness and importance of this industry, its demand and ready market, and probable good amount of profit, quite a number of match factories on different scales and systems could be worked successfully.

It now rests with capitalists and well-wishers of the soil to start such industries and save the large amount of money that is being carried away annually to foreign lands and which could go to feed thousands of our hungry countrymen.

A. GHOSE,
Manufacturing Engineer of Matches, Japan.

NATURE—METHODS IN EDUCATION

AS TO WHAT REFORM IN EDUCATION MEANS.
A LECTURE BY A LONDON TEACHER.

SPEAKING as a professional teacher to a gathering of amateurs, anxious to know something of the true principles of education, and confessedly ignorant of them to a great extent, I should like to address the least skilled amongst you, and to say: "In the first place, why do you wish to provide teaching for your children at all?"

Instinctively, the answer rises to each one's lips—"That they may learn what they must know, of course!" And yet, at bottom, this is hardly true. At bottom, even the most foolish and ignorant of parents, would prefer a manly and capable to a learned but unadaptable son. And so in all our minds, however, unrecognised, lurks the truth that not "that they may learn what they must know," but "that they may become what they must be," is our true motive in giving instruction to our children,—in other words that *Development, not instruction, is the real aim of education.*

But why do we misapprehend our own intention in this matter? The reason is simple. Society is today so organised that the man *who knows* is on all hands the man who succeeds and is respected. Hence we are continually finding reason to say "how glad I am that I know a little of this!" And "I only wish I had learnt more of that!" It is simply an instance of the greater confusion of our intellectual than our material perceptions, that we immediately turn round, and because information is the crying need that civilisation has forced upon us, imagine that to the little ones also it must be an unmixed good. In lower matters we should exercise an instinct of congruity which completely fails us here. We should not pronounce a costly diamond a fitting ornament to a poor costume! Or a white elephant a suitable domestic animal for a London house. So we see that it is reasonable to regard childhood as having needs of its own, entirely distinct from our grown-up aspirations, which we must meet in very different ways. Hence the cry of those who contend for Educational Reform,—*Development must start from the child's standpoint, and proceed along the lines laid down by the child's nature.*

What, then, is the child's standpoint? What indeed is the child itself?

A child is a young organism, with latent powers, physical, mental, and spiritual, possessed of an environment, physical,

mental, and spiritual, and capable of communicating with this environment only through its senses.

A baby is a familiar object. It lies in its cradle, and is tended by its mother, and all that it really *knows* is hardness and softness to the touch, warmth and cold, the pain of hunger and discomfort. These are matters of experience. Bye and bye, repeated sensations solidify into *consciousness*, such as we know it (or similar), and implying a faculty of memory. Presently they come in addition to be classified, on the one hand into softness, warmth, food, comfort, and on the other into roughness, hardness, pain, restlessness, and then arises that mental state in which the beautiful word mother is applied to the condition of perfect blessedness and content. In other words, a new need, that of the *name*, has been felt, and the word-symbol—which has power to conjure up the idea of the thing, when the actuality is absent,—has been given for the first time.

Later,—but long, long after, this word mother becomes a spiritual force, and enables the child to reach the supreme generalisation of Humanity,—Love.

We are all more or less familiar with this series of realisations: it may be new to some of us that precisely these same steps—(1) knowledge of the concrete object, which is afterwards named, (2) mental picture called up by the name, and (3) abstract idea,—have to be passed through in respect to each item of information which the mind is ever to make its own. Only that abstract idea is true which is based on knowledge of the concrete; only that mind can form valuable opinions which has the habit of dealing accurately and impartially with tangible facts.

On which range of subjects are we, most of us, more reliable, those connected with London or with Surinam?

Now you noted that there was no *teaching* the young child about motherhood: the facts were there, and as a human being it laid hold of them.

The educationist's true function is to see that the facts are there and that the child lays hold of them through its senses. This process is called *Sense-Impression* and we of the Education League are anxious that it should be recognised as the proper instrument of instruction.

Its success is within all our ken. Children can count how much cake they eat, or what happens to certain nuts and apples, when the conventional problems about the old woman who carried fowls to market, or how far A had travelled when he was overtaken by B, are quite beyond them, though they may be concerned with the same numbers and properties of numbers.

There *is* an alternative. Such a thing is still extant as an attempt to teach by *telling*. It is an attempt of which any of us may be guilty, and we all know how it proceeds.

Too abstract a problem is set before a pupil. He fails to grasp it, is puzzled, perhaps irritated,—but we are patient. We explain again and again (it needs many explanations) the steps of the solution, and at last enforce on him a familiarity with the method which enables him to apply it more or less successfully in other cases.

The full mischief done in this way can only be guessed at after experience and careful observation, but note only the strain and distress through which the result has been reached, whereas by beginning lower down, and lavishing time on the early stages, we should have had enjoyment of work done, anxiety to reach the next step, and developed power to mount it.

Note this also, that it is not possible to teach arithmetic at all, and leave so complete a state of ignorance as in some other subjects. For arithmetic is constantly being subjected to the test of doing, and *knowledge comes by doing*.

Of course we have children, and especially girls, who dread and hate this of all lessons. But the reason is probably that constant expression only serves to keep their fundamental bewilderment ever before them, and both they and their teachers regard this as an instance of stupidity.

Thus we see that as long as our educational systems are to be dominated by the sense of what must be known on a given day, just so long the development of faculty becomes of secondary importance, and true education an impossibility.

If then we are agreed that the standpoint of the child is the first thing to be considered, and that the child gains all his experience through his senses, we shall find, further,

that there must be an education of the eye, the ear, the hand. That is to say, expression must be developed on the lines of science and art, and the ideal education comes to be regarded as *the even development of all the faculties.*

At present, its object is almost exclusively literary or lingual. Is it not Ruskin who somewhere points out the striking testimony borne to this contention in our use of the term *literate* as a synonym for cultivated?

The first two years of schoolroom-life are commonly devoted amongst us to learning how to read, write, and speak. [Occasionally, the child is sent to a Kindergarten to be taught these things, because there is a vague idea afloat that a Kindergarten is amusing, and so long as the supreme purpose is achieved, we are humane enough to feel that a little amusement "can do no harm"]. And the subsequent and "serious" years of study are spent on the acquisition of information which shall be valuable as material for the said reading, writing, and talk.

At the end of such an education, if we are very fortunate, we are able to express ordinary ideas in three or four different languages, [though even this power, we must not forget, is in this country to a very great extent a class-privilege,—by far the most usual purpose of language-learning with English girls, being "for examination"], and we have an idea of the motives which have guided great authorities in putting certain literary works on the list of the classics. I put the matter in this form, purposely, because I hold that until we have had some experience of life, it is almost impossible that we should know what we ourselves prefer in Literature, and why.

Now we of the Educational Reform demand that the literary faculty be relegated to its true place as only one of the powers which constitute the heritage of the human being, and that not the earliest or most important to be trained.

This brings us down to something like the question of the "subjects" to be placed on a reformed curriculum. They will be selected of course entirely according to the opportunities of development which they afford. Whatever object comes under notice, it must be remembered that form, colour, quantity, and qualities are of vastly more value to the pupil than the mere name. Necessarily, certain hours must be set apart for more or less exclusive attention to number, form, colour, sound, manipulation, and language respectively.

Here we take that most difficult of all steps,—the first. Behind us loom the great branches of human learning: before us sits the child.

We are to develope the little one's geometrical, quantitative, aesthetic, scientific, and manual powers, *i.e.*, we are to teach number, music, natural history, and a host of other subjects, and yet we are to present only what the young mind is fitted to receive.

Perhaps no moment in the history of the educator is more bewildering than this. He feels probably,—and it is well that he should feel,—somewhat proficient in certain sciences himself. His own tastes are mathematical or musical, or biological, or what not, and yet this is scarcely a help to the performance of the present task.

One of two courses is open to him. Either he ignores the child, and blunders blindly into the heart of abstruse matters, or he devotes himself patiently to the analysis of one or two branches of knowledge [he can hardly be genius enough to reach an unaided and original success in more], at the same time studying with equal attention the nature of the child. Under these circumstances, at the end of a long lifetime, he perhaps knows in those one or two subjects, exactly how and in what order, the elements may be presented by the teacher. In other words, he has constructed *an alphabet* of form or colour or number, as the case may be.

The first plan is to be seen in practice any day. Without touching on regions where we might seem to discredit the work of earnest teachers, let us look at the common treatment of the aesthetic faculty. It is a great thing when we realise that the Love of the Beautiful is something worth cultivating in our children and many educators have recognised this. But in most cases they have sought to reach their end by placing before the young eyes copies of the most beautiful things in the world. A picture of the Doge's Palace at Venice hangs before a boy who has no idea of the

perfectness of line in a branch of flowering elm; the music of Bach falls on ears that do not recognise the common chord; and the colouring of Raphael or Turner is expected to appeal to eyes that have never noticed the glory of a sunset or a crocus.

And these things do not train, or develope, or stimulate: they weary and stultify and disgust.

The experiment is being made on a large scale today. We exhaust the culture of Greece, and Japan, and Norway, for our children, and we do it in vain, unless at the same time, we study their mind and attitude, and give that only which they can make their own.

But if the formation of an alphabet is often the work of a lifetime, it is easy to see the importance of handing over to the community any system which may thus have been acquired. The Education League believes that in many directions such work has been already done, and that no monopoly should be allowed to interfere with the rise and spread of the best in this respect.

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We come then to the question,—is the Reform of Education a matter only of the earliest years of the intellectual life, or does it not apply quite equally to the whole course? And our answer is a two-fold one.

At present, the movement is chiefly towards Preparatory Education. It is in this stage that its influence will be most quickly felt. There can be no doubt that the substitution of *hearing, seeing, and doing* for mere *clerkliness* as the mark of perfect gentlehood must modify very largely the course of instruction in our public schools, and possibly end by touching the Universities. There can be no doubt also that the recognition of the weakness of *Telling* as an educative method must eventually influence teaching-processes in all classes. But in the meantime the Reform covers only the whole of the Preparatory stages of Education, *i.e.*, up to the age of about ten for boys, and twelve for girls, and throughout those years the characteristic of the pupil is extreme interest and happiness in his work, together with a desire to pursue effort and enquiry independently, outside lesson hours.

In this desire we find the answer to another question which is anxiously put sometimes. Will the years of study not be unduly prolonged, under the reformed curriculum.

It is quite probable that they will, because it is quite probable that the thirst for knowledge will pervade, undiminished, the whole life. But it is not at all probable that an education on the lines we have laid down will render the dependence on the teacher greater. Quite the reverse. Just as the child of eight who has been trained in this way is often able to surpass in what is new to him, him of ten who has been the victim of "instruction," so the years of school-room life may end when you will, but if the student has been stimulated to genuine interest in the study, and a genuine command of methods, THE EDUCATION OF SELF-ACTIVITY will be enough to carry him on to that knowledge and power which are the more sure and beautiful for being erected on a firm foundation.

A THING THAT INDIA HAS TAUGHT EUROPE

MAX Muller delivered a course of lectures to the probationers of the Indian Civil Service at Cambridge on "India—what can it teach us?" He tried to impress on the Christian youths seeking a career in India and growing rich at the expense of the children of the Indian soil, the fact that heathen India can after all teach them something. But he did not tell them what India had already taught England— aye, the whole of the Western world, within the last century.

This important thing which India has taught Europe has been a system of teaching. Very few in India know that the system of "mutual tuition"—a system which

has been practised by Indian school-masters since time immemorial—has been borrowed by the Christian countries of the West from India. The man who first introduced it into Great Britain was a native of Scotland by the name of Dr. Andrew Bell.

The poet-laureate Robert Southey and his son wrote the life of this remarkable man, from which we learn that Bell was the second son of a Scotch barber. By sheer dint of perseverance, he pursued knowledge under difficulties, studied and graduated in the University of Glasgow, and after a chequered career in some other parts of the world, he came out to India as a chaplain on the Madras Establishment in the year 1787. He brought with him an apparatus to illustrate the lectures that he intended to deliver on natural philosophy. By his lectures at Madras and Calcutta he realised a very large sum. His biographers have recorded that

"he performed the experiment of making ice, which was the first time it had been exhibited in India. He made also the first baloon there; it was of no great dimensions; for as the assistant did his part badly, and the thing failed, Dr. Bell (in his own words,) threw it in a passion from the verandah. After which the heat of the sun rarified the enclosed air, and the baloon mounted in grand style, exciting no small commotion among the natives."

The Military Male Orphan Asylum was established at Madras in 1789, and Dr. Bell offered his services as Superintendent gratuitously. This institution was destined to be the nursery of his future fame. For it was in connection with this institution that he first discovered and then practised the system of "mutual tuition." Regarding the discovery of this system, his biographers write:—

"When Dr. Bell took upon himself the superintendency, he found one master and two ushers employed in teaching less than twenty boys. These boys were not all arranged in classes, and of those who were, he was told that it was impossible to teach them to take places. One lesson a day was as much as could usually be exacted from them, and sometimes only one in two or three days. Indeed, the teachers themselves had every thing to learn relating to the management of a school. They were men who had never been trained in tuition, but were taken from very different occupations; he found it, he says, beyond measure difficult to bring them into his own views, and convince them how impossible it was that the school could be properly conducted, or the boys improve as they ought, without order, and inflexible, but mild discipline.

"It was not less difficult to impress them with the necessity of an earnest and constant attention to the behaviour of the boys, and the importance of inculcating upon them on all occasions a sense of their moral duties, as the only means of correcting the miserable maxims and habits in which most of them had hitherto been bred up. He found also, that whenever he had succeeded in qualifying a man for performing his business as an usher in the school, he had qualified him for situations in which a much higher salary might be obtained with far less pains. These men, therefore, were either discontented with an appointment which was them below their deserts. ...

"It was, however, mainly with their incapacity, and the obstinacy which always accompanied it, that Dr. Bell had to contend at first. He was dissatisfied with the want of discipline, and the imperfect instruction in every part of the school, but more particularly with the slow progress of the younger boys, and the unreasonable length of time consumed in teaching them their letters. They were never able to proceed without the constant aid of an usher, and with that aid, months were wasted before the difficulties of the alphabet were got over. Dr. Bell's temper led him to do all things quickly, and his habits of mind to do them thoroughly, and leave nothing incomplete. He tells us, that from the beginning he looked upon perfect instruction as the main duty of the office with which he had charged himself; yet he was foiled for sometime in all the means that he devised for attaining it. Many attempts he made to correct the evil in its earliest stage, and in all, he met with more or less opposition from the master and ushers. Every alteration which he proposed, they considered as implying some reflection on their own capacity or diligence; in proportion as he interfered, they thought themselves disparaged, and were not less displeased than surprised, that instead of holding the office of superintendent as a sinecure, his intention was to devote himself earnestly to the concerns of the Asylum, and more especially to the school department.

"Things were in this state, when happening on one of his morning rides to pass by a Malabar school, he observed the children seated on the ground and writing with their fingers in sand, which had for that purpose been strewn over them. He hastened home, repeating to himself as he went 'Eureka', 'I have discovered it;' and gave immediate orders to the usher of the lowest classes to teach the alphabet in the same manner with this difference only from the Malabar mode, that the sand was strewn upon a board. These orders were either disregarded, or so carelessly executed as if they were thought not worth regarding; and after frequent admonitions, and repeated trials made without either expectation or wish of succeeding, the usher at last declared it was impossible to teach the boys in that way. If he had acted on this occasion in good will and with merely common ability, Dr. Bell might never have cried 'Eureka' a second time. But he was not a man to be turned from his purpose by the obstinacy of others, nor to be baffled in it by incapacity; baffled, however, he was now sensible that he must be, if he depended for the execution of his plans on the will and ability of those over whose minds he had no command. He bethought himself of employing a boy, on whose obedience, disposition, and cleverness, he could rely, and giving him charge of the alphabet class. The lad's name was John Frisken; he was the

son of a private soldier, had learned his letters in the asylum, and was then about eight years old. Dr. Bell laid the strongest injunctions upon him to follow his instructions; saying, he should look to him for the success of the simple and easy method which was to be pursued and hold him responsible for it. What the usher had pronounced to be impossible, this lad succeeded in effecting without any difficulty. The alphabet was now as much better taught, as till then it had been worse than any other part of the boys' studies; and Frisken, in consequence, was appointed permanent teacher of that class.

"Though Dr. Bell did not immediately perceive the whole importance of this successful experiment, he proceeded in the course into which he had been, as it were, compelled. What Frisken had accomplished with the alphabet class, might in like manner, be done with those next in order, by boys selected, as he had been, for their aptitude to learn or to teach. Accordingly, he appointed boys as assistant teachers to some of the lower classes, giving, however, to Frisken, the charge of superintending both the assistants and their classes, because of his experience, and the readiness with which he apprehended and executed whatever was required from him. This talent indeed the lad possessed in such perfection, that Dr. Bell did not hesitate to throw upon him the entire responsibility of this part of the school. The same improvement was now manifested in these classes as had taken place in teaching the alphabet. This he attributed to the diligence and fidelity with which his little friends, as he used to call them, performed his orders. To them a smile of approbation was no mean reward, and a look of displeasure sufficient punishment. Even in this stage, he felt confident, that nothing more was wanting to bring the school into such a state as he had always proposed to himself, than to carry through the whole of the plan upon which he was now proceeding. And this, accordingly, was done. The experiment which, from necessity, had been tried at first with one class, was systematically extended to all the others in progression; and what is most important with scholastic improvement, moral improvement, not less in consequence of the system, is said to have kept place. For the assistant teachers, being invested with authority, not because of their standing in the school, retained their influence at all times, and it was their business to interpose whenever their interference was necessary: such interference prevented all that tyranny and ill-usage from which so much of the evil connected with boarding schools arises; and all that mischief in which some boys are engaged by a mischievous disposition, more by mere wantonness, and a still greater number by the example of their companions. The boys were thus rendered inoffensive toward others, and among themselves; and this gentle preventive discipline made them, in its sure consequences, contented and happy. A boy was appointed over each class to marshal them when they went to church or walked out, and to see that they duly performed the operations of combing and washing themselves. Ten boys were appointed daily to clean the school-rooms, and wait upon the others at their meals. Twice a week during the monsoon season, they were marched by an usher to the tank, and there they bathed by classes.

"As to any purposes of instruction the master and ushers were now virtually superseded. They attended the school so as to maintain the observance of the rules; though even this was scarcely necessary under Dr. Bell's vigilant superintendence, who now made the school the great pleasure as well as the great business of his life. Their duty was, not to teach, but to look after the various departments of the institution, to see that the daily tasks were performed, to take care of the boys in and out of the school, and to mark any irregularity or neglect either in them or the teachers. The master's principal business regarded now the economy of the institution: he had charge both of the daily disbursements and monthly expenditure under the treasurer.

"The precise date of that experiment which led to the general introduction of boy teachers cannot be ascertained; but that these teachers had been introduced in 1791, or early in the ensuing year, is certain. In private letters written to his friends in Europe, Dr. Bell relates the progress of his improvements step by step, and the impressions made upon his own mind by the complete success of his exertions in a favourite pursuit. These letters show also how soon he became aware of the importance of the system which he was developing and bringing to maturity."

He amassed a large fortune in India, the shores of which he quitted in August 1796. The amount which he took away from India has been estimated at £25,935-16-5.

After his retirement from India till the last day of his life, he did all that lay within his power to introduce the "mutual instruction" system of education into British schools. In 1811, a "National Institution" for education on this system was established in London, which radiated into the provinces and greatly promoted the diffusion of the system. This system, at the recommendation of the Duke of York and with the sanction of the Prince Regent, was introduced into the regimental schools throughout the army.

By his will he left his large fortune for educational purposes—principally to teach his "mutual instruction" system. Thus he bequeathed £50,000 for the foundation and endowment of a "Madras College" at St. Andrews; and £50,000, in equal shares of £10,000 each, for the establishment of "Madras Schools" in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Leith.

He died on the 27th of January, 1832 and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 12th of February.

B.

DURGA—VEDIC AND PURANIC

THE gods that are now worshipped in this country have each taken centuries to assume their present shapes. The origin of most of them, as that of many of our epics and stories, lies hidden in the poetic fancies of the Vedic Rishis. Our people have now wellnigh lost the power of discriminating fiction and history. In the Vedas, Sita was only the furrowing of the fields, agriculture, and was beautifully represented as the consort of Indra, the rain-god. When the people of the Deccan learnt agriculture from us, they were said to have stolen our Sita. From this poetic idea arose the story of the *Ramayana*, the heroes and heroines of which are now believed to be historical persons. The Kurukshetra war may have been a real event, but that the five Pandavas are purely poetic creations, the poet of the *Mahabharata* himself does not attempt to hide, for he ascribes miraculous and impossible births to all of them. Sri Krishna managing Arjuna's chariot and and guiding him with good counsel while in doubt and difficulty, is only a poetical representation of an eternal fact—the working of our bodily organs by the power of God and his constant inspiration guiding and strengthening us in doubts and difficulties. The goddess whose worship has just closed in Bengal, was originally nothing but night (*rátri*) and sleep (*nidrá*) that comes with night. She is praised in a *khila* of the *Rig-veda*, the one that follows the 127th hymn. She is there called 'Durgá'—difficult to pass or go through—as night really is. She is described as the refuge of all sufferers, all who are pursued by enemies, internal and external. The *Devisukta* in the same Veda, cited by the worshippers of Durgá as the Vedic authority for their cult, does not contain any direct reference to her. What we find, however, in this poetic image, is the fact that day and night, light and darkness, are inseparably related. And so Durgá naturally becomes Rudrání, the wife of Rudra, originally the same as Agni, the Fire-god, and father of the Maruts, the Storm-gods. We next meet with the goddess in the *Taittiríya Áranyaka*, where, in x. 7, she is called 'Durgí', instead of 'Durgá.' Gradually, another poetic image, that of Gáyatrí, originally the *mantra* used in daily devotions, but by degrees the representation of Vedic learning, coalesced with that of Durgá or Rudrání. Rudra, as the Protector of the hills and the Rishis living in the hills, was lodged in the Himalayas, where also his consort must needs dwell. Now, Gáyatrí or Divine Knowledge also could not but arise in the same holy place; and so she is described in the *Taittiríya Áranyaka*, x. 26, as born *uttame shikhare*, in the highest peak, *parvata-múrdhani*, on the top of the hills. In the same *Áranyaka*, x. 18., Rudra is called, among other names, 'Ambikápati' and 'Umápati.' 'Umá' literally means protectress, and 'Ambiká' is mother. In the *Taittiríya Bráhmana* we find an explanation of the fact that Ambiká is worshipped in Autumn, for the poet there identifies the goddess with the season and calls her 'Sarat.' Some of the most important characteristics of Durgá, as conceived in later times, have their origin in the Vedic conception of the seven tongues or flames of fire. They are thus named in the *Mundakopanishad*,—Káli, Karáli Manojavá, Sulohitá, Sudhúmravarná, Sphulinginí, and Vishvaruchí. These being inseparable from fire, could not but be, to the poets, consorts or different names of the consort of Rudra, the god of fire. Another most important mention of the goddess in Vedic literature, is that in the *Kenopanishad*. The gods are there described as having become inordinately proud of their victory over the *asuras*. They did not know that the power they called their own was really the power of Brahman. And so Brahman, to teach them this saving truth, appeared somewhere in an adorable form. The gods sent Agni and Váyu one after an-

other to ascertain who that Adorable One was. Brahman humbled their pride by showing that without his power they were unable to burn or carry even a straw. But even this did not open their eyes, and so Indra followed them on the same errand. Brahman disappeared on his approach, but his patience in waiting was rewarded by the appearance of 'Umá Haimavati,'—Divine knowledge, the Protectress of the righteous, arising in the holy Himalayas—not perhaps yet conceived as the daughter of the mountain as a chieftain—who told Indra that the power with which the gods had vanquished the *asuras* was the power of God himself. Now, we have already seen the coalescence of Divine knowledge and Divine power, or at any rate, the power of Rudra, in a single image. We see now how that image, that goddess, came to be latterly connected with the war between the *devas* and the *asuras*. This war, it is now clear both from the Vedas and the Zendavesta, was really the struggle that separated two branches of the Aryan family, the Parsic and the Indic. The *devas* and the *asuras* originally formed common objects of worship to both the branches. But latterly the worshippers—and consequently the gods also—seem to have quarrelled and separated from one another. It is the collective power of the *devas* that figures as Chandí, Durgá or Kálí, the destroyer of the *asuras*, in Puranic literature. But before the full Puranic image of the goddess was formed, great changes in the conceptions and practices of the nation had taken place. By the process called 'henotheism' by Western scholars, some of the Vedic gods,—notably Rudra and Vishnu—had, from being merely *devas*, risen to be Brahman, the Supreme Being, the God of gods. After this transformation, the wife of either Rudra or Vishnu could not be anything else than the power of the Supreme Being. Another important change in the national life was the introduction of non-Aryan ideas and the partial adoption of non-Aryan practices by our ancestors. This explains some of the most savage and horrid aspects of Durgá in the Puranic representations of her exploits. The most popular of these representations is, of course, that found in the *Chandí*, a part of the *Márkandeya Purána*. The poet of *Chandì* enumerates three manifestations of the goddess. On the first occasion, she appeared to kill the *asuras*, Madhu and Kaitabha. To the poet, she is night, sleep and the Divine power of creation and destruction, all in one. She is, in a sense, more powerful than Vishnu himself, represented by the poet as the Supreme Being; for it is she, who, at the end of a cycle, puts Vishnu to sleep and at the beginning of another, makes him and the two other members of the Hindu triad assume bodily shapes (*Chandì* I. 79, 80.) This doctrine shows the influence of later Vedantism on the author, the Vedantism which, as the result of the Buddhistic theory of Illusion, makes the Creator himself subject to *Máyá*. This theory forms no part of Orthodox Vedantism,—the Vedantism of the Upanishads and the *Brahma Sùtras*, according to which *Máyá*, the power of God, is entirely under his control, and he is holy, wise and free—*suddha-buddha-muktasvabhá-va*. The author is also partly under Sánkhya influence, for he makes his *Shakti* almost independent of God. The Sánkhya *Prakriti* is an entity, a power, independent of *Purusha*, though it cannot act without proximity to the latter; whereas the Vedantic *Prakriti* is wholly dependent on God, who is the sole Agent in Nature. The poet's philosophy—and that he has a philosophy is apparent in every part of his book—is further vitiated by his extravagant poetry, which every now and then oversteps the limits of reality and possibility, and thus shows itself to be no real poetry, whose function is to present truth in an attractive form familiar to common apprehension. Thus he makes a period of *pralaya*—a period that modern science would call one of homogeneity, in which differentiations exist only potentially in the First Cause,—a period in which the Creator is represented as asleep—he makes such a period the time for the destructive career of his Madhu and Kaitabha. The *asuras* proceed so far as to try to devour Brahmá, the first member of the triad, and Brahmá, in great fear, prays *Shakti* to rouse Vishnu and save him from his enemies. Now, where could Brahmá—creation incarnate—be, and where could such creatures as *asuras* be, when creation itself was merged in the Creator, and the Creator himself was asleep? However, Máyá responds to

Brahmá's prayer, and rouses up Vishnu, who, with her help, fights the *asuras* and kills them. On the second occasion, an *asura* named Mahisha (Buffalo) oppresses the *devas* and forces them to approach Vishnu and Siva. Both of them were angry on hearing the account given by the gods, and power goes out of them. It goes out of the *devas* also, and all these Divine forces combine and form the grand image that forms the object of popular worship in the present season. Each limb of the goddess is made of some Divine force—the force either of Brahmá, Vishnu, Siva, Indra, Váyu, Varuna or some other god. There is a bit of true poetry here. Every great conquering power must be the combination of the Divine forces existing in the many. However, empowered with the power of the gods, and armed with their divine arms, the goddess proceeded to fight Mahisha and vanquished him. On the third occasion, it was the *asuras*, Shumbha and Nishumbha, that annoyed the gods and brought Chandí and the divine army to the field. This time the goddess comes out of the body of Párvati, the daughter of the Himalayas, who then turns black and becomes Kálí, the most horrid form of the goddess. Kálí, again, is made to issue out of the goddess's head while in the battle-field, and do some of the most dirty and dreadful deeds ascribed to her. This third battle being also the longest and the most furious, the poet finds an opportunity in it to give the freest scope to his grotesque fancies. He makes his goddess drink wine, dance frantically over the battle-field, and revel in eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the *asuras*. The disastrous effects of such poetry —poetry accepted for centuries as true history and true religion,—may be seen in the debauchery that prevailed throughout the country at one time and still defiles many parts of it. However, we must give the poet the credit of believing and worshipping a really infinite Being, a Being without beginning and without end in time and space, and of boundless power and goodness, though he believes that that Being appeared on various occasions in the forms of various gods and goddesses. To him all objects of Nature and all intelligent beings are manifestations of Divine power, and here, we must admit, there is the essence of a philosophical truth, a truth which we, who reject his mythology and his idolatry, may very well learn from him. Another truth that he teaches us is that God has a *rudra*, a terrible, as well as a benignant form. We must learn to see his hand in the apparently destructive events of Nature and human history as well as in those which are agreeable, for the former as well as the latter are leading to ultimate good. The third lesson he teaches us is the motherhood of God, the tender love of God for us. The poet has only given us the idea; he has not developed it. He saw the dreadful aspect of the Divine nature more than the tender, the delightful. But we ought to develop the idea and trace the manifestations of the divine motherhood in our domestic and social relations. Fourthly, as already said above, he teaches us that nothing great or important can be done by isolated efforts; for the accomplishment of all great ends the union of the divine forces in the many is necessary. All power is divine—even the power of the *asuras*, as the poet himself admits, though he makes his goddess fight and kill the *asuras*. The only real *asura* is egotism—that in us which makes us think we are somebodies in ourselves—that there is any power in us which is not God's. The real *Devi-Yuddha*, therefore, is the destruction of egotism, pride and self-seeking, with the power of God that is in us and acts through us.

SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN.

"What a man is at any moment of life does not fix what he may become. It is not necessarily a destination; it may be merely a station; an episode, not the complete story. Progress is but the continuous revelation of possibilities transformed into realities. We see the running, but not the goal. The individual must believe in his possibilities, feel that his life is a stewardship of wondrous powers for which he is individually responsible, or he can do nothing really great. Realizing this possibility gives a tone of dignity to living, makes life glow with the red blood of energy and purpose."

THE ANGLICIZATION OF INDIANS

IN the days of John Company, under the cover of philanthropy, but mainly, if not solely, to benefit their trade, Englishmen were anxious to anglicize the people of India. Their idea of anglicization was to instruct Indians through the medium of English, and, if possible, get them converted to Christianity. So on the eve of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, the circular letter from Mr. T. Hyde Villiers, Secretary to the Commissioners for the affairs of India, dated India Board, February 11th, 1832, addressed to prominent Anglo-Indians, contained the following questions on which the Board were desirous of receiving information.

"NATIVES OF INDIA.

"General observations, pointing out any disadvantages under which they labour, and suggesting improvements in their situation. Measures adopted in India for the education and instruction of the natives. Whether the extension of the knowledge of the English language amongst the natives of India has been hitherto made an object of attention as a means of further identifying the natives with British rule. What has been the tendency of the general instruction hitherto given to the natives in their own languages. What may be expected to be the result of the combined system of instruction given to the natives, both in the English and in the Asiatic languages; whether favourable or otherwise to the advancement of the Christian religion. Whether any visible progress has been made in the conversion of natives to Christianity in any part of British India. Whether the natives of India should be encouraged to visit England. What would be the probable consequences of such encouragement with reference to religious, scientific, political and commercial considerations."

[The last two sentences in the above extract show that the question of the consequences of Indians visiting England which is now agitating the minds of British administrators and exploiters, is not of recent origin, and that such visits have not been encouraged or tolerated from purely altruistic motives.] There were four Anglo-Indians who answered the circular letter containing the questions extracted above. One of them whose name is not divulged, but who belonged to the Civil Service, wrote:—

"Schools have been established, but not on an extensive scale, and not embracing the acquisition of English, which I think would be a desirable attainment not difficult for the natives of India, who have a natural genius for learning languages. * * Whatever substitutes better subjects for reflection, must tend to enlighten their minds, and advance the cause of Christianity; hitherto I fear there have been very few real converts.

"Few natives would be able to bear the expense, and willing to encounter the contamination, the danger, and the sickness of a voyage to England; but it might be desirable that some of the higher orders should come to enlarge their understandings, and see the power of the British nation."

Mr. John Sullivan, a Madras Civilian, who had the reputation of being sympathetic towards the natives of India, in answer to the above question wrote:—

"The disadvantages under which the natives labor, are, their exclusion from all offices of trust and emolument; their degradation from the station which they hold in society under the native governments; *the appropriation by Europeans of the merit due to public service, although in fact such service may have been rendered by natives;* the precarious tenure upon which they hold their offices, and the incomes of those offices; the inconsiderate treatment which they too frequently meet with from Europeans, and our heavy system of taxation, imposed for maintaining extensive European establishments. To this list of grievances may be added, this crowning one, that we never think it worth our while to consult them upon any of those measures of government, which have the interests of the natives for their professed object.

"EDUCATION OF NATIVES.

"It is only of late years that the Government have taken any steps for promoting the *Education of Natives.* * * * The acquirement of English is not made an object of education, it is rather and most unaccountably, discouraged. * * Humanly speaking, it seems to be impossible that any system of education we can devise, should produce beneficial results upon the character of the natives so long as we keep them in a state of degradation. We must first hold out objects of ambition to them—motives which shall induce them to study our language, laws and literature.

"CONVERSION OF NATIVES

"I cannot call to mind a single instance of the

conversion of a native of rank to Christianity. * * * The forfeiture of claim to hereditary property, by those who become Christians, is a very serious subject, upon which some legislative provision appears necessary. Our Mussalman predecessors far from allowing converts to Islam to lose by the change, usually conferred special benefits upon them. * * * * The spread of English ought to be attempted by every means; the natives are fond of it, and acquire it with more facility than we do their languages."

Mr. Francis Warden, formerly Member of Council at Bombay, wrote in reply to the circular letter, a long letter, dated 30th April, 1832. This letter occupies above 22 pages of the folio volume of the Parliamentary Report. In the course of this letter, he wrote:—

"It appears to me that ultimately, and in a very few years, greater benefit will be bestowed on the country, and at less labour and expense, by circumscribing our efforts and funds, to the diffusion of the English language, and the circulation of English books, than in instructing natives in their own languages, printing and circulating their own works, translations of English tracts, and of English works on arts and sciences in all the languages of India. A laborious undertaking. With all our philological knowledge of the languages, our vigilance and our anxiety, we shall, I am afraid, diffuse in our translations a great many serious errors."

Then he quoted the *Quarterly Review* in which some one wrote that

"A more familiar acquaintance with the English language would, to the natives, be the surest source of intellectual improvement, and *might become the most durable tie between Britain and India.* In any plan, therefore, for the public education of the natives, the complete knowledge of our language ought to form so prominent an object, as to lay the ground for its gradually becoming at least the established vehicle of legal and official business. *The English language would thus in India as in America, be the lasting monument of our dominion*; and it is not too much to hope that it might also be the medium through which the inhabitants of those vast regions might hereafter rival the rest of the civilized world, in the expression of all that most exercises and distinguishes human intellect."

Regarding the conversion of natives to Christianity, he wrote:—

"An improved system of education, and more correct and enlarged views cannot fail of impressing on the natives, a conviction of the absurdities, the fallacies and errors of their religion; and must gradually lead to the advancement and ultimate triumph of true revelation."

The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in reply to the above question, wrote:—

"The disadvantages under which the natives labour, from long subjection to bad government, from ignorance and superstition, and from the degradation of character resulting from those causes, are obvious.

"The great peculiarity in their situation arises from the introduction of a foreign government. This at first operated beneficially, by establishing tranquility, and introducing improvements in administration. Its next effects were less beneficial. Under a native government, independent of the mutual adaptation of the institutions and the people, there is a connected chain throughout the society, and a free communication between the different parts. Notwithstanding the institution of castes, there is no country where men rise with more ease from the lowest rank to the highest. The first Nabob (now king) of Oudh, was a petty merchant: the first Peishwa, a village accountant; the ancestors of Holkar were goatherds; and those of Sindhia, slaves. All these, and many other instances, took place within the last century. Promotions from among the common people to all the ranks of civil and military employment, short of sovereignty, are of daily occurrence under native states, and this keeps up the spirit of the people, and in that respect partially supplies the place of popular institutions. The free intercourse of the different ranks also keeps up a sort of circulation and diffusion of such knowledge and such sentiments as exist in the society. Under us, on the contrary, the community is divided into two perfectly distinct and dissimilar bodies, of which the one is torpid and inactive, while all the sense and power seem concentrated in the other. * * * *

"* * The most important branch of education in my opinion is that designed to prepare natives for public employment. It is important, not only from its contributing so directly to the general improvement, but also from the stimulus it affords to education among the better class of natives by connecting it with their interest.

"I conceive that the study of English ought to be encouraged by all means, and that few things will be so effectual in enlightening the natives, and *bringing them nearer to us;* * *

"The result of educating natives both in English and in their own language must be favorabls to the progress of Christianity; * *

"Inconvenience will doubtless in time result from the resort of natives to Europe, especially from the uses of intrigue and chicane to which they will apply their visits. * * * * but I think the advantages of encouraging them to visit Europe greatly preponderate over the disadvantages."

The education of Indians in English and their conversion to Christianity were calculated to be beneficial to the trade of England. Many of them welcomed the change for the worse, or rather demoralization that was coming over the Indian people by their indulgence in European luxuries.* The following is the summary of the evidence of Messrs. Fleming, Christian and Mangles before the Lords' Committee of 1830 on subjects relating to the Public Department:—

"The Zemindars are becoming much more extravagant, but their extravagance does not induce them

* See "Reflections on the East India Company's Charter of 1813" in the *Modern Review* for March, 1908.

to obtain European luxuries. Some may have a taste for European luxuries, and some certainly have the means of indulging that taste. They live in the European style with regard to carriages and equipages of that nature; and they have British mirrors, lustres, chandeliers, &c., but not jewellery. They are acquiring a greater taste for European luxuries; and some few, it is said, indulge in large quantities of wine, and cherry brandy. The higher classes are the great consumers of British manufactures."*

It was Mr. Thomas Babington (afterwards Lord) Macaulay who expressed in eloquent terms the benefits which would accrue to England by educating the natives of India. In his famous speech delivered as a member of the House of Commons, on the 10th of July 1833, he said:—

"It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilisation among the vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us; that they were ruled by their own kings, but wearing our broad cloth, and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their salams to English Collectors and English Magistrates, but were too ignorant to value, or too poor to buy, English manufactures. To trade with civilised men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages."

"To the great trading nation, to the great manufacturing nation, no progress which any portion of the human race can make in knowledge, in taste for the conveniences of life, or in the wealth by which those conveniences are produced, can be matter of indifference."

Again, Lord Macaulay, in pleading for higher education, wrote:—

"We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, words and intellect."

The natives of India not only paid in blood and money, for the conquest of their country by the English Christians, but they, although heathens, were made to pay for the maintenance of Christian missionaries and other ministers of that faith. The Chairman & Deputy Chairman of the East India Company pleaded in vain that it was not just or fair to saddle the people of India with the heavy cost of the ecclesiastical establishment in that country. In their letter to the Right Honourable Charles Grant, dated East India House, 10th July 1833, Messrs. C. Marjoribanks and W. Wigram wrote:—

"The principle upon which a Christian Church in India, at the Expense of the Natives, has been instituted, is, that it is the duty of Government to provide for its Civil and Military Functionaries the means and services of their religion. * *

"But the Court's conviction is, at the same time, strong and sincere, that both practice and policy demand that the expense to the Natives of India of a Church Establishment, with which they have no community of feeling, should be limited to what is essential for the use of the servants of the state who are members of that Church.

"The Court are free to confess, that their anxiety upon this point has been excited by the observation contained in the Board's Memorandum, that 'in addition to the Chaplains appointed by the East India Company, twenty-eight Missionaries, who have received Episcopal ordination are now established at various stations on the Continent of India and in the Islands of Ceylon, and all these Clergymen are subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta.'"

"By Missionaries, we understand persons residing in India with a view to convert the Natives to the Christian faith. This is undoubtedly an object most deeply interesting to the civilised world, but *it is one for which it cannot be right to tax the Natives.* * *

"And here, Sir, the Court must call your attention to the striking fact, that the charge to India of the Ecclesiastical Establishment has been augmented since the institution of the see of Calcutta from £48,000 to more than £100,000 per annum, and that the clerical part of the pension list has been increased from £800 per annum to £5,000 per annum."

* p. 297 of Appendix to Report from select committee on the affairs of the E. I. C. Vol: I (Public).

LOOKING BEFORE AND AFTER

DURING the past few decades, India's progress in political education every succeeding decade has been faster and more widespread than in the preceding one. A vague idea of oneness has been evolving itself in the minds of the intellectuals of the diverse races inhabiting this country. A series of efforts are being made everywhere to prove, what on a little reflection is self-evident, that Indians are in the main really one in hopes and aspirations, whether they hail from North or South, or

from East or West; that though different turbans cover different heads, the conception of various matters mundane is alike in all cases. The Musalman conquest brought into India a new religion which now counts a very large following, and a new language, a beautiful blend of Persian with a derivative of Sanscrit. The words "Hindu" and "Mahomedan" connote a difference merely in religious belief and social customs. Hindus and Mahomedans have for the most part a common stock and a common heredity. Indian thought has therefore been cast in one mould, but worldly jealousies have disunited our countrymen in action. Lack of the spirit of combination, together with an absence of love of country, rendered them an easy prey to successive conquests. Many causes paved the way for the British conquest, but rivalries among the ruling despots, and the indifference of the common people to a change of masters, were among the first in importance. There was no Bismarck to weld the factious kingdoms and principalities into a common federation under one flag. More than half a century later, however, an alien Bismarck arose to the great good fortune of India. His method was slower and milder. He did not at the point of the sword of a Von Moltke compel a rapid confederation. He only showered upon the Indian peoples the blessings of education, such as can not but tend to draw the races of India together, and he left the rest to time. This alien was the great Macaulay of mixed memory. It is undisputed that the unification of India is being slowly but surely effected by the scheme of higher education launched by him in the latter half of the last century, in the teeth of obstinate opposition. Though the motive which prompted it, was partly commercial and partly political, it has been a veritable blessing to India. The launchers of the scheme hoped that the better class of Indians would thereby be anglicised in their tastes, and that an impetus would be given to the trade in European *i.e.*, English manufactures of the luxurious type. The professed and published motives were, of course, the regeneration mentally and morally of the poor depressed Indians! For the missionary spirit was never absent from any act of the pioneer merchants of England. Scotland and Wales having received their attentions, nearer home, in the middle ages, and not longer needing spiritual guidance, the benighted continents of America, Africa and India attracted their well-meaning activities. In their efforts to extend the blessings of commerce and the empire of Christ, they incidentally expanded their sovereign's supremacy over the new spheres of their commercial and missionary activities.

Two of these latter acquisitions she has in large measure lost, for reasons which are not within the scope of this article. India she held and holds still, because the conditions in India are different. But time works many changes, and if India is to continue under a common sovereign, the trust and faith of India's sons in the promises of British statesmen must be retained. The partition of Bengal, the raising of the cost of higher education, and the Anglo-Indian demand echoed by some British politicians for the closing of the Arts Colleges, are incidents which do not strengthen the faith and trust of Indians; much less excite in them feelings of affection for their rulers.

The establishment of the Calcutta and other Universities truly sowed the seeds of India's regeneration, although the founders' motives were not entirely philanthropic. While the enlightenment that resulted therefrom did create a taste in the Indians for the finer goods of England, it simultaneously developed in them a taste for representative government. The educated and anglicised Indians have begun to grow impatient of political control and political swaddling clothes. This is naturally repugnant to their critics. These misguided critics who want educated Indians to admire at a distance, without coveting those democratic institutions which they see flourishing in England and other enlightened countries, now turn round on the class, Macaulay has created, and brand them as ungrateful and disloyal, because they want the representative principle introduced into the government of their country, and are demanding a larger share in the administration thereof. "Be thankful for the blessings of peace, the railroad, and the dignity of a citizen of the mighty British Empire." This is in effect how they admonish those they call 'agitators.' True, the railways are a boon to trade, but they have hastened

the decay of our handicrafts, &c, and canals would have been more beneficial. Peace is an inestimable blessing, but the trade of England needs it as much as internal trade. As for the dignity of citizenship of the Empire, we know how it has been maintained in the colonies and dependent states of the Empire. When the Boer's country was coveted by the Rand capitalists, Lord Lansdowne and other distinguished British Statesmen hugged the Transvaal British Indians *as fellow-subjects*, whose grievances cried for redress. Kruger was the common enemy not only of their kith and kin on the Rand, but also of the profits from the mines which were fast dwindling under his extortionate exactions. War, and nothing short of war could satisfy the outraged feelings of British statesmen. England had been longing to get at the Boers for some time past. There was a wave of delirious delight which swept through the vast majority of the British wherever they were, at the prospect of war. The writer was an eye-witness to the excitement on S.S. Caledonia for England bound, at each port where telegrams came in. He noticed with what glee the tidings of Mr. Kruger's ultimatum were received. At last an opportunity had arrived for paying off old scores since and previous to the Jameson Raid! At the dawn of the new year following, or rather on the following Christmas day, the British army was to picnic in Prætoria. The result, however, did not tally with this roseate forecaste. Incidents like those of Stormberg and Spionkop cooled the ardour of the advocates of war, while the final revulsion of feeling set in, when in the autumn of the following year, the chances of success seemed still remote. Discretion at last prevailed over pride, and both combatants like bull dogs, separated from sheer exhaustion. *And what, after all, was the result of the war so light-heartedly desired? The floating of the Union Jack over a far stronger Dutch organisation than ever existed before the war*, the enrichment of a few war-stores contractors, and the waste of the nation's blood and wealth. The condition of the Indians in the annexed territories not only remained as it had been, but actually became worse; for these territories having become autonomous states, enjoy more freedom under the British flag than they did under Mr. Kruger. Our countrymen in these newly fledged states are treated very much as pariah dogs in an Indian village. Yet some of the imperialists of England, who were so bombastic in their speeches before the war, are shamelessly coming forward to justify the recent anti-Indian legislation in South Africa on a Kiplingian principle. In the face of this, we are asked to rejoice on Empire Day as citizens of the grandest empire the world has ever known!

If we are fellow-subjects of one Empire, we are entitled to and we must have the same rights and privileges as other British subjects enjoy, wherever we may be stationed in the King's dominions. Indians resident in England and paying a certain amount of annual rent are eligible to vote at and to contest Parliamentary and other elections. We have the municipal franchise here in India. But in other parts of the Empire where our numbers exceed or equal the white population, our fitness for the right of franchise is called into question; and moreover, we are denied even the most elementary rights to which we are entitled as British citizens. The right to travel in any part of the empire, to reside in any part of a town within the empire, to trade without a license, to walk on footpaths unmolested, to ride on tramcars, to sit in any class of compartment in a railway carriage, to buy or sell property, to enter any land within the empire without a permit and without a test of any kind; is the birth right of every British citizen. To deny these rights to the meanest individual subject of the King is to belie the successive utterances from the throne.

Africa apart, is there equality of treatment in the very home of Indians between them and their white fellow subjects? The combatant military service is closed to the ordinary Indian; true, he can enlist as a common soldier, and may rise some day to the very enviable position of a non-commissioned officer only next in rank to the lowest grade white commissioned officer. As members of the Civil Service we may rise to be High Court Judges, having unquestioned talents for law, but we are branded as incapable of holding the higher administrative appointments. We must, moreover, travel all the way to England to compete for the Civil Service and take our chance

of a failure after undergoing great expense. Should an Indian offend against the law and the offence admits of trial by jury, he must submit to be tried by a mixed jury of Englishmen and Indians. He is very lucky if the majority of the jury are not of the colour and persuasion of the members of the Government. The veriest loafer among Europeans and Eurasians can keep arms without license. Far different is the case with Indians. In criminal cases where the accused are whites or half-breeds, and the aggrieved persons are Indians, justice is not often colour-blind. Such are some of the "trivial" deviations in practice from the professions of equality of rights and privileges proclaimed from the mouths of successive Royal Rulers, which chafe the "ungrateful" educated Indian. The time is not, however, far when all these and many more invidious distinctions between the white and the coloured subjects of his Majesty will and must disappear. For the East has commenced to westernise in those respects which make for material power, and India of the East is no exception to the rule. The awakening has come, notwithstanding our Anglo-Indian critics, and the Goal of Equality is clearly discernible though distant.

It is idle to think that the sharp divisions of the past between the Hindus will endure for long, and those who fondly hug the belief, that Mahomedans and Hindus can never be inspired by community of interests sufficiently to forget their religious differences and to stand on the same political platform are deluded fools. *As long as union is not effected between these two populations, it is deemed safe in most Anglo-Indian quarters, to treat Hindu public opinion as a negligible quantity. It is this persistent flouting of Hindu public opinion for the past many years, and the ridicule heaped on the devoted heads of the leaders of this public opinion by some of the Anglo-Indian journals that supplied the yeast to the Indian ferment. Though confined to the educated classes, as the beginnings of unrest have throughout the world been amongst the intellectuals, as is but natural, the time is not very far off, when the knowledge of the grievances may percolate to the seething masses. *The ignorance of the masses has so far permitted past Governments to carry measures against Indian educated opinion.* We have been aunted by the Anglo-Indians with the remarks, "you represent nobody but yourselves, the masses neither know nor care what is passing in the country." The lessons of history are either not remembered, or ignored by our critics. When the Barons in 1215 wrested from King John the Magna Charta, the poor wights of merry England knew not what the quarrel was about, but there was this difference between them and the proletariat of Modern India, —(for which difference the feudal system was responsible), *viz*, that the former being mostly retainers of the Barons knew this much, that they must side with their masters to whom they owed direct allegiance. And King John knew it.

The Crown provides an advocate to a poor man on trial in the Criminal Sessions, but according to our critics, the educated classes must not advocate the cause of the ignorant masses ! But the masses only understand what they actually realise in Rs., annas and pies. The Government, it is urged, is paternal and will take care that the masses come to no harm. But even a *ma-bap* Government may be mistaken as to what the masses want or do not want. Was not the Punjaub Government mistaken when it enhanced the Canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal? This was a matter of Rs., annas and pies, and it was vividly realised by the ignorant cultivators. How should a labourer or an agriculturist know that it is the duty of an enlightened Government to give his children free primary education in return for the taxes he pays? He would even, in his ignorance, resent the gift if the gift were made compulsory, as he would be deprived of the additional income his children would bring in, if they had not to attend school. How should he know that the partition of Bengal threatens the settled land revenue assessment of that province, or that the raising of the cost of higher education would result in impeding the progress of India, or that the combination of Judicial and Executive functions is against the first principles of justice? How should he know that British statesmen preferred retaining the votes of Lancashire

* In South Africa Hindu and Mussalman, Parsi and Jain, stand shoulder to shoulder like brethren in a common strenuous struggle for civic rights.

to doing justice to India in the matter of the import duties? But put a tax on every head of cattle owned, or every child in the family, and he will appreciate the difference between his future position and that in the past. And he may even in times to come let the Government know of it, as Hampden of shipmoney fame did of old.

It is a stupid cry, therefore, of those who tell the educated classes of India, "you are only agitators, you do not represent the masses, your Congress is not known to them, neither do they care." Are we asked to believe that only those grivances are real and just of which the ignorant and illiterate masses complain? No. These contentions on the part of our Anglo-Indian fellow-subjects are mere blinds and intended for English consumption, and are conceived with a view to prevent the introduction of reforms, and to justify the official attitude towards the pleadings of the educated classes.

But this can not last long, for the stone of political philosophy thrown by Macaulay into the still waters of Indian thought, after causing ripples on the surface, has commenced to agitate the deeper layers, thanks to a cheap and independent press.

The power behind any agitation for redress or reform which the State dare not disdain is the power which an intelligent, well-informed, and determined proletariat alone wields. The creation of such a power lies in our own hands. Our critics want the ventilation of grievances to come from below. So let us create a solid public opinion against the present methods of Government, by educating the people direct as to what they as men should have which they have not in the land of their birth. If knots of educated men teach their caste men first how to read and write and then to give them a few lectures on the Rights of Man, and the history of the growth of Democracy in other lands, and carry the campaign of primary and political education into every village, and supplement these efforts by the establishment of reading rooms well stocked with journals in the vernaculars of a suitable kind, such as would not only give the news of the day and criticise local and imperial measures, but also give a mass of information on political subjects, always pointing out in plain terms what rights we are entitled to but do not possess, then in the next twenty years will arise a many-million-voiced public opinion on any question affecting the country's welfare, to which no Government dare turn a deaf ear. Then will be the time when united India will knock at the door of England demanding that autonomy which she recently promised to the late enemies of the Empire on the battle-field, and granted even before the drying of the soil soaked with the precious blood of her misguided sons!

J. N. BAHADURJI.

"It is only what a man makes of himself that really counts. He must disinfect his mind from that weakening thought that he has an absolutely predetermined capacity, like a freight-car with its weight and tonnage painted on the side. He is growing, expansive, unlimited, self-adjusting to increased responsibility, progressively able for large duties and higher possibilities as he realizes them and lives up to them. The individual has no real limitations except those that are self-imposed."

INDIAN MILITARY CHARGES

SINCE the transfer of India from the hands of the merchants known as the East India Company to the Crown of England, her military charges have been every year increasing by leaps and bounds. The following table shows the amount which India had to spend annually on her army before the out-break of the Mutiny. In reading these statements it should be borne in mind that formerly one pound sterling stood for ten rupees, whereas at present it is equivalent to fifteen rupees.

Account of Military Force employed in each year from 1834-35, and the total Annual expense.

Year.	Military Force Employed. European.	Native.	Total.	Total Annual Expense.	Year.
				£	
1835	30,822	152,938	183,760	7,041,162	1834-35
1836	32,733	153,306	186,039	6,847,096	1835-36
1837	32,502	154,029	186,531	6,885,851	1836-37
1838	31,526	153,780	185,306	7,141,439	1837-38
1839	31,132	176,008	207,140	7,607,514	1838-39
1840	35,604	199,839	235,443	8,454,208	1839-40
1841	38,406	212,616	251,022	9,006,433	1840-41
1842	42,113	212,624	254,737	9,193,745	1841-42
1843	46,726	220,947	267,673	9,562,524	1842-43
1844	46,240	216,580	262,820	9,558,306	1843-44
1845	46,111	240, 310	286,421	9,634,985	1844-45
1846	44,014	240, 733	284,747	10,384,249	1845-46
1847	44,323	247, 473	291,796	10,598,016	1846-47
1848	44,270	220 891	265,161	9,932,209	1847-48
1849	47,893	229 130	277,023	10,739,647	1848-49
1850	49,280	228,448	277,728	10,098,926	1849-50
1851	49,408	240,121	289,529	10,715,145	1850-51
1852	48,709	239,073	287,782	10,552,776	1851-52
1853	46,933	238,345	285,278	10,963,249	1852-53
1854	47,146	236,849	283,995	11,691,465	1853-54
1855	46,093	237,091	283,184	10,624,149	1854-55
1856	45,104	235,221	280,325	10,653,135	1855-56
1857	45,522	232,224	277,746	10,858,963	1856-57

But during the last fifty years a sudden rise has taken place in the Indian military expenditure.

In *the Annals of Indian Administration in the year 1865-66* (Vol. XI, p. 222) it is stated that

"As compared with the period before the mutiny the English Army in India has been increased by 16,000 men and the Native army diminished by 134,000." * * * * *

The course of the military expenditure of India as affected by the Mutiny campaigns, is seen in the table submitted by Mr. Wilson when Financial Member of Council, and printed in p. 223 of *The Annals of Indian Administration in the year 1865-66*. There we find that the expenditure in the four years from 1856-57 to 1859-60 was £12,838,897, £16,822,894, £23,645,306, and £20,204,670 respectively, exclusive of Public Works.

"In his Budget speech on 27th April 1861 Mr. Laing stated that in 1858-59, owing to the Mutiny, this cost rose to £21,000,000 in India, and £3,750,000 in England, showing a total increase of £11,000,000 on the expenditure of 1856-57, to which should be added an increase of £1,000,000 for Military Police. This was the *maximum* point at which reductions began. Since that time the Military Police have been abolished, all Native Infantry corps have been reduced to a uniform force of 600 Privates, or 712 Natives of all ranks, Regiments have been disbanded and no such thing as Native Artillery exists except a few *Mountain Batteries in unhealthy districts*. Of late years the cost of the whole Army, English and Native, in England and India has been—

Year.	In India.	In England.
	£	£
1859-60	20,909,307	3,750,000
1860-61	15,838,980	2,750,000
1861-62	13,681,900	
1862-63	12,764,325	2,213,132
1863-64	12,697,009	
1864-65	13,181,957	
1865-66	13,909,412	2,429,461

Details of Military Expenditure of British India, in India and in England, in each of the 10 undermentioned official years.

Official years ended 31 March.	In India.	In England.
	£	£
1867 (11 months) ...	12,440,383	3,385,408
1868	12,603,467	3,499,829
1869	12,989,566	3,280,015
1870	12,828,750	3,500,989
1871	12,549,303	3,525,497
1872	12,036,098	3,642,014
1873	11,979,327	3,524,285
1874	11,872,941	3,355,488
1875	11,757,381	3,617,778
1876	11,725,264	3,583,196

(Copied from the 11th Number of the Satistical Abstract relating to British India, pp. 106-107).

Details of Military Expenditure in India, and in England (including exchange), in each of the undermentioned official years, in *Tens of Rupees*.

Official years ended 31 March.	In India.	In England.	Grand Total
1877 ...	11,847,191	4,616,622	16,463,813
1878 ...	12,358,511	4,941,973	17,300,484
1879 ...	13,109,553	4,829,231	17,938,784
1880 ...	17,423,938	5,156,777	22,580,715
1881 ...	23,911,394	5,021,103	28,932,497
1882 ...	14,850,657	4,837,853	19,688,510
1883 ...	13,433,231	4,926,202	18,359,433
1884 ...	11,952,166	6,171,526	18,123,692
1885 ...	12,023,629	4,940,174	16,963,803
1886 ...	15,247,088	4,850,691	20,097,779

Copied from the 21st Number of the Statistical Abstract relating to India, pp. 220-221.

Details of Military Expenditure in India and England; in Tens of Rupees.

Years.	In India.	In England.	Grand Total.
1886-87 ...	14,743,626	5,107,042	19,850,668
1887-88 ...	15,476,045	5,397,906	20,873,951
1888-89 ...	15,260,414	5,831,022	21,091,436
1889-90 ...	15,344,531	6,022,764	21,367,295
1890-91 ...	15,051,526	6,130,379	21,181,905
1891-92 ...	16,045,772	6,839,677	22,885,449
1892-93 ...	15,844,814	8,032,357	23,877,171
1893-94 ...	16,127,783	7,450,788	23,578,571
1894-95 ...	16,313,282	8,000,676	24,313,958
1895-96 ...	18,141,828	7,357,678	25,499,506

(Copied from the Thirty-first number of the Statistical Abstract relating to British India, pp. 256-257.)

Military expenditure in India and England (excluding Military works).

Years.	In India.	In England.	Gross expenditure.
	£	£	£
1895-96 ...	12,094,552	4,181,046	16,275,598
1896-97 ...	11,522,064	4,255,003	15,777,067
1897-98 ...	13,572,346	4,261,966	17,834,312
1898-99 ...	11,659,452	4,342,848	16,002,300
1899-00 ...	10,824,283	4,061,817	14,886,100
1900-01 ...	10,643,505	4,446,158	15,089,663
1901-02 ...	11,380,872	4,383,059	15,763,931
1902-03 ...	12,055,735	5,290,657	17,346,392
1903-04 ...	12,875,486	5,016,776	17,892,262
1904-05 ...	14,141,759	6,162,230	20,303,989
1905-06 ...	14,175,362	5,238,074	19,413,436

(Copied from the Forty-first number of the Statistical Abstract relating to British India, pp. 68-69.)

But inclusive of military works and special defences, the total expenditure on the Army during the past 5 years is shown in the following table published in the Supplement to the Gazette of India, March 21, 1908 page 702.—

	Army.	Marine.	Military works.	Special defences.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£	£	£
1904-05	20,175,694	620,789	981,599	128,295	21,906,377
1905-06	19,267,130	551,070	1,094,905	146,306	21,059,411
1906-07	19,657,845	662,368	1,127,515	138,358	21,586,086
1907-08 (Revised).	18,754,600	513,500	1,134,200	118,200	20,520,500
1908-09 (Budget).	18,972,500	473,300	1,199,200	109,400	20,754,400

Before the days of the Mutiny, the total number of troops maintained by India was a very large one. But the expenditure on the Indian army was comparatively light.

After the Mutiny and owing to the reorganization of the Indian Army the number of troops was much reduced, but the expenditure on the army as said above has been increasing by leaps and bounds.

It should be remembered that in pre-Mutiny days, the East India Company was bent upon bringing more and more territories of India under the jurisdiction of England. To perform this task, the Company had to resort to fraud and force. The independent existence of many an Indian State had to be wiped out, and to perform it effectively, every artifice said to be fair and just in love and warfare had to be made use of. A large army was necessary and for diplomatic services of spies and emissaries large sums had to be spent. But in those days India did not groan so much under the burden of military charges as she is doing now.

After the suppression of the Mutiny, the Government of India was transferred to the Crown of England. Queen Victoria became the sovereign of India. The Queen was in Germany when the draft of the Proclamation setting forth the principles on which the government of this country was for the future to be conducted, was transmitted from England to Lord Malmesbury, the Minister in attendance on Her Majesty, and laid by him before her upon the 14th. The draft did not meet with the approval of the Queen, who in her letter to Lord Derby, the author of the draft, wrote that—

"Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the *privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilisation.*"*

In the proclamation, an assurance was given that she "held herself bound to the natives of her Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound her to her other subjects."

The last sentence of the Proclamation ran as follows:—

"May the God of all power grant to us, and those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people!"

Peace was restored and the Queen solemnly declared that no more independent or semi-independent Indian States would be deprived of their separate existence by England, a pledge which her Ministers broke.†

* Martin's Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. IV. pp. 284-285.

† "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, * * we shall sanction no encroachments on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour, of our native princes, as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government."

Japan for almost identical purposes. Mr. Lecky writes:—

"It is a curious illustration of the spirit of his (Pitt's) Government that at a time when the complications of the Continent were rapidly thickening, one of his great preoccupations appears to have been the arrival of a few shipwrecked Japanese at St. Petersburg. In a long, anxious, and able despatch, which though signed by Grenville was probably written by Pitt himself, he represented to Whitworth the extreme importance to the East Indian dominions of the King, of making use of the occasion to form some commercial connection with Japan; and Whitworth was directed to employ all his efforts to induce the Japanese to go to London, where their presence might 'possibly lead to consequences in the highest degree advantageous to the commercial interests of this country.' He was directed to negotiate with the Empress (Catherine) on the subject, but as the Empress was not likely to consent, the object must be disguised, and some pretext, such as the convenience of embarking in Holland, must be invented. This is perhaps the only instance in the Government of Pitt of a diplomacy which was not perfectly straightforward."

In a footnote to the above, Mr. Lecky adds:—

"Whitworth was not able to succeed, for special orders were given to keep the Japanese from all contact with Englishmen and Dutchmen."*

Successful Indian Students Abroad.

Mr. Abani Mohan Ghose came to America two years and a half ago as a scholar of the Scientific and Industrial Association. He joined the famous Pratt Technological College for Applied Chemistry and graduated therefrom very creditably. No sooner had he obtained his diploma than he was taken in by the world-renowned Colgate Soap Works. His original researches on soap pleased Dr. Rodgers, Ph. D., of Pratt so much that Mr. Ghose was soon recommended and elected as a member of the American Chemical Society, the first Indian honored with that distinction. Undoubtedly he will be the highest authority on soap in India. He is now on his way home *via* Japan completing his tour round the world. Mr. Ghose's "Chemical Technology of Oils, Fats and Manufactured Products" will shortly come out of the press.

Mr. Jadunath Sirkar came to Japan about three years and a half ago. He was sent by Mr. P. N. Ray Chowdhuri, the well-known Zemindar of Santosh, Tangail. Mr. Sirkar joined the College of Agriculture and successfully came out of the Tokyo Imperial University this year. In one of the University Examinations he stood first. Besides the Graduation Diploma of the University he has obtained several good certificates from his professors showing his merits and abilities. Recently Mr. Sirkar has published a book on Agricultural Science named "Elements of Practical and Scientific Agriculture." The professors here and the leading newspapers in Japan have highly admired this handy work. Mr. S. Hatta, one of the professors of the Imperial Agricultural College, has remarked—"If this book would contain a few pages more, the author could well expect the degree of Doctor from the Mumbusho" (The Minister of Education). Recently Mr. Sirkar has been taken as a member of The Japan Agricultural Society (Dai Nippon Nokai). He will start for home within a week or two. [He has reached India.]

Mr. Santipada Gupta is a student of the first batch sent by the Scientific and Industrial Association of Calcutta. He joined the Higher Polytechnic Institution of Tokyo. His special subject was Ceramics—Porcelain and Cement. He is the first Indian student of this Department to obtain the Graduation Diploma from this institution, finishing the full three years' course. In addition to the Diploma he has got several excellent certificates from his professors. He wishes to proceed to America after attending some factories and experimental stations in order to give a finishing touch to his education. Before joining his institution Mr. Gupta learnt pencil manufacturing. He obtained a first class certificate from the Benares Exhibition for pencils manufactured by him in Japan with Indian wood.

TOKYO. B. BANERJI.

Mr. J. C. Das, a Bengalee, studying commerce in America, has received a Diploma in "Higher accounting" from the leading college of that subject on the Pacific Coast, securing as high as 99% marks. The President while giving away the Diploma said that he had never given such high marks during the whole carreer of the institution, except on this occasion. Amidst the loud cheers of the 600 students of the college our brother received the diploma and spoke a few words on the present educational situation in India, at the request of the assembly.

SECRETARY, CALIFORNIA HINDI STUDENT'S ASSOCIATION.

* Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. VI, p. 521.



MR. JADU NATH SIRKAR,
In the uniform of the Tokyo Imperial University.



MR. SANTIPADA GUPTA IN UNIFORM



MR. ABANI M. GHOSE, M. SC.,
Chemical Engineer (New York).



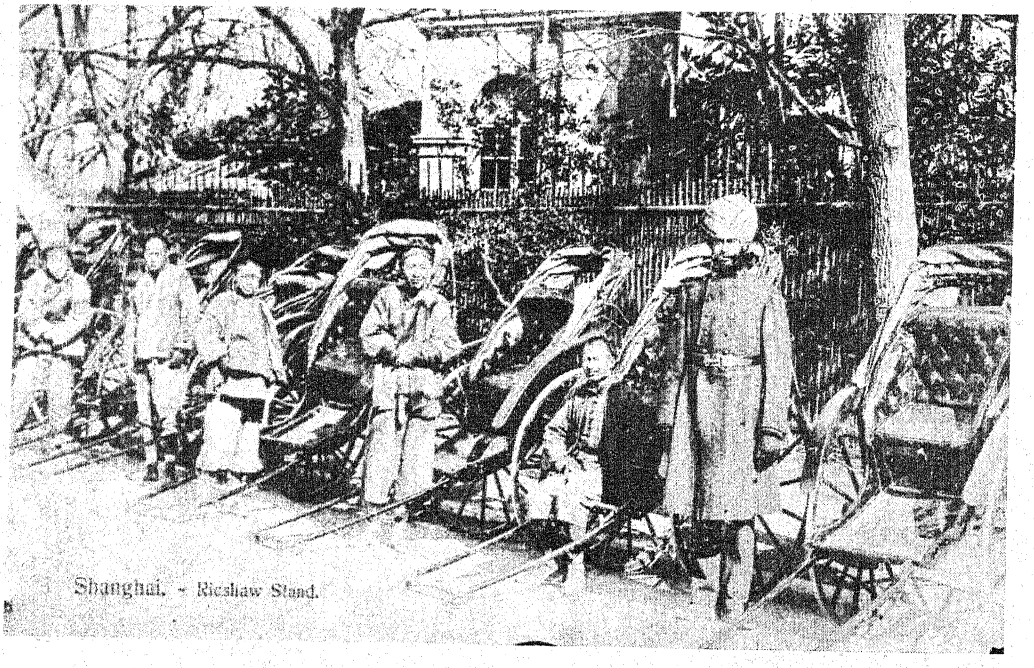
MR. J. C. DAS,
Studying Commerce in America.



"HEAVENS! THE DREADFUL BEAST IS GETTING UP!"
For explanation see "Notes." —*Lustige Blaetter* (Berlin).



SIKH POLICE, SHANGHAI.



SIKH POLICEMAN, SHANGHAI RICSHAW STAND.

Great Britain opposed to Reform in China.

In the August issue of the *Modern Review*, we printed a *Note* regarding the profits made by American Magazine-publishers, quoting a long excerpt from "System" Magazine. In the course of our comments we remarked that we had never seen a copy of the *Success* Magazine, which according to *System* has a circulation of 300,000 copies a month. Mr. Saint Nihal Sing has sent us a copy of this periodical and we print below an extract from it, which we believe will be of interest to our readers:

"But is Great Britain planning to help China (to stamp out the opium habit from the country)?

The government of the British Empire is at present in the hands of the Liberal party which has within it a strong reform element. From the Tory party nothing could be expected; it has always worshipped the Things that Are, and it has always defended the opium traffic. If either party is to work this change, it must be that one which now holds the reins of power. And yet, after generations of fighting against the government opium industry on the part of all the reform organizations in England, after Parliament has twice been driven to vote a resolution condemning the traffic, after generations of statesmen, from Palmerston through Gladstone to John Morley, have held out assurances of a change, after the Chinese Government, tired of waiting on England, has begun the struggle, this is the final concession on England's part:

The British Government has agreed to decrease the exportation of Indian opium about eight per cent. per year during a trial period of three years *in order to see whether the cultivation of the poppy and the number of opium smokers is lessened.* Should such be the case, exportation to China will be further decreased gradually.

The reader will observe here some very pretty diplomatic juggling. * * *

* * There are not even assurances that the agreement will be carried out. While this very agitation has been going on, while these articles have been appearing in SUCCESS MAGAZINE, the annual export of Bengal opium has increased (1906-1908) from 96,688 chests to 101,588 chests. And it is well to remember that after Mr. Gladstone, as prime minister, had given assurances of a "great reduction" in the traffic, the officials of India admitted that they had not heard of any such reduction.

A few months ago the Government issued a "White Paper" containing the correspondence with China on the opium question, so that there is no dependence on hearsay in this arraignment of the British attitude. Let us glance at an excerpt or two from these official British letters. This, for example:

The Chinese proposal, on the other hand, which involves extinction of the import in nine years, would commit India irrevocably, and in advance of experience, to *the complete suppression of an important trade*, and goes beyond the underlying condition of the scheme, that restriction of import from abroad, and reduction of production in China, shall be brought *pari passu* into play."

Not content with this rather sordid expression, his Majesty's Government goes on to point out that, under existing treaties, China cannot refuse to admit Indian opium; that China cannot even increase the import duty on Indian opium without the permission of Great Britain; that before Great Britain will consider the question of pemanently reducing her production *China must prove that the number of her smokers has diminished*; that the opium traffic is to be continued at least for another ten years; and then indulges in this superb deliverance:

The proposed limitation of the export to 60,000 chests from 1908 is thought to be a very substantial reduction on this figure and *the view of the Government of India is that such a standard ought to satisfy the Chinese Government for the present.*

Even by their own estimate, after taking out the proposed total decrease of 15,300 chests in the Chinese trade, the Indian Government will, during the next three years, unload more than 170,000 chests of opium on a race which it has brought to degradation, which is to-day struggling to overcome demoralization, and which is appealing to England and the whole civilized world for aid in the unequal contest.

We must try to be fair to the gentlemen-officials who see the situation only in this curious half-light. "It is a practical question," they say. "The law of trade is the balance-sheet. It is not our fault as individuals that opium, the commodity, was launched out into the channels of trade; but since it is now in those channels, the law of trade must rule, the balance-sheet must balance. Opium means $20,000,000 a year to the Indian Government—we can not give it up."

The real question would seem to be whether they can afford to continue receiving this revenue. Opium does not appear to be a very valuable commodity in India itself. Just as in China, it degrades the people. The profits in production, for everybody but the Government, are so small that the strong hand of the law has often nowadays, to be exerted in order to keep the *ryots* (farmers) at the task of raising the poppy. There are many thoughtful observers of conditions in India who believe it would be highly "practical" to devote the rich soil of the Ganges Valley to crops which have a sound economic value to the world.

But more than this, the opium program saps India as it saps China. The position of the Englishman in India to-day is by no means so secure that he can afford to indulge in bad government. The spirit of democracy and socialism has already spread through Europe and has entered Asia. In Japan trade-unions are striking for higher wages. In China and India are already heard the mutterings of revolution. The British Government may yet have to settle up, in India as well as in China, for its opium policy. And when the day for settling up comes, it may perhaps be found that a higher balance-sheet than that which rules the government opium industry may force Great Britain to pay—and pay dear.

Yes, the world has some right to make demands of England in this matter. China can make no real progress in its struggle until the Indian production and exportation are flatly abolished.

Indians in the Transvaal.

The Empire says:—

That the Indians will win in the long-run in the Transvaal there cannot be the smallest possible doubt. If ever there was a case of "dogged does it" it is theirs. They have chosen the best possible means of bringing the Transvaal Government to its senses. They have opposed the mild but inflexible firmness of

the Oriental to the blustering ill-treatment of the Dutch [and British ?] Colonial. And the inevitable result will be that the Colonials will be shamed into giving in. Passive resistance is the most uncanny and irresistible of all oppositions. The Indians will win on their merits, and will not be beholden in the slightest degree to the Imperial connection. "Civis Britannicus sum" has proved a broken reed in their case. No one in the Home Government has lifted a finger in their behalf, and Lord Elgin, who used to be Viceroy out here, went out of his way to mortify and disown them. The only prominent man who has shown the least remembrance of his salt is Lord Ampthill, and he is powerless because he is single-handed. It is a most humiliating situation for the Imperial Government—and it could so easily have been avoided. It is true that the Imperial Government can't dictate to a self-governing Colony, but it could have brought certain inducements to bear upon it. It could have said to the Transvaal Government, for example, "We have every respect for your claim to exclude undesirables, and would not dream of forcing British Indian citizens upon you against your will; but will you kindly pay up with interest the loan you got from Mr. Chamberlain six years ago? That would be inconvenient, would it? We are sorry, but of course as a self-governing Colony you must keep your engagements." A gentle hint like that would have worked wonders, without infringing the Colony's privileges at all. And then the Indians would have felt some gratitude towards the Imperial connection instead of feeling, as they are bound to feel, that they have been left to fight one of the hardest battles in history, entirely by themselves.

To this we have nothing to add, except that we do not think that the Transvaalers will be *shamed* into giving in, for the very good reason that they do not seem to possess the capacity to feel ashamed. If they did, how could there exist in their country the state of things described in the following telegram to the Madras Mahajan Sabha from the Transvaal Indians?

"The rigorous imprisonment of political offenders has intensified the determination to fight to the bitter end. Mr. Gandhi and others are working with pick-axes in the public squares of Volksrust with the aboriginal criminals. Mr. Gandhi was sentenced to two months' rigorous imprisonment. When he was returning from Natal, he refused to give finger prints identification under the unjust law. Seventeen children of tender years have been detained in the goal of Barberton uncharged. Insults in connection with the supply of diet remain unremedied. The Indians who have been put into the gaol include over one hundred authorised residents of the Transvaal, consisting of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, and comprising many Barristers, important merchants, educated men, Colonial-born hawkers, and war-medal-holders."

We must do everything in our power to give our brethren abroad whatever moral support we can. Had we possessed self-government we would and could have tried to bring the Transvaal colonials to their senses.

Prof. Darwin anticipated by Dr. J. C. Bose.

The London correspondent of *The Wednesday Review* writes:—

The President of the British Association which is holding its annual meetings in Dublin this week is Mr. Francis Darwin, a son of the great English scientist of last century. Professor Darwin devoted his Presidential address to a subject which the well-known Indian scientist, Dr. J. C. Bose, has made peculiarly his own, namely, the consciousness and responsiveness of plants. The result of his investigations has been to confirm the conclusions independently arrived at by the famous Bengali.

Dr. Darwin gave his reasons for believing that plants ought to be classed as animals according to the measure of their responsiveness to touch; and on the strength of this and other similar arguments he based a reassertion of the doctrine of the inheritance of acquired characters—a doctrine which has fallen into disfavour in recent years. He advanced proof to show that plants have memory and developed habits, and he declared that they acted differently according to what may be called their mood. Like his Indian *confrere*, Professor Darwin argued that there is in plants something that corresponds very nearly to the nervous system of animals. He showed that they were quite as sensitive to certain outside influences as animals and quite as capable of communicating sensations from one part of their organism to another. He considers it to be an established fact that in plants there exists a copy of what is called consciousness in ourselves.

Let us hope that credit will be given where credit is due in connection with this discovery. Dr. Bose, of course, anticipated some years ago the results obtained by Professor Darwin, and the researches of the latter can only be regarded as confirming the conclusions arrived at by the Indian scientist (who is a very modest man) after years of patient study and investigation.

Whether British scientists give Dr. J. C. Bose his due or not, let us not forget the value of his original work and the lesson that it teaches us as to the capacity and genius of our race. His career should be a strong incentive to our young men to walk in his footsteps in different fields of original work.

Arms for European women.

With reference to the assaults on European women in railway trains, *The Statesman* writes:—

The recrudescence of lawlessness is thus being met by the determination of the classes who are or who think themselves threatened, to arm themselves so as to be in a position to encounter force by force. Sociologically it is melancholy to chronicle the arming of one class against another. From the point of view,

however, of the coming race, there is no reason why Englishwomen, who have successfully invaded most of the realms of sport which in the early and mid-Victorian days were supposed to be the peculiar demesne of men, should not aspire to skill in arms.

What about arms for Indian men and women? Have not they been, are they not much more "threatened," and actually attacked than European women, by wild animals and men more savage than these animals? How Anglo-Indians are apt to forget our very existence, except as buyers of their goods, &c., &c. !

Arms and good manners.

The Statesman informs us that

The fine manners of the French gentleman, the politeness of the Highlander, were directly connected with the knowledge that the persons with whom he came in contact bore arms and knew how to use them equally well with himself; while it has often been urged that the decay of manners which is so painfully apparent in the Scotland of to-day is directly traceable to the general disarmament which followed the rising of 1745. Apart however from the graces and courtesies of life, there is cause for real satisfaction in the fact that the modern Englishwoman is training herself to pull a trigger without shutting her eyes and averting her head.

Sir Herbert Risley and Sir George Clarke, please note. Here is a sovereign remedy for bad manners. If the disarmament of Scotland is the cause of bad manners among the Scotch, the bad manners of our students (which we take for granted) must be due to our disarmament ! Arm our students then ! Arm our students ! And they will cease to be ill-mannered ! So says the Chowringhee oracle. It is a jolly good prescription ! But speaking seriously, it *is* a fact that the disarmament of Indians has hastened the decay of manners among Anglo-Indians of certain types.

Typical love of liberty.

The following pronouncement of *The Empire* illustrates how easy and grand it is to be generous and liberty-loving at the expense of other people.

In accordance with the principles which the Young Turks have laid down for the future Government of their country, the independence of Bulgaria ought immediately to be recognized by the Turkish authorities. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and if it is good for Turkey to be free the same axiom applies in the case of Bulgaria.

We are of opinion that every distinct nationality, small or great, should have the liberty to work out its destiny in its own way. We, therefore, do not object to Bulgaria asserting her independence. But we cannot understand the position of those European powers which support Bulgaria but would not give their own dependencies real self-government. For instance, will *The Empire* like the substitution of India or Egypt for Bulgaria in the last sentence extracted above ? To say that Bulgaria has developed powers of self-rule, whereas Egypt and India have not, would be to admit that the "atrocities" of the Turks in Bulgaria were a better school for self-government than the blessings of British rule in India and Egypt. As for past achievement, we do not think Bulgaria can make a better show than Egypt and India. We suppose the only valid objection is that we are neither Europeans nor Christians.

The Literary Digest of New York reproduces in its issue of September 19, 1908, a cartoon from the *Jagend* of Munich, which we cannot accurately describe. John Bull stands there with one hand in his breeches pocket and another upraised, with the shout "Long live Liberty and the Turkish constitution !" in his mouth. There are in the picture the figures of Egypt and India, too, in a certain posture and condition. There is physical contact between the body of John Bull and the bodies of Egypt and India, the latter supporting the former. The cartoon is entitled "English encouragement."

Numbers versus individuality.

In a striking article entitled "Is there strength in numbers?" published in the *Secolo XIX* of Genoa, the writer comments on the problem of the decrease of population in France, and says :—

"The last five years, in fact, have revealed a progressive and unexpected decline in the same sense in what was once known as most prolific England, which for a century has spread her children over two continents. Wise men already begin to note the same thing in Germany; Spain already for some time has been stationary; so that with the exception of Italy all Western Europe—*i. e.*, this wonderful mass of people that has given the world the most and best of civilisation, and that have added to their own History the new life of three continents—threatens to soon find itself in a state of inferiority in the production of that which is the first element in the struggle of historical life, viz., the population, to those barbarous Oriental countries or to those Western ones not yet so fully civilised.

After refering to the fall of Greece and Rome, he asks—

This Western Europe that for more than twenty centuries has made the history of the world—is it also destined to perish in an abyss and vanish under the dusky alluvium of inferior and swarmingly prolific races, which owe their numbers to their inferiority?

Not necessarily, he would seem to say.

"Civilised nations are not now as they were then—beacons on some lonely rock, sending out their rays of light in the midst of immense regions of barbarian darkness—and we shall be able, perhaps, to keep the flame of our civilisation burning even through adverse circumstances.

"It is easy to say the world belongs to the greater number; perhaps this formula was more applicable to the ancient world. The complications of our civilisations more than the strength in numbers call for the power both of individuality and knowledge. And nowadays a bright idea of one individual which becomes materialised in new inventions is worth more than the dark power of a multitude. Finance, industry, trade, and science—and we may even add war—required more than ever simple individual energy and efficiency, for to-day the individual dominates more than he has ever been known to have done.

The remedy that he suggests is to increase individuality.

"Then if we take this truth into account we shall easily see where it is well to apply our energy. It is useless to devise legislative means to persuade a civilised man to surround himself by a swarm of young barbarians, the fruit of his loins. Civilisation aims higher in each generation as it has in the past for an example. So what we can do to meet the hordes of barbarians which are supposed to be threatening our Europe is to develop as much as possible the powers of our offspring—to raise their individuality, so that each one may be worth three others. And a population mediocral in numbers but individually highly developed will be able to disperse all the fears that rise against us from the statistics of of simple figures."

But what if "the hordes of barbarians" took to developing their powers and increasing their individuality? The task is not impossible. The ancestors of the modern Europeans were once hordes of barbarians.

Paper-making in India.

To our *Swadeshi* capitalists and enterprising men and to those who can influence our rich men, we commend the following important letter written by a paper expert:—

[*To the Editor "Indian Daily News."*]

Sir,—Will it be possible for a modern paper mill in India to produce paper at a price not exceeding (or less than) the cheap papers now being imported? I do not hesitate to answer in the affirmative, and probably a better article will be produced for the money.

This desirable result can be obtained by employing improved rapid driving machinery which will be capable of making a greater width of paper and a far greater output than the machines now in use in India were constructed to make.

To make the matter clear it may be well to explain that the majority of the machines now in use by the Calcutta and up-country mills were built to take wires of about 90 to 96 inches and the customary rate of speed at which they are driven gives speeds from 200 to 250 feet per minute, or a monthly output of approximately 120 to 150 tons per mensem per machine.

The most modern improved paper making machines now in use in England, America and on the Continent are on a much larger scale, being constructed to take a wire up to 152 inches width, or more, and can be driven at a much increased speed, from between 300 to 400, and even up to 550 feet per minute!

The comparison of cost of paper produced by the machines described (the modern *versus* the older pattern) shews an astonishing reduction of cost and clearly demonstrates how it is now possible for paper makers in other parts of the world to undersell us in our own markets.

It is easy to realise the enormous advantage up-to-date paper making machinery must necessarily possess over the older machinery of the last century. Let it be considered what results are being effected by modern improved printing machinery. We need not look beyond this city for evidences of the advantages up-to-date printing machinery is affording. The two leading Calcutta daily papers have lately discarded their old machines, which have rendered good service in the past but have been found unsuited to present needs.

New high speed large improved machines have taken their place, with the result that a substantial reduction in the prices of newspapers have been possible. The public now have the advantage of getting their daily literature at half the price (and less) than formerly, and have the additional advantage of a better printed sheet. Would it have been possible for the *Indian Daily News* to reduce the price of their paper to the very moderate figure of ½ anna per copy, but for the aid of modern time and labour-saving appliances? Why should the at least equally important industry of paper-manufacture be kept so far behind the times: when the facilities for obtaining equally satisfactory results are available?

Over 33,000 tons of paper are being imported into India annually, or about double the quantity in excess of the existing country mills output. The imports are increasing steadily year by year at about 20 per cent. This denotes clearly that there is ample room for one or more paper mills. One mill in fact would hardly suffice to supply even the annual increase, and could have little effect upon imports.

The backward state of the paper-making industry in India has been a matter of comment in the British paper-making journals for years.—Yours, etc.

M. HARDEMAN PETTITT.

Calcutta, October 13th.

We have heard that it is proposed in certain quarters to establish a paper mill financed by Indians with a capital of sixteen lakhs of rupees. If the proposers are in earnest we would suggest that they should get out machinery for making art paper and

ordinary coated and calendered paper, too. For, we must have *Swadeshi* paper for the reproduction of pictures by the half-tone process. And even for ordinary letter-press printing the rage in India is all for glazed and smooth paper of a dazzling white colour, even though it be inferior to paper with a rough surface, and hurt the eye, to boot.

Those who wish to know more of the prospects of the paper-making business and how young men can obtain training in the manufacture of paper, may read the article on the "Outlook of the Paper Industry in India" by Mr. James Imms, Manager of the Upper India Couper Paper Mills, Lucknow, published in our last April number.

Mr. Vincent Smith on the Post-Buddhist Era of Indian History.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews asked us to add a foot-note at the end of the paragraph in his article (p. 364) dealing with Post-Buddhist Art and Mr. Vincent Smith's criticism. But as his letter enclosing the foot-note reached us after the article had been printed, we insert it here.

"Personally I find myself less and less able to accept Mr. Vincent Smith's wholesale condemnation of the Post-Buddhist Era of Indian History. I believe it will be largely modified by future historians. That there was 'degradation and decadence' in Government is probably true; but to use these words of the period is absurd! With regard also both to literature and religion the record is by no means so 'melancholy' as Vincent Smith affirms. While the highly organized life of the State declined, the life of the *common people* during these centuries was imaginative, inventive and artistically vigorous."

Indian students at home and abroad.

Of late the bureaucracy here and in England have expressed a desire to make our students the very pink of perfection—of course, according to bureaucratic ideas. As we cannot honestly believe that the bureaucratic desire has nothing to do with a determination to nip in the bud the nascent political consciousness and civic courage of the people, we cannot discuss the official schemes as if they were nothing more than genuine attempts to do good to our students. We can never welcome any plans which do not frankly and unreservedly include patriotism as a chief factor in the formation of the character of students.

In the latest Bombay educational circular Sir George Clarke speaks as if our students were orphans whom Englishmen were giving a free education, the money spent being brought from England. Whereas it is *our* money which Government are spending for the education of our boys and girls,—and that in a most niggardly manner.

Sons and Daughters of India.

Mrs. Annie Besant's orders of "Sons of India" and "Daughters of India," with the motto "I serve" are far better than any official plan that we know of for guiding the feelings and energies of students into right channels. The pledges which the Sons and Daughters have to take are as follows:—

PLEDGE FOR PLEDGED MEMBERS.

Sons of India Pledge.

I promise to treat as Brothers Indians of every religion and every province.

To make Service the dominant ideal of my life.

And therefore:

To seek the public good before personal advantage;

To protect the helpless, defend the oppressed, teach the ignorant, raise the down-trodden;

To choose some definite line of public usefulness and to labor thereon;

To perform every day at least one Act of Service;

To pursue our ideals by law-abiding methods only;

To be a good citizen of my municipality or district, my province, the Motherland, and the Empire.

To all this I pledge myself, in the presence of the Supreme Lord, to our Chief, our Brotherhood and our Country, that I may be a true Son of India.

It is an honorable obligation on the part of every member, pledged and unpledged, to repeat daily the chain of Union, as follows:

May the One Lord of the Universe, worshipped under many names, pour into the hearts of the Brothers and Sisters of this Order, and through them into India, the Spirit of Unity and of Service.

Daughters of India Pledge.

I promise to do all in my power to promote harmony between the people of every religion and every province.

To make Service the dominant ideal of my life.

And therefore:

To be ready to make sacrifices for the public good.

To train the younger members of the household in true piety and patriotism;

To endeavor to restore the ancient Indian ideal of the woman as counsellor and co-worker with her husband in his labors for the public good;

To serve in all ways possible to me the Motherland and the Empire.

To all this I pledge myself, in the presence of the Supreme Lord, to our Chief, our Brotherhood and our Country, that I may be a true Daughter of India.

It is an honorable obligation on the part of every member, pledged and unpledged, to repeat daily the Chain of Union, as follows:

May the One Lord of the Universe, worshipped under many names, pour into the hearts of the Brothers and Sisters of this Order, and through them into India, the Spirit of Unity and of Service.

PROMISE FOR UNPLEDGED MEMBERS.

Promise.

I promise to treat as Brothers Indians of every religion and every province and to perform every day at least one Act of Service.

We are not disposed to pick holes in these solemn and sacred pledges, with every one of which we are in hearty sympathy. But we should be untrue to our feelings if we were to omit one word of comment on a point that has caused a chill in our mind. Mrs.

Annie Besant is an English woman and an Imperialist. It is natural for her and for persons of her race and way of thinking to be proud of and feel enthusiasm for the Empire. Such is not the case with us. We know how India's sons and India's money have been freely used in building up the Empire. We know also that the Empire has not spent a pice for India that is not India's own. No student of current events need be told how Indians are treated in British Colonies,—treated *literally* as worse than cats and dogs. Think of a *man* like Mr. Gandhi of whom all India is proud, and his heroic brethren, breaking stones or working with pick-axes in the public streets of Volksrust with felons, for the offence of being Indians! Those pick-axes dig into our hearts! We could wish Mrs. Annie Besant had spared us the mention of the Empire in a sacred pledge meant to evoke enthusiasm.

Mrs. Annie Besant on the Extremists.

Mrs. Annie Besant takes the whole extremist party to task (in the first article in "Sons of India" for October) as if she were the headmistress of a school where many of the leading men of India were naughty pupils. Mrs. Annie Besant says: "I have nought now to do with politics." The mistake she makes of thinking that every extremist is an actual or a possible bomb-thrower, shows that she has indeed nothing to do with Indian politics. We, for our part, do not know the exact definition of extremism. It is said that extremists want absolute independence (as many would do, if it could be had). But Mr. Tilak told Mr. Nevinson long ago that he would be content with the colonial form of self-rule. And Mr. Tilak is said to be the ablest leader of the extremist party. Mr. Khaparde is another extremist. He is stated, in "India", to be in favour of colonial self-rule. On the other hand Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal continues to preach absolute freedom. Another mark of extremism is said to be the giving up of "mendicant" methods, and of association with officials and official measures. But here, too, notable exceptions will occur to every reader of Indian newspapers. On the other hand, we know of moderates whose whole being recoils from the thought of seeking for any official favours, private or public. So there is extremism and extremism. As for *Service* of the kinds mentioned in the pledge, Mrs. Besant has probably heard the names, for instance, of Lala Lajpat Rai and Babu Aswini Kumar Datta, who are both said to be extremists. It will be a proud day for the Theosophical Society and for the orders of Sons and Daughters of India when they shall have done as much *actual* service to India of the kinds mentioned in the pledge, as these two men and their co-workers have done. Mrs. Annie Besant is an old lady, very learned and very wise; but still indiscriminate and ignorant scolding does not become her. She and every other foreign well-wisher of India (we do not mean any offence, or any disrespect to them) will do well to remember that they cannot possibly love India more than even the most misguided party of Indian patriots.

Mrs. Annie Besant says that for India independence "probably will not, and should not come, for the higher ideal is Federation of nations and mutual dependence, rather than isolated independence, and to this the more advanced nations are tending." We accept the higher ideal of Federation of nations foreshadowed in Tennyson's "Locksley Hall"; but there can be Federation and mutual dependence only between *free* national units, not between a dominant and a subject people; just as there can be friendship between two men standing on a footing of equality, but not between a man and his beast of burden. Moreover, no people can be called a nation unless they are perfectly autonomous. So true Federation can come only after the attainment of autonomy and, therefore, of nationhood.

Partition and Conspiracy against the Crown.

In opening the case against Mr. Aurobind Ghose and others, Mr. Norton wanted the Judge to extend the time of the alleged conspiracy against the King Emperor backwards to the 16th of October of 1905, that is to say, to the date of the Partition of Bengal. This is a clear admission on the part of the Executive Government that the Partition had as a matter of history much to do with the origin of the alleged anarchist movement in Bengal, though it need not have been so; whereas in some of their speeches some of the highest Government officers have stated

in so many words that the unrest in Bengal was not due to any acts of omission or commission on the part of Government, but was due to the innate and uncaused mischievousness and wickedness of "the agitators."

Corporal Cullen not punished.

Corporal Cullen who shot dead Lachman Das has not been punished by the Chief Court of Lahore, as the jury by a majority of 8 to 1 held that Cullen was insane. Taking the most favourable view of his case on the evidence before the jury, it could only be said that the man became or pretended to have become insane after killing Lachman, as well he might.

Such cases have long ceased to surprise the Indian public. They take them to be as inevitable as the mortality from plague, famine, the ravages of wild animals, &c. Government is probably powerless to deal with the evil. But perhaps the Heart of the Universe has not become callous or unsound.

The Partition Celebration in Calcutta.

Dark are the workings of the human heart. And so we cannot read the motives of the Police in trying their best to prevent a meeting of the people of Calcutta on last Partition day. The people received sufficient provocation for a breach of the peace, but did not quarrel with the police. The latter made heroic preparations by arming themselves, with revolvers, rifles and other weapons, in the event of a fight with a populace deprived even of their sticks or *lathis*. Wonderful heroism! For the people were really still left with many weapons of offence, such as their umbrellas, their hands, their legs, their teeth, and, in case they wanted to strangle one another, their handkerchiefs and other pieces of cloth. We confess we are afaid a day may come when we may be deprived of our umbrellas. But as Englishmen are a practical people, not ambitious of attaining what is ideally perfect, we are perfectly confident they will never insist on making ideally inoffensive citizens of us,—sans teeth, sans hands, sans legs, sans clothes.

If the police feel that they must fight somebody, let them choose some armed enemy, say, a well-armed gang of dacoits. While dacoities multiply in all provinces, it is a sorry sight to see the "guardians of peace" keeping themselves armed to fight, if need be, a peace-loving thoroughly disarmed people, who never fought in their lives and never will.

The Partition Demonstration was grander and more successful this year than any previous one. Hundreds of meetings were held in Mufussil towns and villages. More than a hundred thousand people took part in it in Calcutta. When Babu Surendranath Banerji rose to speak on the top of a carriage, he was supported on one side by Mr. Saradindu Narayan Ray, M. A. of Dinajpur, a scion of an aristocratic family, and on the other side by a coolie,—a happy augury. And it was a spontaneous incident, no prearranged theatrical device. This was not the only sign to show that the national demonstration had touched all sections of the people. The common shop-keeping, artisan and labouring population of Calcutta had their own processions, singing songs of their own composition.

Some persons are of opinion that a meeting ought to have been held on the prohibited private grounds at or after the hour laid down in the official orders for its closing, thus putting them to a test. That they ought to be put to the test admits of no question. But we think, as, in India lives being held cheap, a defiance of the official orders would have led to a panic in such a large and unarmed crowd, and to firing on the crowd, the organisers of the demonstration did well in avoiding a collision with the police. Perhaps we take this view on account of our timidity. Whatever the reason may be, we do not think that bravado is courage, or that courage is everything in the work of national regeneration, or that courage is displayed by a leader in unnecessarily jeopardising the lives of his disarmed and peace-loving followers. Moreover, from a little incident, of which we were eye-witnesses and which we will not narrate, it did not seem to us that the people were "spoiling" for a fight. If the leaders do not test the legality of the orders by breaking them by holding a meeting of persons who will not be panic-stricken, or in some other way, they will certainly be to blame. In the meantime, no leader stands in the way of any critic getting up and addressing a meeting in any prohibited place after the prohibited hour. Nothing is easier in Calcutta than to draw a pretty large

audience of an evening in some of the public squares to listen to any amount of sense or nonsense that any one may like to talk.

Government cut a sorry figure on Partition Day on account of the anxiety displayed by the executive authorities to prevent a meeting by hook or by crook. This was certainly not the way to rally the Moderates, as the *Bengalee* puts it. But we forget that in Bengal there is no Moderate party in the sense in which that term is understood in the United Provinces, Bombay and Madras.

The upshot of the whole affair is that Bengal will never accept the Partition as a settled fact and be reconciled to it. We are a very mild and sentimental people. But we hope we possess tenacity of purpose as well.

Political Goals.

In this number we print two articles; one pleading for colonial self-rule, the other for absolute independence. But the immediate work to be done and the method to be adopted, are practically the same, according to both the writers. It does not indicate the possession either of genuine patriotism or of practical political capacity, to be fighting for remote goals, "shadows" as a very distinguished "extremist" leader called them in private conversation with us,—when the work that lies immediately to our hands is the same. The raising of the question of the goal was, in our opinion, unfortunate, so far as the Congress is concerned. But as it has been raised, those who cannot honestly accept colonial self-rule as the final goal, cannot attend the convention to be held in Madras during next Christmas week. If another political conference meets elsewhere at the same time, those who are for a real National Congress cannot join that assembly too.

There may be a political science in the abstract, but the art of politics has to do with concrete facts and circumstances. There is no doubt a place in politics for idealists and dreamers, but practical men, too, have their uses, we hope. The practical politician must go on taking what he wins or gets, while continually working or pressing for more. There is no finality in politics. As for methods, organizations like the Congress must needs adopt strictly legal methods. It has always done so. Its history and personnel are a better guarantee for the legality of its future work than a paper constitution. If any one thinks, the law cannot be obeyed, he may break it at his own risk. If the majority of Indian politicians ever come to think that lawful agitation is useless, the Congress must then necessarily break up.

The unexpected may happen any day. But in the ordinary course of events, we do not think the youngest "Conventionist" can hope to see India possessed of colonial self-rule within his life-time, by means of making speeches, protesting, petitioning and passing resolutions. Is there any use then in trying to make one's goal binding on posterity? If there be any desire to do so, it cannot be a wise one; for posterity will use their intellects and not ours, to decide what they ought to strive for, with reference to the circumstances then existing. If there be no such desire, why perpetuate a division in our camp by speaking of any goal or object at all? The Congress could do without any such statement for more than two decades. It is true the political condition of the country has changed. But have the political bodies in the different provinces altered their constitutions or made new statements of objects owing to the presence of new political facts? If it be sought to lull the suspicion or disarm the opposition of the bureaucracy by this means,—we hope there is no such vain desire—the attempt is futile. For: (1) many "Conventionists" openly state that they accept the colonial goal, without concealing their desire to take the next step, if and whenever possible; (2) the bureaucracy like the colonial goal almost as much as they do absolute autonomy; (3) Viscount Morley has told us that as the Canadian fur-coat can not suit us, we need not have any coat of self-rule at all, that all Indian politicians are crying for the moon, and that as far as his Lordship's imagination can peer into the abysmal depths of the future, he can see nothing but absolutism for India. As for lawfulness, a Congress without a declared goal is as lawful as with a colonial one, provided its methods are lawful. It is a mistake to think that Government would do more for us if we dissociated ourselves from a particular party, than they did when there were no parties. The nominal

recognition which the moderates are receiving is undoubtedly due to the existence of the extremist party. Official protests and denials notwithstanding, we cannot but believe that if the Liberal Ministry give us any rights at all, their bestowal has been or will be hastened by the signs of impatience already displayed by the people. Nor should the extremists think that they have a monopoly of patriotism, political wisdom, sincerity and courage. When the history of the building of the Indian National Edifice comes to be written, it will probably be found that all parties and sub-parties have contributed their share of labour and materials in varying proportion, and that all have made mistakes more or less serious.

Should the gentle reader now ask us with unfailing courtesy, "What is *your* goal, Mr. Facing-both-ways? What are *your* principles?" we would humbly answer: "Ever-expanding freedom, that is our goal, if goal it be. We believe in taking the next step, big or small, honestly, and in co-operation with all who are prepared to advance, slowly or rapidly, by all legitimate means."

The Demoralisation of the Punjab.

In his last published letter before his departure to England Mr. Lajpat Rai commented sadly on the demoralisation of the Punjab. The Punjab is associated in the public mind with martial valour. Not only at home but also abroad, the Sikhs and other Punjabis like them, seem to lord it over others by their martial bearing. The contrast between the appearance of the Sikh police in a Chinese town and that of the native Chinese in the two photographs reproduced in this number is striking, though the Chinese as a nation are independent. It is not exactly an example of the sneak at home being the bully abroad. For the Sikhs and some other Punjabi soldiers are everywhere among the bravest of the brave. What then is the cause of the degeneration of which Mr. Lajpat Rai complains? Perhaps strength of mind, moral courage, or force of character does not necessarily co-exist with the physical courage that goes to make a good animate fighting machine.

An absurd Cartoon.

We reproduce elsewhere from a German paper a cartoon relating to the political situation in Bengal. The name given to it is "England and the Bengal Tiger." Now all who have seen a Bengali and a Bengal Tiger know that there is no resemblance between the two either internal or external, except in the name. Generations of Anglo-Indians have praised us for our mildness. And "the tiger qualities" have been specially claimed by the *Pioneer* as belonging to the British race. The Executive and the Police are daily tightening their grip upon us. All the efforts of the Police in two provinces have resulted in the arrest of only 37 alleged anarchists, and their guilt has still to be proved. Why then this absurd cartoon? It is, we think, due to the baseless and exaggerated telegrams sent home by some Anglo-Indian newspaper correspondents and by Reuter's agency regarding actual or incipient rebellion in Bengal. The cartoon represents the Britisher as originally seated securely on the back of the beast. Then the animal gets up and shakes him off heels over head. What an absurdity! But the German cartoonist is not to blame. He only took the Anglo-Indian telegrams appearing in the British yellow press as sober truth. He did not know how fiction grew luxuriantly in tropical Anglo-India. Or perhaps he obtained the picture by telepathy.

Dhurandhar's "Dewali in Bombay."

This picture represents how many Hindu ladies in Bombay decorate their houses for the Dewali festival. The artist tells us that on this occasion "in Bombay the front space of every Hindu house is decorated by the ladies with drawings composed of geometrical patterns in various colours. The custom of drawing these patterns is peculiar to the ladies of the Bombay Prabhu caste, that is, every girl in the house is a born artist for such drawings. She is not required to receive any lessons for these." The original of this picture is in the Jaipur Museum, acquired by purchase from the artist in 1896.

The Hyderabad Disaster.

The terrible catastrophe which overtook Hyderabad last month serves as a reminder to us how powerless we are against the forces of nature.

We are glad to find that the Hyderabad Government has proved itself equal to the

occasion by the prompt and generous measures of relief and sanitation that it has adopted. Many Indians and Europeans distinguished themselves by heroically rescuing persons in imminent danger of death.

Bombay givers.

Bombay is famous for her givers. Some of the latest princely donations are, 10 lakhs given by Mr. Jacob Sassoon for the proposed Central Science Institute at Bombay, jewellery worth about 12 lakhs given by Miss Framji Dinshaw Petit for a Parsi Girls' Orphanage, and 4 lakhs given by Mr. Chinubhai Madhowlal of Ahmedabad for a branch Institute for the teaching of Science to be established in that city. May we have such noble givers all over India!

The Coming Reforms.

We must not prejudge Viscount Morley's reforms before we know definitely what they are going to be, nor be buoyed up with the hope that they must be something worth having. But we think some remarks may be made on the vague outline given in the official communique on the subject. It seems that the legislative councils will consist of more members than now and that the administrators will be required to defend their actions and measures in actual debate. A debating club on a grand scale has become a desideratum no doubt; as on account of official nervousness school and college debating clubs have become very dull. But in addition to enlarged and really representative councils, the public really want two things as a first step: I. (*a*) control over some tax, however trivial, and over some item of expenditure, however small and unimportant; (*b*) control over legislation in some department, however unimportant: II. a guarantee that the reforms will be progressive and that there will be no retrogression, as there has been in many instances in recent years. The rights mentioned in I. (*a*) and (*b*) may be given by laying down that in the matters referred to therein the voice of the majotity of the non-official Indian members shall prevail. Unless this is done, more interpellations with evasive, or snubbing replies and fuller opportunities of debate will only irritate the people the more.

The Turkish Crisis.

The arrival of fresh telegrams every day serves to change the aspect of affairs in the "Near East." But one thing remains unchanged,—the grasping and selfish character of some of the European powers. We can understand Bulgaria's desire to be free; if they did not want to be free, the Bulgarians would write themselves down as imbecile asses or sneaking and self-seeking knaves. But we do not understand her attempt to cheat Turkey in the matter of the tribute or as regards the railway line she has seized. Still less defensible is Austria's action in annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. As the Turks have become free, these two States might have justly claimed freedom, but a third party should not exploit the situation. Nor do we understand what just cause has arisen to give Russia or any other country the right to claim that its navy must be allowed to pass through the Dardanelles. Perhaps the Turkish crisis furnishes the latest illustration of the superiority of European international morality.

Ram Brahma Sanyal.

The late Rai Ram Brahma Sanyal Bahadur, C. M. Z. S., Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens at Alipore, was not known to many even of his educated fellow-countrymen. But he was a man whose place in the nation will literally remain vacant for many a year to come. He was a self-made man. A man of sterling worth and wide-reaching sympathies, he possessed a knowledge of his subject (Zoology) which was unrivalled in Bengal and perhaps in all India. Among his notable works are "A Hand-book of the Management of animals in captivity in Bengal," and "Hours with Nature." He possessed an extensive knowledge of other allied subjects, too. Pundit Sivanath Sastri, leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, was a friend of the deceased gentleman for the last 34 years. He told us on the day of Mr. Sanyal's death, that one would look in vain for any fault in the character of the deceased. From Pundit Sastri, too, we learned that Mr. Sanyal was a swadeshist so long ago as the year 1874, and went to the length of wrapping pieces of cloth round his feet, as stockings were then all of foreign make. He took

great personal and practical interest in the education and elevation of the so-called "untouchable" classes, having been one of the leading supporters of the mission to the Namasudras in Narail. A more loving heart it would be hard to find than that of Mr. Sanyal, whose love embraced all the dumb creatures, including venomous reptiles, kept in the Zoological Gardens. A more honest thinker we have not known. He broke with the "orthodox" Hindu community early in life on account of his reforming zeal, but for years did not join the Brahmo Samaj, as he could not accept some of the doctrines of that body, all the while reckoning among his dearest and most esteemed friends many of its leading men. We feel that we have not been able to do justice to his personality. In him Bengal has lost a jewel of a man.

Maharaja Suryakanta Acharya.

The late Maharaja Suryakanta Acharya of Mymensingh was a man of princely charity, great business capacity and remarkable public spirit. But what distinguished him above other men of his class was his courage. We do not mean the physical courage and strong nerves which made him a great *shikari*, but that rarer form of courage which enabled him to stick to his political principles in spite of the alternate threats and persuasions of such an autocrat as Lord Curzon, not to speak of those of lesser officials. He took active part in anti-Partition demonstrations and helped the swadeshi cause by his influence and by pecuniary assistance. Many a poor young man owes his education in India and abroad to the Maharaja's liberality. He had some great faults, but this is not the time to dwell on them.

The Naini Tal Sanitary Conference.

The Sanitary Conference which held its sittings at Naini Tal for a fortnight in September last, did its work with great thoroughness and business capacity. Nothing bearing directly on the sanitation of urban and rural areas seems to have escaped its attention. The Conference has decided that the appointments of health officers in municipalities should be open to Europeans or Indians, preference being given to Indians. As the highest salaries would range from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, and private practice would be strictly prohibited, there is small chance of getting competent Europeans for these appointments. So, apart from the question of principle, we think it would have been better to confine the choice to Indians. "English qualifications are at present necessary" for these posts, we do not know why. Is it true that *all* British universities, hospitals or medical schools give better education than our universities? We trow not. And if it be true, it is not exactly creditable to Government not to maintain even four up-to-date Medical Colleges in this vast Indian Empire.

The factors that bear indirectly upon sanitation are perhaps the most important. We mean the material and educational condition of the people. When people are well-fed, they can resist many diseases due to insanitary surroundings. And sanitary improvements in the people's homes, surroundings and style of living presuppose the possession of means to effect them. Without education people cannot know and observe the rules of health. All these things require to be attended to.

Malaria in the Panjab.

After unmanning Lower Bengal and Bihar malaria has been spreading gradually to Upper India. There has been great prevalence of malarial fever in the United Provinces during the present season. But, perhaps, it has been committing the most appalling ravages in the Panjab. As a sample we take from *The Tribune* the following figures relating to Amritsar, a city which has a population of 162,000 :—

Oct.	1	71	Malaria deaths	out	of	94
,,	2	96	,,	,,	,,	115
,,	3	105	,,	,,	,,	128
,,	4	102	,,	,,	,,	118
,,	5	70	,,	,,	,,	122
,,	6	110	,,	,,	,,	129
,,	7	107	,,	,,	,,	125
,,	8	111	,,	,,	,,	130

We do not think the mortality from plague has been anywhere in India higher than this;—at any rate that is our impression.

What is the cause of this sudden epidemic of malaria? The insanitary conditions could not have been of sudden growth. They must have been in existence for a decade at least. We are not medical experts, but may still be allowed to venture

an opinion. We think chronic want has been gradually lowering the vitality of the people in the affected tracts. Now it has reached a point when it can no longer resist the inroads of disease. Sanitary improvements are no doubt of immediate inportance but a permanent improvement in the health of the people can never be expected unless they are better fed.

Modern religious neutrality of the State in Ancient India.

In his presidential address at the third International Congress for the History of Religions, which met in September last at Oxford, Sir Alfred Lyal is reported to have said :—

Up to the sixteenth century it was universally held, by Christianity and by Islam, that the State was bound to enforce orthodoxy; conversion and the suppression or expulsion of heretics were public duties. Unity of creed was thought necessary for national unity.

With the two great religions of the East it was different. In Eastern Asia, beyond the pale of Islam, there were no religious wars such as tore the West. They were unknown, the president believed, until Islam invaded India. It may be true that the rule of Asoka was influential in determining the progress of Buddhism, but the rule of the East was that the State did not make itself responsible for the propagation of one form of faith, it was concerned with its own civil and moral order, and was content that different faiths should be held, if they did not conflict with that order. "While in Mohammedan Asia the State upholds orthodox uniformity, in China and Japan the mainspring of all administrative action is political expediency." In China, Buddhism, Tâoism and Confucianism are recognised, and only heresies identified with sedition and disloyalty are repressed. In Japan, Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism are impartially recognised.

This shows that the modern principle that there should not be any established state church was practised in Ancient India, where the people enjoyed religious freedom and practised religious toleration to an extent which is unknown in most civilized Western countries. In non-religious matters, too, the people had many customary rights which are statutory in the West and were won after great struggles.

The Parsi loyalty meeting in Bombay.

With regard to the Parsi loyalty meeting held in Bombay *The Parsi* writes :—

From amid the noise and turmoil, there certainly emerged a distinct voice, audible to those who had ears to hear, for the assembly showed in a manner there was no mistaking, that they were not so much concerned with repudiating any sympathy with anarchism (which by itself would be a ridiculous proceeding) as that they were resolved to pursue their political activities in legitimate paths and to stand shoulder to shoulder with those who are working for the good of India and who are agitating for the removal of India's "many and just grievances," which have caused so much honest discontent in the land.

The Oriental Review, another influential Parsi organ, has written in a similar strain. Nobody ought to have expected the go-ahead Parsis to take any other than this sensible view.

"Extremism" in England.

"Hear the other side" is a just rule. Hitherto in England only the voice of the Indian Moderate party has been heard. It is good, therefore, that the other side, too, is now getting an opportunity to enlighten Britishers regarding the situation in India. So reasonable people have already begun to see that Extremism has something reasonable to say for itself. As a proof we take the following extract from the *Manchester Guardian* :—

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's analysis of the character of the movement now going on in India will impress the candid mind as essentially sound. It is an easy, and for certain temperaments, an instinctive motion to put all the trouble down to a few interested agitators; but this explanation is too simple and mechanical to explain an emotion which is manifestly sweeping across India and taking hold upon vast masses of the most diverse races and classes. There are agitators in India and men with axes to grind—every country has such, and every moment throws them up—but there is also an idea at work, and it is the kinetic, mastering idea for which the statesman looks, and with reference to which he shapes his plans. The idea which is at work upon the Indian peoples, according to Mr. Pal, who has his finger upon their pulse, is the desire to be Indian, to develop their own education and their own industries, and to build up a life which shall spring naturally out of their own culture and their own past. Of the Government they ask simply that it should keep the peace, but otherwise not interpose; that it should repress violence and crime, but otherwise leave them free to move and to grow. That the awakening of India should take this form is natural and inevitable. We have in the past, with the very best of intentions, imposed upon the youth of India an educational system wholly European in substance and spirit, and the ambition we set before it was assimilation to the European. We did not face the probability of a revulsion, or work out the possibility of putting the knowledge of the West at the disposal of India without sapping what was most characteristic in indigenous Indian culture. The revulsion has come, and with irresistible force; nor should we wish to resist it. We have no desire to force an alien culture and an alien mode of thought upon India. Our desire is to put the accumulated science and skill of the West at their service, but truly at their service. If the peoples of India wish that these should be their tools, not their tyrants, and that they should work as the

Indian spirit moves them, the peoples of India will not meet with the opposition of the people of England. Repression is in place against the criminal and the violent, not against the Nationalist seeking a peaceful evolution.

Mr. D. E. Wacha on the Science of Commerce.

It was an excellent paper that Mr. D. E. Wacha read last month on the science of commerce before the Bombay Graduates Association. It will be news to many people to hear that there is such a thing as the science of commerce. But there is really such a thing, though its laws are not so clearly ascertained and immutably fixed as those of the physical sciences. There are faculties of science in many Western universities. Mr. Wacha passes in rapid review some of the questions that this science treats of, thus:—

"Active commerce leads to theoretic formulas about markets, the laws of supply and demand and so forth. Supply means production, and production ultimately resolves itself into agriculture and manufacture. Manufactures suggest inventions. Inventions bring us to scientific research. And thus inventions become themselves a source of wealth. Demand brings us to distribution, which necessarily leads to the problems of transportation by land and sea, ships, steam-boats, railways and, possibly, the aeroplanes. They in themselves are diverse sources of wealth. Then wealth brings us back to the old economic problems about capital, labour and profits. These in their turn suggest problems of inter-provincial and international trade, international tariffs and international treaties, international ethics and theories of foreign and inland exchanges, besides banking, insurance, trusts and so forth. Again the protection of merchandise by sea brings us to the consideration of problems of mercantile cruisers, navy, contraband and maritime laws, including those of marine insurance. Thus higher commercial education has come to signify a system which, as Mr. T. A. Stephens says, "stands in the same relation to the life and calling of the manufacturer, the merchant and other men of business, as the medical schools of the universities to that of the doctor—a system that is, which provides a scientific training in the structure and organisation of modern industry and commerce, and the general causes and criteria of prosperity."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Life of Mahavira, by Manak Chand Jaini, B. A. Price Rupee one. To be had of the Manager, "The Jaina Gazette", Allahabad.

This is an important publication, giving a concise life of Lord Mahavira, the celebrated founder of the Jaina religion. It is based on a short Gujerati pamphlet (which itself was a translation of a Bengali pamphlet) supplemented by two authoritative Jaina works,* *viz.* the Kalpa-sutra by Bhadrabahu Svami and Mahavira Purana by Sakalakirti.

Mahavira was long looked upon as a fictitious person brought into existence by some dissenters from the Buddhist faith on the analogy of its well-known founder Gautama Buddha, until in 1884 Dr. Herman Jacobi of Bonn declared that "enough is known of him to invalidate the suspicion that he is a sort of mythical person invented or set up by a younger sect some centuries after the pretended age of their assumed founder." During the last twenty-four years several other scholars have applied themselves assiduously to the study of Jainism and the historicity of Mahavira has now been fully established.

Mahavira was born of a Royal Kshatriya family at Kundalapura, a suburb of Vaisali (near modern Muzaffarpur) on the 13th lunar day of the month of Chaitra in the year 599 B.C.

He had a handsome and symmetrical body and a magnetic personality. He was a man of great courage and supreme valour. One day, while playing with his friends in the garden of his father, Mahavira saw a ferocious elephant coming towards him. All his companions, boys as they were, being afraid of the impending danger, deserted him and ran off. Without losing a moment Mahavira went near the elephant, caught hold of its trunk with his strong hand and ascended its back at once. The Jaina sastras say nothing about the kind of education that was imparted to Mahavira. But it is stated that he was born endowed with unimpeded knowledge and intuition. As a Jina or Tirthankara, Mahavira was self-inspired and did not want any teacher to give him instruction. The Svetambaras say that Mahavira was married to a charming princess named Yasoda and had a daughter named Anojja, but the Digambaras deny this and say that Mahavira was never married and led the life of a *bala-brahmachari*. However he lived as a lay man till the thirtieth year of his life when his parents had already died. On the tenth lunar day of the month of Margasirsa he, with the permission of his brother, renounced the world distributing his vast wealth among his numerous subjects. On leaving his palace he was carried in a palanquin to a park known as the Sarthi Khanda or Gnatri Shanda. A special throne, known as the Pandusila or the five daises placed one upon the other, was erected. Mahavira sat on it below a sandal tree, took off his ornaments, garlands and finery and turned an *anagarika* or a houseless ascetic. He renounced 24 *parigrahas* or attachments and assumed 28 *mula-gunas* or chief qualities of a monk. Then followed a very trying ceremony known as the *Kesalochana*, which required him to pluck out his hair in five handfuls with his right and left hands. Thereafter he travelled through Kummer, Asthika-

* The Kalpa-sutra written in Prakrit is a Svetambara work dated at the latest about the second century A.D. The Mahavira Purana which is written in Sanskrit is a Digambara work of great popularity.

grama, Kulapura, Dasapura, Ujjayini, Kausambi and other places, practising 22 *Parisahas*, 5 *Mahavratas*, 5 *Samitis*, 3 *Guptis* and 84 *Uttaragunas*, with a view to attaining various kinds of Riddhis and Siddhis. At Nalanda he met with Gosala, with whom he lived for some time. After practising penance for 12 years he attained *Kevalajnana* or supreme, unobstructed and absolute knowledge, at a place called Grimbhaka-grama near Paresnath hills on the bank of the river Rijkul on the 10th lunar day of the month of Vaisakh while he was seated upon a Ratnasila below a Sal tree in a squatting position with joined heels. Mahavira was now a *Kevalin*—an omniscient lord comprehending all objects and knowing all conditions of the world and thoughts of men.

He passed the remaining thirty years of his life in teaching his religious system and organising his order of ascetics. He began his preaching in the country round Kundalapura proceeding thence to Sravasti, Vaisasti, Vaisali, Vanijagrama, Rajagriha, Nalanda, Mithila, Bhadrika, Alabhika, Panivabhumi, Papa, etc. In Videha he was patronised by Chetaka the ruling chief of that country. Kunika, the king of Anga, also welcomed the great preacher. Satanika, king of Kausambi, paid him great reverence and entered his holy order. At Rajagriha king Srenika (Bimbisara) became a staunch follower of Mahavira.

On the 15th lunar day of the month of Kartika in the year 527 B.C. at a small village called Pava, 7 miles away from the Behar railway station, this great sage reached the goal of his life—he attained *nirvana* which liberated his soul for ever from the rounds of birth and death.

Mahavira had a large number of followers divided into four orders, *viz.*, 1. *Sramana*, monk. 2. *Aryika*, nun, 3. *Sravaka*, lay devotee and 4. *Sravika*, female devotee. The order of monks consisted of 14,000 members divided into nine schools called *Ganas*, each of which was under the headship of a teacher called Ganadhara. Indrabhuti Gautama and Sudharma Svami were the chief of the Ganadharas. The order of nuns is said to have consisted of 36,000 members under the headship of Chandana, princess of Vaisali. The order of *Sravakas* consisted of one hundred and fifty nine thousand members with Sankhasataka at their head, while the order of *Sravikas* consisted of three hundred thousand members with Sulasa and Revati at their head.

The Jaina scriptures embodying the teachings of Mahavira are divided into 12 Angas, 14 Anga-bahya-sutras, etc. These are said to have been handed down by memory for several centuries until they were codified in writing, according to the Digambaras, about 57 A. D., but according to the Svetambaras, in 453 A. D.

The movement started by Mahavira embraced persons of all castes and gave considerable freedom to women. But it is very strange that there are so little traces of it outside India.

The book under review is written in simple English and contains all the important information about the founder of an interesting religion which prevails among one of the wealthiest classes of people in India.

SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSANA.

Svarnalata: by the late Dr. T. N. Ganguly. Translated into English by D. C. Roy. Second Edition. Sanyal & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3. 1906.

Svarnalata is one of the earliest novels published in Bengal, and occupies a niche among works of fiction all its own. The English rendering by Mr. D. C. Roy, according to competent European and American critics, has been well done. The translation is on the whole idiomatic and the translator has succeeded in preserving much of the interest and spirit of the original. Many features of Bengali society as depicted in this story are already on the way to become obsolete. It is easy to see that when the story was written, drunkenness and hypocrisy were more prevalent than they are now, and people had not yet learnt to take any interest in the political condition of their country. Life was then cast in a serener if a narrower mould, and the mind of the average middle class man was not sicklied over with the pale cast of thought. The dramatic development of character, and the varied action that we find in Bankimchandra, and the keen psychological analysis of Rabindranath, are of course not to be expected in a simple tale of this kind. The merit of the story lies in its artless simplicity and naturalness. The following extract from the press notice published in the *Times of India* deserves quotation, as showing how the book in its English garb is likely to strike the cultured foreigner:

"The story is avowedly a picture of Hindu domestic life, and though the scenes and characters are those of Bengal, the sentiments, motives and actuating ideas are common to Hindu life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Herein lies a peculiarity of Hindu domestic life. Behind differences of language, and beyond differences of history, there is a common body of ideas and associations, which secures for the two hundred millions professing this ancient faith an underlying homogeneity where social and religious matters are concerned..."

These views show the essential unity of India.

The book is printed on cream laid paper, in bold type and strong and artistic binding. It is remarkably light for its bulk and a careful reading reveals a commendably small number of printing mistakes. We congratulate the translator and the publishers on having brought out a second and revised edition of the book.

GUZARATI.

Bal Vivod by *Jagannath Jethabhai Raval, Head master Municipal School, Bombay. Printed at the Tattwa Vivechak Press. Pp. 116. Cloth bound. Price 0-5-6. (1908).*

This book is a mixture of many subjects, ranging from short simple stories, to arithmetical puzzles in verse. The stories are didactic and informative and the collection could not have been made unless the writer had for a long time been purposely gathering his harvest. Little children and even grown up people are sure to be able to pass a pleasant half hour with this little booklet in their hand.

K. M. J.

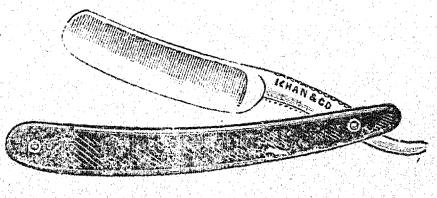
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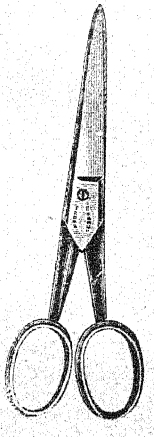
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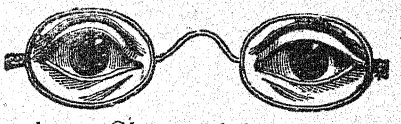
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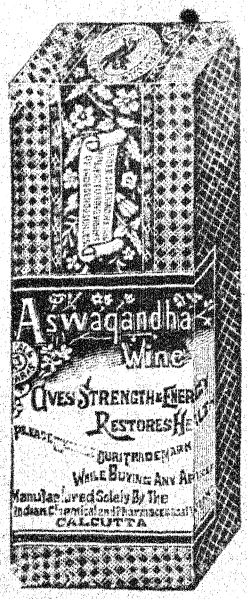
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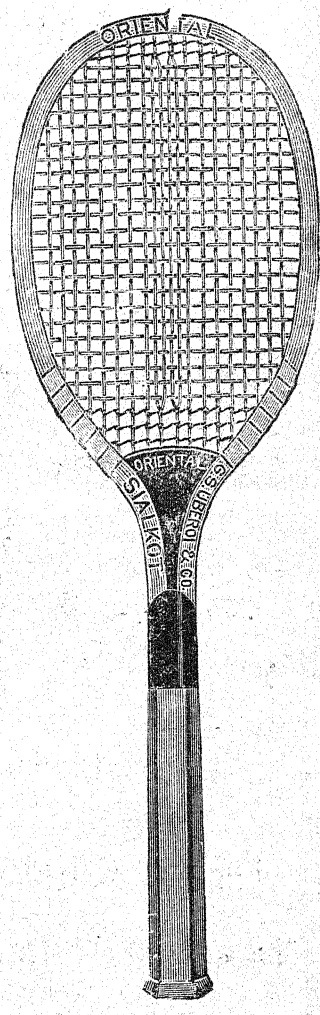
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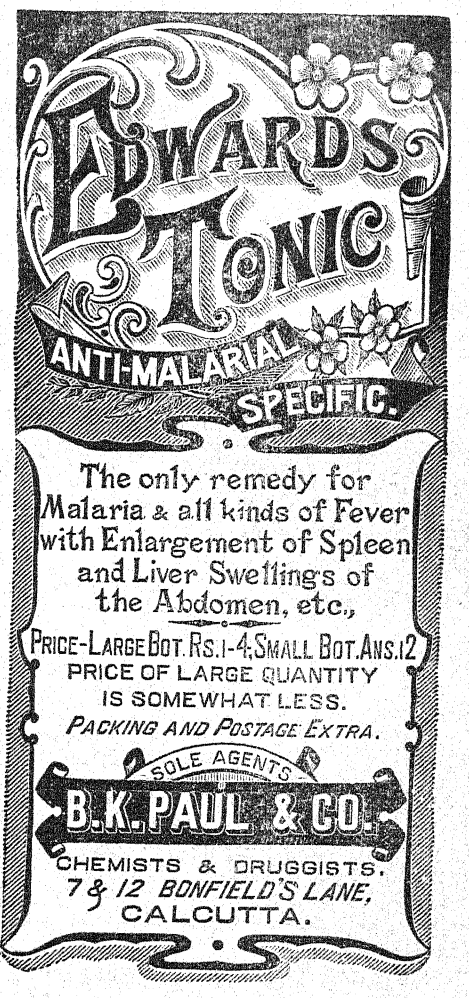
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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta)—

The October number of that excellent Magazine, the "Modern Review" is out already, replete with interesting reading. One article, by Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, detailing the daily life of Aurangzib will be found in another column. It will be seen that these oriental potentates, instead of merely lolling in luxury and being sunk in debauchery in the harem were perhaps the most heavily worked persons in their wide realms. In comparison to what they had practically to achieve, besides leading armies in the field, from day to day, the present-day rulers with their ideas of decentralization have only child's play by way of work. The place of honor in the present issue has been given to an article by Mr. Havell, entitled "Indian Art at the Oriental Congress." The paper certainly deserves careful study by all those who are interested in the subject. Here is a sentence which we commend to the reader :—"To him the study of Indian sculpture and painting had been an opening into a now world of artistic thought full of a most wonderful charm. Indian sculpture had reached to higher imaginative flights, than any other in the world." There are besides a number of other articles and illustrations of absorbing interest, of which the "Wealth of India, 1650," "Golden Bengal" and "British Egotism" by the Rev. J. P. Hopps are splendid specimens.

The Indian Daily News (Calcutta)—

That excellent periodical, the *Modern Review* for October contains an interesting article on "Golden Bengal", in the course of which an endeavour is made to show "the matchless wealth of Bengal even in the early days of John Company."

The Indian Daily Telegraph (Lucknow).—

In the *Modern Review* for October, Mr. E. B. Havell, late Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, in the course of a summary of a paper on the influence of Greek on Indian art, read by Dr. Coomaraswamy at the last session of the International Congress of Orientalists, replies to the criticisms passed by European writers on Indian sculptors and contends that it would be more correct to speak of the influence of Indian art upon Graeco-Roman art, than of the latter on Indian art. Sister Nivedita follows with an article on "Elephanta, the Synthesis of Hinduism," which contains a panegyric on the great caves of Elephanta. In "The Wealth of Ind. 1650" Mr. Jadunath Sarkar attempts to assess the value of the Imperial jewellery owned by Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj and the Peacock Throne. There are a number of other interesting articles. The frontispiece is a reproduction of the water-colour by Mr. Surendra Ganguli entitled "King Bhoj and the Image" and there are several illustrations of the Elephanta Caves.

The Indian Mirror (Calcutta).—

The October number of "The Modern Review" of Calcutta contains several interesting articles.:

The Indian Patriot (Madras)—

The October *Modern Review* has come up at its time with characteristic punctuality and gives its reader its 'characteristic' interest. The *Modern Review* is a particularly good journal, and even for the most preverse reader there is at least a page or two to stop and pause over. There are stories for the idle, politics for the politician, religion for the religious, history for historians and all that, and this number has the additional charm of supplying humour for the humorous. Dr.—we suppose he is one—Aprakash Gupta has invented a spleen protector.

The Muslim Herald.—

The October number of the *Modern Review* is as interesting as ever. The list of illustrations in this number is specially instructive and valuable. The tenth illustration is an invention by one Aprakash Gupta of Ghaebpure, District Dacca, who claims to have invented the much needed "Spleen Protector." The photos of a number of Indian passive resisters in the Transvaal is given, including that of the Mussulman clergyman in his official religious dress! It is impossible to describe in temperate language the feelings produced in our heart at the insult offered by the barbarous Transvaal Government to the faith of Islam and we have no doubt that the photo is likely to cause a very painful though righteous indignation throughout the Moslem World. It is a pity that our Christian friends so glaringly fail to see the beam in their own eyes and with brutal prejudice lay all sorts of blame at the door of Islam! Had the Pope of Rome or the Archbishop of Canterbury been similarly persecuted and convicted in a Moslem land, what tremendous wild cry would have been heard from the *civilised continent?* The issue under review contains no less than 19 readable articles and the Editor's "notes," the latter being as useful as ever. Prof. Jadunath Sircar contributes an article on "Aurangzeb's Daily Life" and another on "the wealth of Ind, 1650" in which he shows the wealth of India under that magnificient Moghul Emperor, Shah Jehan and gives interesting details of the cost of his palacial edifices in different cities, of the Peacock Throne, of his jewellery, &c. "Who should pay the piper?" is an article * * in which he has shown that as British troops are kept in India for *Imperial* purposes, India should not be made to pay for them.

The Panjabee (Lahore).—

Rev. John Page Hopps, Editor of *Coming Day*, London, in the course of a luminous article on "British Egotism" in the current number of the *Modern Review*, observes :

The Theosophist (Madras).—

The Modern Review with a beautiful colored picture of Raja Rammohan Roy and very readable matter printed neatly and well.

The Tribune (Lahore).—

In the current number of the *Modern Review*, Dr. Ananda K. Coomarswamy D. Sc. (London) the well-known Indo Ceylonese scholar and journalist puts in an eloquent plea for national education. Dr. Coomarswamy is perhaps too thoroughgoing and rather a little too uncompromising in his indictment against the present system of education, still the views of an eminent scholar like him deserve full attention and careful scrutiny.

The United India and Native States (Madras).—

The *Modern Review* for October is punctual in its appearance and the present number is no less weighty and informing than the previous ones. The place of honour is deservedly given to an article on *Indian Art at the Oriental Congess* by Mr. E. B. Havell. It is a summary of a paper on "The Influence of Greek on Indian Art" read by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy at the International Congress of Orientalists held in Copenhagen last August. * * In course of the article, Mr. Havell says: "He would even go further than Dr. Coomaraswamy, and suggest that if the history of Gandharan sculpture were properly understood, we should speak not of the influence of Greek or Græco-Roman Art or Indian Art, but of the influence of Indian Art upon Græco-Roman Art." In the next article Sister Nivedita, who by the way writes regularly for the magazine, describes the artistic beauty and sublimity of the Elephanta sculptures. The article is illustrated and the sculptures are described in "Notes." Historical students will find Prof. Judunath Sarkar's contribution on *The Wealth of Ind*, 1650, interesting. The same writer has given a second paper on "*Aurangzibs' Daily Life*," which shows that that Emperor "scorned delights and lived laborius days", A London Teacher describes some *English Kindergarten games* and suggests that Indian handicrafts may furnish materials for similar Indian games. The paper on *Golden Bengal* is, it seems to us, thoroughly onesided. The writer makes an attempt to show the "matchless" wealth of Bengal, in the early days of John Company. Rev. J. P. Hopps in a paper on *British Egotism* comments vigorously on the egotism of our administrators in reference to their administration of this country. Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's paper giving an account of the various ways in which electricity is made to do household work in America is valuable. Another valuable article which should not be missed is a description of a famous Sugar School in the United States by Mr. Banerji, Sugar Chemist, to the Praya Sugar Company. Prof. Dvijadas Dutta, M. A., late of the Government Engineering College at Sibpur, shows by facts and figures how rice or jute production cannot *alone* suffice to maintain the average farmer and his family. He shows further by simple calculation how dairy farming as an additional source of income will greatly improve the farmer's position. The article on the Cartesian proofs of the existence of God will be of interest to students of philosophy. Prof. Hiralal Haldar, M. A., shows the strength and weakness of the Cartesian proof of the existence of God, subjecting them to keen criticism. The Editor of *Modern Review* has succeeded in getting a Russian lady to contribute to the Magazine. Under the *nom de plume* of "Pravda" she seeks to correct the ordinary impression of educational facilities in Russia. Under the title of The ideal of Kingship in ancient India—Mr. Abinash Chandra Das, M. A., B. L., describes from Sanskrit literature the Hindu ideal of kingly rights and responsibilities. "Who should pay the piper" is an opportune article in which an attempt is made to show that as British troops are kept in India for imperial purposes, India should not be made to pay for them. While we are ready to sympathize with the writer we can by no means assert that British troops are kept in India only for Imperial purposes.

The West Coast Spectator (Calicut).—

The place of honour in the *Modern Review* for October is given to an article on "Indian Art at the Oriental Congress" by Mr. E. B. Havell, late of the Calcutta School of Arts. This is followed by Sister Nivedita's, "Elephanta, the 'Synthesis of Hinduism" in which she describes the artistic beauty of the Elephanta sculptures, and shows how in the cave temples the worship of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu was synthetized and how the images of Siva show that the personality of Buddha influenced the conception of that God. Incidently the Sister speaks of the unity of ancient India. In his article on The Wealth of India in 1650, Prof Jadunath Sirkar writes of the wealth of India during the days of Shah Jahan and gives details and costs of the several edifices constructed in several cities during his regime. The Professor contributes also an article on Aurangzib's daily life. In his article on the Aspects of Bengal under John Company, the [writer] gives some interesting information based on original materials on the manufacture of arms, political *sanyasis*, domestic slavery &c. Prof. Hiralal Haldar has a very readable article on the Cartesian Proofs on the Existence of God. Mr. Abinash Chandra Das in his article, on Kingship in Ancient India describes the Hindu ideal of kingly rights and responsibilities. Mr. J. P. Hopps, Editor of the *Coming Day* contributes an article to the current number also. The article, British Egotism, is brief but telling. He comments vigorously on British egotism with reference to the Government of India. Among other articles of interest are, "Electricity in the role of a Handmaid", by Saint Nihal Singh, "Education in India," by Dr. Coomaraswami, and "Public Instruction in Russia," in which a Russian lady under the *nom de plume* of "Pravda" attempts to correct the ordinary impression regarding the inadequacy of educational facilities in Russia. As usual, the number concludes with the brilliant notes of the Editor. The frontispiece is "King Bhoj and the Image." There are thirteen other illustrations including a cartoon, and portraits of seven South African Indian leaders. Altogether, the number before us is creditable to Mr. Ramanada Chatterjee, the public-spirited Editor, who is running the magazine with great devotion and self-sacrifice.

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3. Do. Do. Do. II.
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THE MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee

DECEMBER, 1908

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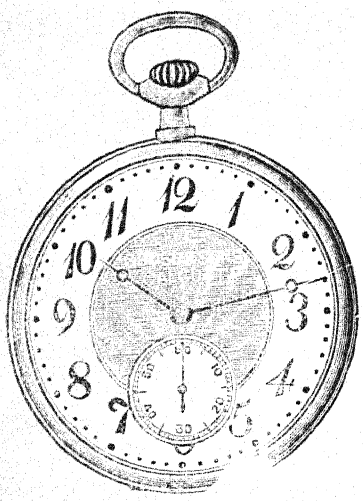
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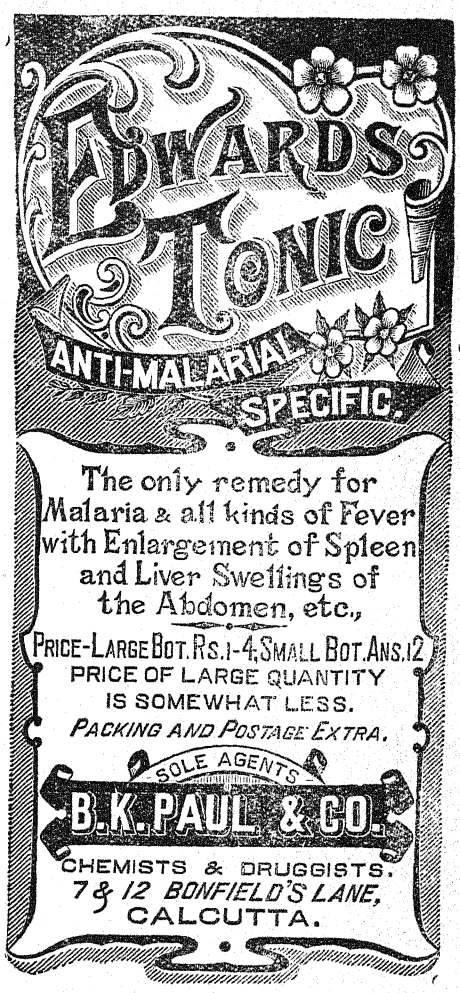
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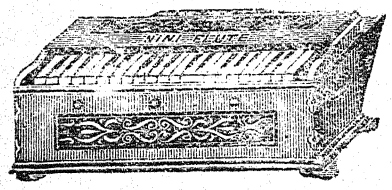
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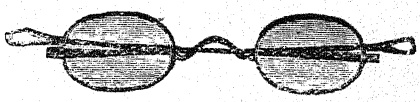
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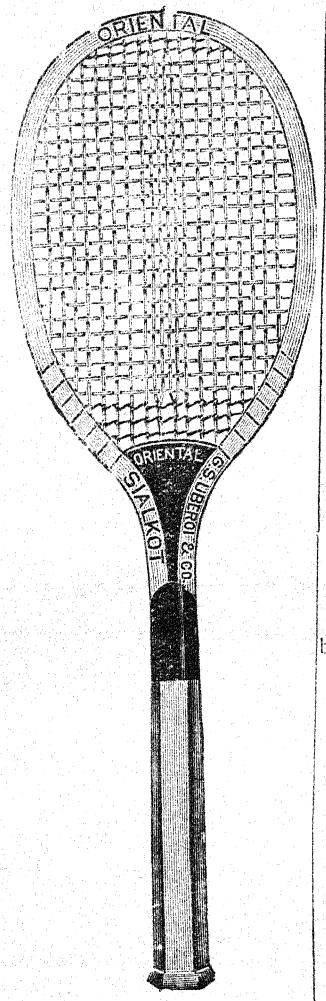
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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. IV
No. 6

DECEMBER, 1908

WHOLE
No. 24

IS ISLAM HOSTILE TO PROGRESS?

I.

IN disputing and refuting the broad and sweeping statement of Lord Cromer as to the inelasticity of Islam as a social system, my friend Mr. Theodore Morison has not only laid the entire Muslim community under deep obligation but has shown a breadth of vision and a grasp of historical facts which is rarely to be found in partisans or scholars or statesmen who read the history of the past with acquired or inherited prejudices. Not until very recent times has anything like justice been done to Islam or its founder. What the mediæval Christians thought of Mohamed, I have discussed in my "history of Islamic civilisation," and it is, indeed, deplorable that even cultured writers of modern days are not altogether free from those errors and prejudices which disfigure the pages of mediæval writers. The charges which Lord Cromer levels against Islam are only too familiar to us. They are the stock-in-trade of European writers of either imperfect acquaintance or perverse judgment, and considering the vast eastern experience of Lord Cromer we certainly expected a sounder and a more rational opinion from him. We are, indeed, not insensible to the services rendered to Islam by such English writers as Doughty, Robertson Smith, W. B. Macdonald, Browne and Nicholson, but there is a marked tendency in English writers to belittle the importance of Islam, as a religious system; nay, even to condemn it as hostile to progress, incompatible with material advancement, and notably incompetent to favour the growth of popular and constitutional government. This spirit is, indeed, remarkable in this age. The erudite works of French and German scholars on Islamic subjects are accessible to the educated public and there is no dearth of guides to lead us. Not to speak of the monumental work of Von Kremer—*Culturgeschichte des Orients*—published some twenty-five years ago, which, inspite of the manifold activities of modern times, still holds its ground as a work of sound reasearch, laborious study and deep erudition, we have the illuminating studies of Goldziher, the massive productions of Wellhausen, the charming biography of the prophet by Krehl, and an unceasing stream of original texts issued from England, France, Germany and Egypt.

Within the last half century the horizon of oriental studies has been considerably widened; but strange undoubtedly it is that antiquated errors and unfounded fables, libellous fictions and false notions regarding Islam and its founder still continue to have a tenacious hold on the imagination of some western writers. No religious system, however exclusive and inflexible, can escape the silent changes which each generation effects in the popular beliefs, thoughts and ideals of life, or can successfully resist the mighty confluence of forces working on from age to age; destroying, modifying, remoulding and adapting social and religious systems to the needs and requirements of the times. Advancement of knowledge, conflict of races, clash of mind with mind, contact with foreign culture, consciousness

of new wants; these and many other latent forces, constantly at work, in the life of every nation, imperceptibly modify from age to age, social conditions no less than religious beliefs. And Islam is no exception to this rule, which is writ large in the history of humanity. With the conquest of Islam, the Muslims found themselves face to face with the Byzantine civilisation on the one hand and Persian civilisation on the other. The entire social system of the Arabs was leavened by Persian luxuries and their court life influenced by Persian court etiquette. No less profound was the influence of the Byzantines. By constant intercourse with them, the Arabs learnt their first lesson in dogmatic subtleties—an art in which Byzantine scholarship revelled. In this way alone, says Von Kremer, is to be explained the remarkable similarity in the main features of Byzantine Christianity and Islamic dogmatics. Foremost is the enquiry into the essence and attributes of God, which fills the first place in the writings both of the Greek fathers and of the oldest Arab theologians. The oldest Arab theologians, just as much as the fathers of the Greek Church, busy themselves with discussions about fate and free-will. In opposition to the Western Church, the fathers of the Greek Church declared themselves against the eternity of the punishment of hell and the very same view was taken by the oldest theological school of Islam, known as the Murji'ah. And stranger still, Dr. Goldziher, in his admirable *Muhammedanische studien*, has shown the whole-sale importations of biblical maxims and even biblical phraseology into Muslim traditions. It is undoubted that Islam has, in the course of its history, undergone changes as great and profound as any other religion. This nobody would venture to deny. Very correctly, indeed, does Mr. Morison say:—

"A convincing proof that Mohamedan opinion is susceptible of change and therefore of reform is to be found in the number of sects or heresies into which the Islamic world is divided; for what is a heresy but an attempt at reform."

In this I am in entire agreement with Mr. Morison, but Mr. Morison does not deal with the real question raised by Lord Cromer; namely, is Islam capable of reform, or in other words, is Islam so incorrigibly bad and so thoroughly averse to progress that no real progress is compatible with its teachings? This, if I correctly apprehend, is the real point at issue between the two redoubtable combatants—Mr. Morison and Lord Cromer.

Islam, stripped of its theology, is a perfectly simple religion. Its cardinal principle is belief in one God and belief in Mohamed as his apostle. The rest is mere accretion and superfluity. The Qur'an, rightly understood and interpreted, is a spiritual guide, containing counsels and putting forward ideals, to be followed by the faithful, rather than a *corpus juris civilis* to be accepted for all time. It was never the intention of the prophet—and no enlightened Muslim believes that it ever was—to lay down immutable rules, or to set up a system of law which was to be binding upon humanity apart from considerations of time and place and the growing necessities arising from changed conditions. The prophet always emphatically asserted that he was a man of like passions with others, except that he was entrusted with a revelation.

True, for the purposes of order and security, and the preservation and maintenance of the new society, created by Islam, he laid down rules regulating marriage, inheritance and so forth, but these rules were mostly of a very elementary character, and were intended to meet the existing conditions of things. The position of Mohamed, indeed, was that of a spiritual teacher, a prophet, and not that of a legislator. In the infancy of human society there is but a faint line of demarcation between law and religion, the two being inseparably connected with each other. With advancing civilisation the line becomes clearer and sharper, and religion and law become separate and distinct. Such was the case at Rome and such has been the case at Mekka.

All respect and honour is due to the law laid down by Mohamed, but the very fact that Muslim jurisprudence grew into a stupendous fabric, within an incredibly short time, partly by interpretation and partly by adoption of foreign rules, unmistakably proves that the legislation of the prophet of Arabia made no claim to finality. It shows, beyond doubt or cavil, that the law of the prophet was neither wide nor comprehensive enough to cover

the newly-arisen conditions of life in which Muslims found themselves after their brilliant and extensive conquests. Fully conscious of this, indeed, were the great jurists of Islam, and, but for this, Islamic law would have remained fragmentary and insufficient for a highly developed society like that of Baghdad or Cairo or Cordova.

It would be an error to suppose that Muslim law—regulating the minutest details of life—is *entirely* based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah; it is, to be sure, the creation of the great jurists of Islam.

By far the greatest portion of the Muslim law, says Nawawi (one of our famous theologians), is the outcome of *true enquiry*; for the actual passages of the Qur'an and the Sunnah have not contributed even a hundredth part to it (p. 235). The Mohamedans were fully alive to the necessity of modifying their law as time went by. Modification of the law, in accordance with the spirit of the times and the requirement of the age, was one of the most important duties of the Nazar-ul-Mazalim (Board for the inspection of grievances), one of the finest institutions of the Caliphate. It lasted from the time of Abdul Malik to that of the Caliph Muhtadi, and in connection with this institution our great publicist Al-Mawardi notes that the *President of the Board had to decide not according to the letter of the law but according to the principles of equity* (P. 160).

And yet Lord Cromer says that "Islam, speaking not so much through the Qur'an as the traditions which cluster round the Qur'an, crystallises religion and law into one whole, with the result that all elasticity is taken away from the social system." This statement of Lord Cromer is entirely belied by the history of Islam and is wholly untenable in the light of well-authenticated facts.

"The epoch of systematisation, sifting discussion and glosses, says Von Kremer, followed the unfettered love of work and creative energies. Polemical literature and voluminous commentaries on old masters poured forth in unending streams. They soon began to look upon the great doctors of the earlier centuries as men whose works could not be rivalled or surpassed by their later successors. They entertained the belief that those alone were endowed with the divine gift of explaining the revelations and the Sunnah and that they alone had known and taught all knowledge more than which was wrong to know. And such unrivalled masters of sciences and learning, besides the companions of the prophet and Tabi'un, were the founders of the four schools: Malik, Abu Hanifah, Shafa'i, and Ahmad Ibn Hambal."

If the Mohamedans chose to follow blindly the lead of these great jurists, surely it is not the fault of Islam. Islam is no more to blame for it than Christianity is to blame for the fierce persecutions committed in its name. We now go on to the Mohamedan law.

II.

Is Mohamedan law fixed and immutable? Is it against Islam to make changes in it or to adapt it to modern conditions. The prophet, as we have stated, was no legislator. He dealt with some pressing questions of the day and met them as best he could. Keen-sighted as Mohamed was, he fully realised that cases would occur, in course of time, unprovided for in the Qur'an, and it is the consciousness of this fact that we find unequivocally expressed in a tradition, not to be impeached even by the most orthodox Muslim. Tirmidhi, Abu Da'ud and Daramee relate that when deputing Ma'dh to Yaman, the prophet asked him how he was to judge the people. I will judge them according to the Book of God, said Ma'dh. Thereupon Mohamed asked him: And if you do not find it in the Book of God? Ma'dh replied: I will judge according to the precedent of the prophet. But once more was he questioned by the prophet 'if there be no such precedent?' Rejoined Ma'dh: *I will make efforts to form my own judgment.* This answer commended itself to the prophet and he rendered thanks to God for the judicious opinion of his delegate.

I will make efforts to form my own judgment was the significant answer, and let the reader bear this in mind. The prophet (it is abundantly clear from this tradition) never intended to fetter the exercise of private judgment, and the propounders of the doctrine of the finality of Mohamedan law may be challenged to quote one single saying of the prophet, or to cite one single passage of the Qur'an, which fetters the exercise of private judgment, or prohibits legislation to meet altered circumstances. Let us, now, examine the history of the growth of Mohamedan law. Its most conspicuous feature is the attempt made by the founders of the various systems to suit the law to the requirements of the age. Moulvi

Chiragh Ali, in his admirable monograph on "the proposed political, legal and social reforms", mentions no less than nineteen founders of the various systems of jurisprudence. These founders never assumed the attitude of laying down the law for ever, and indeed such an assumption would have been wholly untenable. Nay, the Hambali system of jurisprudence emphatically asserts that there should be a Mujtahid in every age. The constituent elements of Mohamedan Law are (1) the Qur'an, (2) the traditions of the prophet, (3) the Ijma *i.e.*, the consensus of opinion of the Mohamedan doctors on a point of Civil or Canon Law, (4) Qias *i.e.*, analogy. With regard to the Qur'an it is to be noted that deductions have been made from a single word or isolated passages,—deductions purely fanciful and not infrequently utterly unsupported by the language of the text. The Ayat-ul-Ahkam (verses dealing with law) are supposed to be 200 out of six thousand verses of the Qur'an, but a more careful scrutiny and a closer observation would, perhaps, narrow down such verses still more considerably. The next source of the Mohamedan Law are the traditions of the prophet. It is well-known that the traditions were not collected, sifted, or arranged, until the third century of the Hejira, and the principle on which the selection was made cannot but be pronounced by us as imperfect and defective to a degree. It hardly corresponds to anything approaching our modern method of criticism. But apart from this it is nowhere to be found that Mohamed enjoined the collection of the traditions, or directed the foundation of the municipal law upon the basis of traditions. It is impossible for me to deal with traditions in general here, or to enter into their defects and imperfections. I may be permitted, however, to refer the reader to the masterly examination of the traditions and the principles which governed their collection, or the reasons to which most of them owed their existence, by Dr. Goldziher in his scholarly *Muhammedanische Studien* and to the last chapter of Von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orients* (vol. I). Suffice it to say that not one out of a thousand traditions would stand the test of the canons of modern criticism. Then comes Ijma, as the third source of Muslim law. But some of the greatest Muslim theologians, as Moulvi Chiragh Ali points out (p. xxi), have disputed the authority or the binding force of Ijma.

"Shaikh Mohiuddin Ibn Arabi, a Spanish writer of great authority and sanctity (d. in 638 A. H.); Abu Sulaiman Da'ud Dhahiri, a learned doctor of Isphahan and the founder of the Dhahirite (Exteriorist) school of jurisprudence; Abu Hatim Mohamed bin Habban Al Tamimi Al-Basti; generally known as Ibn Habban (d 354 A. H.); Abu Mohamed Ali Ibn Hazm, a Spanish theologian of great repute (d. 400 A. H); and according to one report Imam Ahmad Ibn Hambal (d 241 A. H.) denounce the authority of any Ijma other than that of the companions of the prophet; while Ibn Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn Sayyar Al-Nadhdham, generally known as Nadhdham, (d 231 A. H) and Ahmad bin Hambal, according to another report, deny the existence of any Ijma whether of the companions or the Muslims in general. Imam Malik, the famous legist and founder of the second school of jurisprudence, admitted the authority of Ijma of the Medinites only and not of any one else."

Finally comes the Qiâs. It means analogical reasonings based on the Qur'an, traditions or Ijma. It is not, therefore, an independent source of law, but rules of law drawn from the Qur'an, Traditions and Ijma on the basis of analogical reasoning. What then is the position? The Qur'anic texts dealing with law proper are extremely few, and those few deal with primitive conditions of society. The law evolved from the Traditions can scarcely be trusted; since they themselves are not sufficiently well-authenticated or established according to the canons of modern criticism. The binding force of Ijma has been disputed by some and rejected by others. And Qiâs after all is mere private opinion, which can claim neither divine sanction, nor infallibility, nor finality either.

If Mohamedan law in the past has borrowed from Roman law, and we have undoubted traces of it in Islamic jurisprudence, what reasonable difficulty can there be now in the way of Mohamedans adopting and accepting suitable rules of law drawn from the more advanced European systems? Many rules of Roman law, specially those relating to bailment, guardianship, wills and procedure, have made their way into the Islamic system. In a two-fold manner, says Von Kremer, did the Arabs acquire knowledge of those foreign ideas which we discover and detect in Muslim law: either by daily intercourse with subject nations, from which discussions on questions of spiritual and temporal laws

could not have been absent: or through the medium of Rabbinical literature. As to the former source, we would draw attention to the two jurists—Auza'i and Shafa'i—who were both born in Syria, and had, doubtless, there become familiar with many of the Roman-Byzantine rules of law, surviving in the shape of customary laws. To these jurists, indeed, we must ascribe those general maxims which have been taken from the Roman, and bodily incorporated into the Muslim law; for instance, the maxim that proof lies upon the plaintiff (Al Isbat-ul-Mudda'i), the definition of pledge given in Abu Shuj'a, the oldest Shafa'ite jurist accessible to us and which literally corresponds with the definition of pledge in Roman law or the maxim '*confessus pro judicata*, which is expressed in the Arab system by *Iqrar* (legal confession). On commercial law were such Roman influences most decisive, and this fact offers additional proof of the soundness of the conjecture hazarded above, that apart from books and the Jewish medium, the Arabs gradually and in a certain measure unconsciously absorbed and assimilated, by contact with the people among whom the Roman Byzantine law obtained, many of its guiding principles."

And Dr. Goldziher holds that even if we had no other positive data to go by, the very name given to jurisprudence in Islam from the beginning attests the influence of Roman law:

"It is called Al-Fikh, reasonableness and those who pursue the study of it are designated Fukhaha (singular Fakih). These terms, which, as we cannot fail to see, are Arabic translations of the Roman (juris) prudentia and prudentes, would be a clear indication of one of the chief sources of Islamite jurisprudence, even if we had no positive data to prove that this influence extended both to questions of the principle of legal deduction and to particular legal provisions. Besides the positive rules of law drawn from Roman sources to meet new social and economic conditions in conquered countries Dr. Goldziher considers that the profoundest influence of Roman Law is to be seen in the system of legal deduction in Islam. He says: But apart from the adoption of legal standards, Roman Law exercised a notable influence upon the legal thought of the new intruders into a country whose jurists had been trained in the scientific jurisprudence of the school of Berytus. The influence exercised by the Roman legal methods on the system of legal deduction in Islam is a more important factor in the history of Muslim civilisation than even the direct adoption of particular points of law. By what systematic rules or devices can deductions be drawn from positive laws written or traditional which shall apply to newly arising cases at law and to the decision of legal questions for which the positive law provides no answer? In dealing with this juridical problem the Arab *Fukhaha* took their stand entirely upon the instruction they had gained from circles familiar with the work of Rome in the domain of Law. The dualism of written Law (Arabic Nazz) and unwritten Law is a mere reflection of the *Leges scriptae* and *Leges non scriptae*. Just so, about half-a-century before, the Jewish jurists (a word which in its legal application is likewise a translation of the Roman term *jurisprudentes*) had been moved by their intercourse with the Romans to make the hitherto unrecognized distinction between *tora she-bitche thab* or written law and the *tora she-be'al peh* or oral law. The application of principles and rules borrowed from the methodology of Roman jurisprudence first made it possible to extend the limited legal material supplied by the Qur'an and the old decisions which were accepted as the basis of the law, to the other departments of juridical activity, of which these authorities had had no prevision. The ratio legis (illa), the principle of presumption, was applied to analogies (Qias) in words and things; nay, just as Roman legal practice gave great weight to the *opinio prudentium* in legal deduction, so the Islamic *prudentes* assumed the prerogative of an authoritative subjective *opinio*; for *Ra'y* as it is called in Arabic, is a literal translation of the Latin term. Of all these principles (which are not exhausted by the examples just cited) none more strikingly demonstrates the profound influence of Roman law on the development of legal opinion in Islam than that which is known in Arabic *Maslaha* or *istilah*, *i.e.*, the public weal and regard for the same. The significance of this principle lies in the license it grants to the interpreter of the law to apply the legal standard in the manner best fitted to serve the public weal and interests. Here we recognize the Roman standard of the *utilitas publica* which gives the interpreter of the law the right by interpretation, an application to wrest a plain and unambiguous law into something quite different from its original meaning, in the interests of the public weal."

I am well aware that the extreme wing of the orthodox party will scarcely subscribe to the opinion I have put forward; but their acceptance or condemnation, approval or disapproval of my view, cannot affect the historical and juridical aspect of this question. Even so close and circumspect an author as Moulvi Abdul Ali, surnamed *Bahr-ul-'ulum*, in his commentary on the *Mussullum-us-Subut*, writes as follows:—

"Some people consider that *Ijtihad fil Madhab*, relative independence in legislation, was closed after the death of *Allama'i* Nasafi and *Ijtihad Mutlaq* or absolute independence had become extinct since the four *Imams*. These men have gone so far as to make it incumbent on Muslims to follow one of these *Imams*. This is one of their many foolish ideas which can have no authority for itself; nor should we pay any regard to what they say. They are among those in connec-

tion with whom the prophetical *Hadith* has that they award their decision (*fatwa*) without knowledge, they go astray and mislead others. They have not understood that this assertion is a pretension to know the future which is only known to God."

If I am in error I rejoice that I am in the distinguished company of *savants* like Moulvi Abdul Ali and Moulvi Chiragh Ali. Such is the broad outline of the history of Muslim jurisprudence and it is perfectly idle to contend either that Islamic law is inflexible, or the Islamic social system is inelastic.

III.

Now as to the social system. The present writer has not yet been able to understand what it is in Islam to which the European writers take exception or to which they point as hostile to progress. The social system is constantly changing, and the social system in India, for instance, is not the same now as it was half-a-century ago. Within the last fifty years powerful changes have been going on in the domestic life of the Indians, the full measure of which it is almost impossible for contemporaries to estimate. These changes are so obvious that not even the most careless or the least observant can fail to notice them. Slavery no longer exists, polygamy is all but extinct, divorce has become practically unknown, religious intolerance is on the decline, and religion itself is interpreted in conformity with the liberal sentiment of the age. I would not, for one moment, suggest that with the growth of education the hold of Islam upon its followers, has been slackened or destroyed, but I do say, and say with emphasis, that the Islam of to-day is not the Islam of the last century, as the Christianity of to-day is not the Christianity of the monks and priests who made a free use of the faggot and the stake. Every age interprets religion according to its own light; and every age bears its own special and distinguishing features.

Pierre Loti, in his '*Les Désenchantées*' has very truly remarked that among the Turkish ladies there is a decided spirit of revolt against the severe *regime* of the *Harem*. But this is as true of India as it is of Turkey. Muslim women are getting educated day by day, and now assert their position. Though the *purdah* system still prevails, it is no longer that severe, stringent and unreasonable seclusion of women which existed fifty years ago. It is gradually relaxing, and women are getting, step by step, rights and liberties which must, in course of time, end in the complete emancipation of Eastern womanhood. Forty years ago women meekly submitted to neglect, indifference and even harsh treatment from their husbands, but that is the case no longer. They claim, and indeed have partially succeeded in securing, a decided position in their house-hold (no longer the position of a house-keeper), and cases are not rare of women completely controlling the movements of their husbands and holding the tie-strings of the purse. Eastern women are now by no means those poor, suffering, patient and unfortunate creatures whom the missionaries fondly delight in describing as the women of the East. Education is daily gaining ground, and with education new hopes have dawned upon them, and possibly the sex question may, in the remote future, become as acute here as it is in the West. The more educated families have done away with the *purdah* altogether; such as the family of Tyyabji in Bombay and that of Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami in Hyderabad, Deccan. Against it a strong current has set in, and its disappearance is only a question of time. It is not Islam, be it noted, which enjoined the *purdah* system, but as Mr. Ameer Ali, in his History of the Saracens, (p. 199) points out:

"The custom of female seclusion, which was in vogue among the Persians from very early times, made its appearance among the Muslim communities in the reign of Walid II. And the character and habits of the sovereign favoured the growth and development of a practice which pride and imitation had transplanted to the congenial soil of Syria. His utter disregard of social conventionalities and the daring and coolness with which he entered the privacy of families, compelled the adoption of safeguards against outside intrusion, which once introduced became sanctified into a custom. *To the uncultured mind walls and warders appear to afford more effective protection than nobility of sentiment and purity of heart.*"

The Mohamedans, says Moulvi Chiragh Ali, have interpreted the Qur'an as giving sanction to polygamy, arbitrary divorce, slavery, concubinage, and religious wars. But the strongest witness against all these errors is the Qur'an itself. For the Qur'anic injunctions against polygamy, arbitrary

divorce, religious persecutions and wars, slavery and concubinage, consult the following verses:—

Against polygamy; iv. 3 and 128.
Against arbitrary divorce; ii. 226; 227, 229, 230, 237, 238; iv. 23—25, 38, 39, 127—129; xxxiii. 48; lviii, 2, 5; lxv. 1, 2, 6.
Against religious intolerance; cix. lxxxviii. 21—24, l. 45, 46; lxxii. 21—24 xvi. 37, 84; xxix. 17; xviii. 40; xlii. 47 etc. etc.
Against slavery; xc. 8—15; ii. 172; xxiv. 33; v. 91; xlvii. 4; ix. 60.
Against concubinage, iv. 3, 29—32; xxiv. 32; v. 7.

The history of a nation should be read with the eye of a philosophical observer, trying to disengage principles from details, and permanent tendencies from passing outbursts, and religious questions should be discussed in a spirit loftier than that which characterizes party controversy or hired advocacy. For the last thirteen hundred years Islam has been the guiding light, the consolation in sorrow, the beacon of hope of untold generations of mankind. To condemn it to-day as hostile to progress is a piece of sheer effrontery; revealing more a lack of historic-mindedness than exposing the weaknesses of Islam. Islam was the adamantine foundation of the Arabs; their starting-point in every enterprise, their refuge in every calamity, the point of leverage by which they moved the world. Its force is not spent. It carries within it the germs of progress and development, and recent events in Turkey and Persia are mere earnests of the far greater glories and triumphs that lie in store, we trust, for Islam in not too remote a future.

IV.

Such are the facts in their broad outline. If Islam had been averse to freedom of thought, or if Muslims had been unwilling to keep themselves abreast of the age, they could neither have created that stupendous and well-finished system of jurisprudence which throughout the middle ages stood only second to Roman law; nor could they have fashioned out of raw materials a highly complex and civilised system of government which cannot fail to excite the wonder and admiration of scholars and statesmen. The caliph Al-Mamun is reported to have said that of all religions Islam alone is the one which reconciles spiritual cravings with earthly duties and responsibilities. In other words, Islam does not sacrifice the present world to the world beyond the grave, but harmonizes worldly duties with religious devotion. It is essentially a practical religion, and may well be adapted to suit any condition or circumstances of the age. Had Islam been stereotyped, the existence of numerous sects within its bosom would have been an utter impossibility. It would have dealt an effectual blow at the freedom of thought and freedom of speech without which no nation can thrive or can make permanent contributions to the sum-total of human knowledge and therefore to human happiness and prosperity. It was the spirit of enquiry and criticism which called forth the numerous sects in Islam.

These religious wars, says Bebel, (in his *Die Mohamedanisch—Arabische Kulturperiode*, p. 65), led here as everywhere, wherever they burst forth in the middle ages, to political unrest; for in history no religious sect has appeared which has not pursued its own definite and fixed social or political aims. Even in their abstract, transcendental reasonings, mankind could not rid itself of material wants. Even in religious enthusiasm they calculated the earthly needs and requirements more than they, themselves, were conscious of. Christians and Jews, who had been converted to Islam but who had not really renounced, at heart, the faith of their forefathers, living scattered in the midst of Muslims, specially favoured and promoted the growth of religious sects. Men who easily change their faith, as a rule, believe little. These elements, indeed, formed the intellectual leaven. Such being the case, they busied themselves with writing and books, and carried on public discussions with philosophical thoroughness on questions dealing with the real essence and attributes of God, the probable nature of hell and hell-punishment, fate and free-will, and the origin of good and evil; the most advanced, among them went, indeed, even the length of attacking the articles of faith. The most interesting thing, in these controversies, was that professors of all religions and opinions took part in them and strove to carry off the palm of victory, and *this happened, for a long time, without the slightest interference on the part of the government with either freedom of speech or freedom of meeting.* The fall of the Caliphate was due not to the

conservative spirit of Islam but to a variety of causes over which Islam had no control. The frequent civil wars, the oft-recurring famines and pestilences caused a fearful depopulation. Large tracts of countries were left a mere barren wilderness. Commerce declined, intellectual pursuits were abandoned, the aristocracy were emasculated by luxuries and license, the martial spirit was lost with the growth of a standing army; nor were other contributory causes wanting. I cannot embark here upon a discussion of the causes which brought about the fall of the Muslim Empire, but I must repeat most emphatically that it was not Islam, or its teachings either, which was responsible for it. While Islam taught freedom of speech, while Islam encouraged and emphasised the necessity of acquisition of knowledge, while Islam laid duties and obligations upon the ruler, and corresponding duties and obligations upon the subjects, while Islam set up a refined ideal of family life, Christianity enjoined renunciation of the world, preached the doctrine of passive obedience to the ruler, and taught its followers to look up to the Kingdom of Heaven as the reward of the faithful and as the real goal of the true Christian. "The whole modern struggle for civil and national liberty," says Prof. Seeley in his 'Lectures and Essays' (p. 84), "has been conducted without help from the authoritative documents of Christianity. Liberty has had to make its appeal to those classical examples and that literature which were superseded by Christianity. In the French Revolution men turned from the New Testament to Plutarch. The former they connected with tyranny; the latter was their text-book of liberty. Plutarch furnished them with the teaching they required for their special purpose; but the New Testament met all their new-born political ardour with a silence broken only here and there by exhortations to submission."

Nor must we forget the pregnant words of Bebel: "Die Moderne Kultur ist eine antichristliche Kultur."

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

THE AWAKENING.

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
It is the Voice of God!
Awake, awake, the night is past, ye sleeping ones!
Arise, arise, lift up your heads, ye dreaming ones!
Your ancient glory shall return,
And your high star of destiny more brightly burn.

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
The Voice hath sounded forth!
Japan's bright isles first flashed its message o'er the sea,
Himálaya's snows caught up the gleam exultingly,
Southward it lights all Hindustan,
And fires the soul of chivalry in old Iran.

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
'Shew forth your Righteousness!'
Give to each brother every due of brotherhood,
Give to each sister noblest meed of womanhood,
So shall the Motherland be strong
To struggle for the right and overthrow the wrong!

There is a call to the Nations of the East,—
'Put trust in God and Truth!'
Then, like her own strong mountains, all unmoveable,
Resting on sure foundations, unassailable,
A Greater Asia shall arise,
Her foot set firm on earth, her head above the skies.

DELHI. C. F. ANDREWS.

THE TEACHING OF MORALS AND RELIGION

By S. K. Ratcliffe.

I.

IT so happened that the announcement of the Mysore Government's order for the introduction into schools and colleges of religious and moral instruction reached England just after the newspapers had been discussing this subject at great length in relation to schools and colleges in the West. At the end of September the International Moral Education Congress met in London. It was an imposing assembly. The president was Professor Michael Sadler, of Liverpool, the eminent educationist whom Lord Curzon wished to secure for India, and the delegates were gathered from the universities and other educational societies of many countries. They represented many faiths and many substitutes for faith. All, apparently, were agreed upon one thing: the necessity of making the teaching of right conduct a part of systematic education. So far as one could see, they had no other ground in common. When it comes to essentials, the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, the Positivist, and the believer in ancestor-worship cannot argue. Still less can they discuss principles with a view to common action. They start from different premisses; and although, to some extent, they may use a similar vocabulary, they are thinking in different terms and intending quite different things.

This was obvious enough during the elaborately polite and general debates at the Moral Education Congress, and at one meeting the headmaster of Westminster School, a representative English pedagogue, took occasion to make a statement on an important point. The conveners of the Congress, he said, had gone upon the assumption that religion was taught in the schools. The rightful business of the Congress, therefore, was to discuss educational methods. He recognised that for many of the delegates the fundamental question whether religion should be taught at all was a matter for debate, but he seemed to imply that those who were in this position had come to the Congress under something of a misapprehension. It would be undesirable, not to say dangerous, he explained, for the impression to get abroad that the only people interested in moral education were those opposed or indifferent to the cause of religion—by which, obviously, he meant the teaching of theological dogma.

Of course, there was no quarrel over Dr. Gow's positions. Delegates at academic congresses do not quarrel in public. As Mr. Chesterton has lately been complaining, the fatal drawback of all such gatherings is that the members are not permitted to say, with appropriate emphasis, the things they really think. If they were, the congresses would break up, for the disputants would be at one another's throats. Consequently, instead of pointing out that Dr. Gow's assumption, if it was really the assumption of the conveners, ought to have been followed by the dissolution of the Congress, the delegates were content to give unimpassioned expression to their varying points of view. Some explained in what manner they employed dogma and scripture to enforce the moral lesson; others described how they taught morality without reference to traditional beliefs or supernatural sanctions. A French delegate restated the familiar fact that in France religion is regarded as one thing and ethics as another. The average Frenchman believed that the State could and ought to give a complete moral education with no other resources than those of the reason and the conscience. The State schools did not fight against religious belief; but they did not undertake to teach or to recommend it. A Japanese delegate, speaking as a representative of the country most often cited as furnishing a successful example of moral education, said that in Japanese schools the usual punishments were dispensed with, because it was recognised that the teacher was

himself walking in comparative darkness. This very valuable contribution must have struck the English educationists with dismay: an English schoolmaster capable of admitting, especially to his pupils, that he was walking in comparative darkness would be worth knowing. The Congress at other sittings discussed, in many aspects, the relation of religious creeds to moral instruction, and such subjects as "Character-building by discipline, influence, and opportunity;" while among the various privileges enjoyed by the delegates was that of listening to a specimen moral instruction class. Perhaps one may be allowed to express regret that no representative of the Dewan of Mysore was present for the purpose of expounding the solution which is about to be adopted in that enlightened State.

The whole question is of particular interest to India, and it is not impossible that those guides of public opinion who contend that religious instruction should be made a set subject in Indian schools will now point with admiration to Mysore as an example to be followed by the Government of India in this as in the matter of the Press Law. Certain writers in the newspapers and reviews have long been hammering at the subject, and every discussion on Indian education provides an opportunity for a denunciation of the fatal severance between education and religion in India. During the last Budget debate in the House of Commons several speakers took up the tale. Sir Henry Craik said we must remember that in India religion was the dominating influence of the people's lives—a phenomenon, it might have been thought, which to a Scotsman would hardly seem worthy of remark. Our policy therefore, he urged, was to seek alliance with those who represented the various religions. Mr. Rees had previously given expression to a similar view. The chief of the many and great defects of our educational system in India was, in his opinion, that it provided no kind of religious instruction. We should build upon existing lines and follow indigenous leads. The radical fault of our colleges (namely, the absence of the inculcation of duty) was not present in these institutions of indigenous growth—a testimony which the proprietors of private colleges may be tempted to quote if or when they come into collision with the University Syndicate or with any disciple of Sir Bampfylde Fuller.

Such generalities as these were improved upon by Earl Percy, who has formed a notion of the Indian educational system not very different from that which he and his party entertain in respect of the system in England. He did not suggest, he said, that the State should abandon its attitude of neutrality towards the religions of India, but he was of opinion that it ought to direct its effort towards stimulating denominational schools. Lord Percy, it would seem, has a vision of an India supplied from end to end with primary and secondary schools, conducted and financed by the Hindu and Mahomedan communities, as Anglican and Wesleyan schools are conducted and financed in England. He thinks that if the Government of India could be brought to give liberal grants to these institutions, the country would not only be supplied with a comparatively satisfactory school system, but would at the same time be receiving the inestimable benefits of education in religious belief and the ideals of duty. In the ordinary course of affairs Lord Percy can look forward to being Secretary of State for India in a Conservative Cabinet. It might perhaps be suggested to him that before this ambition is realised his knowledge of the more familiar aspects of Indian life should be enlarged.

We need not be surprised to find that those gentlemen who are engaged at intervals in urging upon the Government the evils of the existing system of education take care to avoid any definite statement of the plan they would substitute. They concede that the State must of necessity leave the Indian religions alone. Neither Lord Percy nor Mr. Rees would propose that an attempt should be made in the Government colleges and schools to teach the doctrines of Hinduism or Islam. As for the universities, it is not even suggested that the Senates might ensure a modicum of religious learning being absorbed by a certain number of graduates by instituting an equivalent of the English examinations in Divinity. Evidently, then, the Government in India must give up all thought of satisfying their academic critics in England

as regards religious education. Whatever the Maharaja of Mysore may attempt, the official educationists in British India must stand aside.

It may, however, be contended that the question of moral instruction presents no such difficulties. The standards of duty, it is said, can be taught, and in view of the general break up of tradition in Indian society they should be taught. This argument, now very familiar, is repeated in the Mysore notification, which bears all the customary marks of alien editing. The Maharaja's Government is of opinion that the purely secular character of the existing educational system is far from satisfactory. For various reasons the homes of the pupils have ceased to impart religious instruction. The influence of religious teachers and places of worship has almost disappeared. Irreverence and disrespect for authority have been on the increase; modesty, self-restraint, and good sense have been largely at a discount, while presumptuousness, vanity, and unrestrained aggressiveness appear to be increasing. Here is a somewhat formidable indictment of the rising generation, and we may allow ourselves to feel sympathy with the Maharaja of Mysore in his alleged desire to bring about a reformation. It is not difficult to understand the position of a native Indian Government, which, realising the perilous tendency of things, resolves to attack it through the schools. But what, in similar circumstances, could a foreign Government hope to accomplish?

Those who have persuaded themselves that no very serious difficulty exists appear to have accepted the view that although religions are many morality is one. The standards of duty, they assume, are the same in every zone; or, if they are not, it would be a comparatively simple matter to adapt our moral lessons to the position and circumstances of the pupils in Indian schools. But would it? Reformers, or rather reactionaries, in the House of Cammons agree with the authors of the Mysore notification that deference to authority is diminishing. They condemn the educational system because it tends to destroy that respect for authority which, as they put it, is naturally inherent in the Indian mind. But may it not quite reasonably be said that respect for authority is natural enough to all peoples in a certain stage of development? One suspects that the habit of attributing it to the Indian, or the Oriental, mind is really nothing more than a convenient hypothesis devised by the West. According to Lafcadio Hearn, the liberty and democracy embodied in a school in Japan that has now vanished went beyond anything to be found in the schools of the West, and yet in no society, apparently, have the standards of duty been so exacting and compulsive as they were in old Japan.

The real difficulty, as we all know, lies in the nature of things. Education involves, if not the destruction, at all events the transformation, of authority. We may deplore certain results of so-called higher education in India, but it is foolish to cast the blame upon the framers of the system who put Burke and Macaulay into the Indian students' hands. They might have chosen other text-books, but the results would not have been materially different. Revolution comes by way of the school and college, no matter what the teaching is like; and it is conceivable that modern education in India might have been just as disruptive and dissolvent if our university examinees had been required to get up Manu and Asoka as well as, or even instead of, Milton and Mill. The power which administered India in the nineteenth century could not have refused to give education. If it had done so, India would have got it for herself (since contact with Europe could not have been avoided) and possibly with greater thoroughness and intelligence. There is no doubt that, in our dissatisfaction with the actual, and our misgivings concerning the future, we fail to distinguish between the accidental and the inevitable; and that, in considering the moral failure of education, we are the victims of a confusion of ideals.

But I find that, having come near to the subject which I started out to discuss, I have got to the end of my space and must postpone consideration of the teaching of morality to the next number of this review.

THE GENERAL PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS OF CARLYLE

IF by 'Philosophy,' we mean a methodical pursuit of truth and a systematised body of conclusions resting upon precisely defined principles, Thomas Carlyle is the last man in the world to be called a Philosopher. He is a prophet rather than a thinker, a seer rather than a reasoner, a believer in action rather than an admirer of speculation. Nothing is more uncongenial to Carlyle than systematic thinking. He gives utterance to deep and earnest convictions reached intuitively and not discursively in soul-stirring words. If they illumine the minds of his readers, well and good, if not, Carlyle does not care. Like Herr Teufelsdrockh, he was "a man devoted to the higher philosophies indeed; yet more likely to publish a refutation of Hegel than to descend into the angry noisy forum with an argument that cannot but exasperate and divide." He knows nothing of the hair-splitting analysis of a Kant, or the "labour of the notion" of a Hegel, but he is in cordial agreement with them and all the great thinkers of the world from Plato downwards in taking a deep spiritualistic view of the world. He does not indeed tread the path frequented by them, but, all the same, he shares with them the perennial joys of contemplating the ever-lasting verities. Nor are his reflections disjointed and mutually destructive of each other. If one misses the close and consecutive chain of reasoning which alone could unite them into a coherent whole, one nevertheless finds a common tendency, a few dominant ideas pervading them all. It is for this reason that I do not hesitate to call Carlyle's pronouncements philosophy. The student of Carlyle is often met with the difficulty of reconciling a statement with another which apparently conveys exactly the opposite meaning. But the aim of a critic who does not wish to be superficial should be to penetrate to the deeper and more comprehensive thoughts, often vague and nebulous, of his author, the different phases of which alternately find expression in the seemingly contradictory passages. Besides, it is necessary to remember that no writer, however eminent, is, in the language of Dr. Edward Caird, "allowed to play providence or to escape paying the penalty of the limitations of his individuality and his time." Living in the midst of an intellectual or social movement he cannot avoid being successively influenced by the alternate tides of popular opinion as they move from one extreme to another.

In Carlyle's view, the universe is not a mass of dead matter. Neither is it a cosmos manufactured out of chaos by a world-forming Demiurgus. It is the "living visible garment of God." It is the circle of which the centre is the Infinite Mind. The world existing in time and space has no substantive existence of its own. It is only the emblem of thought.

"The thing visible, nay the thing imagined, the thing in any way conceived as visible, what is it but a garment, a clothing of the higher celestial invisible, unimaginable, formless, dark with excess of light."*

And again:

"This fair universe, were it in the meanest province thereof, is in very deed the star-domed city of God; through every grass blade, and most through every living soul the glory of a present God still beams. But Nature, which is the Time-vesture of God and reveals Him to the wise, hides Him from the foolish."

The philosopher is he whose piercing gaze is fixed upon the Eternal Spirit behind the veil of matter. The meanest object in Nature reveals Him as much as the majestic Heavens. "All objects are as windows through which the philosophic eye looks into infinitude itself." Do away with the time-honoured but totally unphilosophical distinction between spirit and matter, and God stands revealed everywhere. To the true philosopher "the highest has descended and the lowest has mounted up."

* The quotations in this article are from *Sartor Resartus*.

Nature, then, is not a dead machine, but the living manifestation of a living God. From spirit it emanates and to spirit it returns. One Eternal Life pulsates in every part of it and makes it an organic whole. Two "world-embracing phantasms, Time and Space, have ever hovered round man, perplexing and bewildering him;" but the wise few have "looked fixedly on existence till, one after the other, its earthly hulls and garnitures have all melted away and now to their rapt vision, the interior celestial Holy of Holies lies disclosed." Nature is dead only to those whose vision is limited to the outward show of things. To the eye of contemplation, all reality is the manifestation of spirit. The Heavens above express the wisdom of God and the dust beneath our feet reveals His presence.

If Nature reveals god, it also hides Him. The entire wealth of Divine Thought cannot find adequate expression in the world of time and space. Indeed, in one sense Nature is the very opposite of thought. It is the function of thought to integrate, to make all things one and not merely to divide. But the multiplicity of natural phenomena lie outside one another in space and time and give no hint of the principle of unity immanent in them. They, no doubt, depend upon the unity of the Divine Mind, but *in themselves*, they are not a sufficient expression of it. The merely objective cannot reveal anything of the inner life of the Deity. But what nature conceals, man reveals. It is in man that Nature comes to a consciousness of its own indwelling principle, or, in other words, returns to its source. The soul of man is, therefore, a fuller manifestation of God than mere nature can be. As Nature is *descended* from God, it must *ascend* back to Him and it is in man and the history of his civilisation and spiritualisation that the process of ascent begins to be completed.* Human beings, therefore, are related to God not merely as parts of the world which is His manifestation, but as sharers, in however small a measure, of his self-consciousness. The human soul, in other words, emanates from the Divine oversoul. "What," asks Carlyle, "is man himself and his whole terrestrial life but an emblem, a clothing or visible garment for that Divine Me of His, cast hither like a light particle down from Heaven?" "The Highest God," he elsewhere observes, "dwells invisible in that mystic unfathomable visibility which calls itself "I" on this earth." Again more explicitly, "The essence of our Being, the mystery in us that calls itself I is a breath of Heaven the Highest Being reveals Himself in man." These and a few other sentences of a like import may not seem at first sight to warrant the interpretation which I have ventured to put upon them, but it is, I contend, the only sense in which they can be understood consistently with Carlyle's whole tenour of thought and with his ethical theory.

The infinite nature of man makes it impossible for him to remain satisfied with his actual imperfect condition. Though limited and finite, he is, in essence, identical with the Supreme Being. He is less than God, owing to the finitude which clings to him, but more than a mere animal. To become actually what he ideally *is*, to realise his essential nature, to attain perfection, is, therefore, his only possible end. The infinite spirit, as incarnate in man, is limited by conditions of time and space. It is, so to speak, an alien, a mere sojourner in this nether world. It, therefore, inevitably becomes homesick and strives to regain its lost abode of bliss. This is the truth that finds expression in Plato's doctrine of pre-existence and reminiscence. Neither desire for knowledge, nor purposive activity directed to the attainment of an end would be possible for man if he were wholly finite. As Plato teaches, it is because man is neither an omniscient nor an entirely ignorant being, but midway between having and not having knowledge that the philosophical impulse or Eros is possible for him. So in virtue of our possessing reason, which is the constitutive principle of the world, we feel that the universe is ours, that we are sovereign lords of it; but our finite nature reminds us at every step that we are more like slaves of circumstances than masters of them, more like prisoners than free beings. This peculiarity of human nature is the explanation of his divine discontent; this fundamental contradiction which lies at the very core of his being, gives rise to his never ceasing impulse to be more than he is at

* What I have stated in these and some other passages in the sequel is not always the definitely and consciously expressed view of Carlyle, but is undoubtedly the implied meaning of his teachings.

any particular moment. The inextinguishable impulse to attain perfection is the matrix of morality. It consists in the effort to realise our true self, to be as perfect as our Father in Heaven is perfect. Morality, therefore, is not an affair of *having*, but of *being* and *doing*. It consists neither in mere sentiment, however excellent, nor in passive qualities, however amiable, but in ever progressing with energy and vigour towards the True, the Good and the Beautiful. Without energy and activity, there is no life, without them there is no morality. Perhaps the greatest service which Carlyle has rendered to true philosophy is the insistence with which he preaches the gospel of work and combats the mischievous notion to which much of the world's woes are due that morality is namby-pamby sentimentalism or do-nothing quietism. He is as much opposed to the monkish renunciation of the world as to Hedonism. Self-realisation is his watch-word. The supremacy of the higher self over the lower self, steady growth in wisdom and activity, the conquest of nature, both within and without,—this and nothing less is morality;—

"Not I can't eat! but 'I can't work!' that was the burden of all wise complaining among men. It is, after all, the one unhappiness of man that he cannot work, that he cannot get his destiny as a man fulfilled." "There is always hope in a man that actually and honestly works: in idleness alone is there perpetual despair."

"Blessed is he who has found his work; let him ask no other blessedness."

"One monster there is in the world: the idle man."

"The mandate of God to his creature man is: work! The future epic of the world rests not with those that are near dead, but with those that are alive, and those that are coming into life."

"Not in turning back, but in resolutely struggling forward does our life consist."

The supreme duty as well as the privilege of man is to continually move forward, to become more and more God-like, to put off the old man and put on the new. The exuberance of lofty emotions which find no expression in conduct is not virtue but only the caricature of it. "The barrenest of all mortals is the sentimentalist." The one thing needful is self-development, or the evolution of our truer self. Self-examination is an important help to it, but it may easily degenerate into selfishness and vanity.

"An unhealthy virtue is one that consumes itself to leanness in repenting and anxiety, or still worse, that inflates itself into dropsical boastfulness and vain glory: either way there is a self-seeking, an unprofitable looking behind us to measure the way we have made, whereas the sole concern is to walk continually forward and make more way."

Holding such views, it is not difficult to understand why Carlyle is so fierce and almost savage in his denunciation of the prevailing ethical theory of his time, Hedonism. His contempt for it is so great that he roundly calls it "pig-philosophy," though the hierophant of the "pig-philosophy" was, for a time at least, one of his most intimate friends.

"Dastards, Knaves," he declares, "are they that lust for pleasure and tremble at pain."

"Not a may-game is this man's life, but a battle and a march, and a warfare with principalities and powers." "Foolish soul! what Act of Legislature was there that thou shouldst be happy? A little while ago thou hadst no right to be at all. What if thou wert born and predestined not to be happy, but to be unhappy? Art thou nothing other than a vulture, then, that fliest through the universe seeking after something to eat and shrieking dolefully because carrion enough is not given thee? Close thy Byron, open thy Goethe." "Benthamee utility, virtue by profit and loss reduces this God's world to a kind of hay-balance for weighing hay and thistles on, pleasures and pains on." "The only happiness a brave man ever troubled himself with asking much about was, happiness enough to get his work done."

And why is it that happiness is not and cannot be the end of human life? Because it signifies a state of perfection. a static condition, an undisturbed equilibrium which never falls to the lot of man. There is indeed pleasure in the attainment of a desired object and in as much as progress means transition from the lower to the higher stage, it necessarily involves happiness. But the further we move towards the ideal, the further it recedes from us, and the happiness we feel in taking a step in advance is immediately followed by the pain of the fresh discrepancy that arises between the actual and the ever-deepening ideal. Discontent makes progress possible and is, consequently, the inseparable concomitant of it. It does not exclude happiness, but constitutes together with it the condition of mind which Carlyle calls Blessedness. Mere happiness, therefore, is not the object of pursuit, for the very satisfactory reason that it cannot be

attained by such a being as man. He truly observes :—

"Man's unhappiness comes of his greatness, it is because there is an infinite in him, which with all his cunning he cannot quite bury under the finite. Will the whole Finance Ministers and upholsterers and confectioners of modern Europe undertake in Joint Stock Company, to make one shoe-black happy? They cannot accomplish it above an hour or two; for the shoe-black also has a soul, quite other than his stomach and would require, if you consider it, for his permanent satisfaction and saturation simply this allotment, no more and no less: God's infinite universe altogether to himself, therein to enjoy infinitely and fill every wish as fast as it rose.....Try him with half of a universe of an omnipotence, he sets to quarrelling with the proprietor of the other half, and declares himself the most maltreated of men :—always there is a black spot in our sunshine, it is even the shadow of ourselves."

Yes, there is a black spot in our sunshine, but nevertheless it *is* sunshine. Carlyle, in his eagerness to cry down Hedonism, does not perceive the element of truth it contains and almost lends countenance to Mr. Spencer's assertion that whoever rejects Hedonism *ipso facto* believes pain to be good. The moral end is self-realisation and not happiness, but can the realised self be conceived apart from happiness? The perfect life is also the happiest life and to approximate to it is to be happy. Carlyle himself perceives this when he speaks of Blessedness as the mark of moral life. The truth is that Asceticism, towards which Carlyle seems to lean, is as one-sided a theory as Hedonism. It is based upon the false assumption that abstract reason or abstract will is the essence of man as Hedonism is founded upon the equally false notion that he is primarily a sentient being. Both of these ethical theories erroneously suppose that what is only *one* element of our concrete nature is the *only* element and consequently lay down ideals which are too simple to satisfy a complex being like man. To be as perfect as God is perfect is our true end, but god's perfection, it should never be forgotten, includes blissfulness. *Sat*, *chit*, *anandam*—that and nothing less is the Supreme Ens and, therefore, man's supreme end.

Self-realisation is the moral end. The infinite in man buried under his finitude is the motive power which impels him to strive for the ideal. Hence it is that even the shoe-black wants sovereignty over the whole universe for his permanent satisfaction. But the shoe-black is not alone in the world. There are innumerable other finite beings whose aspirations are not humbler than his. How then can the self-realisation of the one be consistent with that of others? If each individual wants the universe altogether to himself, how is his satisfaction to be harmonised with the fulfilment of the similar demands of his compeers? The solution of the problem is that each individual can realise himself not in isolation but in fellowship with his brethren; the true formula for our guidance is not, "I am everything," but "everything is I." The divine self is manifested in the corporate union of men and the worth and dignity of particular individuals is derived from their participation in this common life. Society is an organic whole which realises itself through its members and these members in realising the aims and purposes of society realise themselves. In the physical organism, we cannot distinguish the vitality of a limb from the vitality of the whole body. The hand is hand and the foot is foot in virtue of the functions which they discharge in the economy of the whole. As Aristotle points out, a hand cut off from the body is not a hand at all; so an individual cut off from society is not a human being but a mere animal. Society is prior to the individual, just as the bodily organism is prior to its members. What really lives is the body and a particular organ of it has life because it participates in the life of the whole by discharging some function essential to it. Similarly it is the corporate organism of human beings that asserts and realises itself in the world, and an individual man can realise himself only by enabling the social whole, through his activities, to carry out its purposes. Individualism, to use a phrase of Mr. Bosanquet's, is "a theory of the first look." A deeper consideration reveals the truth that an adequate idea of man is not possible unless he is viewed in relation to some community.

It is not necessary at the present day to expound at length the idea of the social organism. If any theory has been indisputably established in the course of the last century, it is the theory that society is not an aggregate of individuals, but an organic whole. Thinkers belonging to widely different schools are nearly unani-

mous in accepting this idea. Even Mr. Spencer talks and gives a lengthy description of the social organism, though, in reality, he advocates such an extreme form of individualism in Politics as would have staggered Rousseau. Rousseau, indeed, hardly deserves to be called an individualist. It is a great mistake to suppose that the opening sentence of his *Social Contract*, "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains," expresses the substance of his theory. In subordinating the individual to the state, he is not less uncompromising than Plato and Aristotle. The state which he calls "the moral person" is constituted by each of us putting in common "his person and his whole power under the supreme direction of the general will and in return we receive every member as an individual part of the whole." Each in thus "giving himself to all gives himself to nobody. In the civil state man is deprived of many advantages that he derives from nature, but he acquires equally great ones in return; his faculties are exercised and developed; his feelings are ennobled; his whole soul is exalted to such a degree that, if the abuses of this new condition did not often degrade him below that from which he has emerged, he ought to bless without ceasing the happy moment that released him from it for ever and transformed him from a stupid and ignorant animal into an intelligent being and a man."* Such is the view of Rousseau, who is commonly supposed to be the corypheus of individualism. The fact is that most of the great thinkers of the world see more or less clearly the organic relation of the individual to the social whole. It is difficult to name a thinker who has been able to maintain consistently the individualistic standpoint from start to finish.

Now the principle that society is an organism is fully accepted by Carlyle. He is sometimes supposed to be an out and out individualist. Nothing could be a greater mistake than this. Carlyle is an individualist by temperament but not by conviction. Some of the finest enunciations and illustrations of the doctrine of social organism are to be found in his writings, though it is true that in his theory of great men he does not always bear it in mind. It is absurd to call the most vehement opponent of the *laissez faire* theory an individualist. If any body is in need of strengthening his faith in individualism, he must go to the "man *versus* the state" philosopher and not to Carlyle. "Man", says Carlyle, "can not live isolated, we are all bound together for mutual good or else for mutual misery, as living nerves in the same body. No highest man can disunite himself from the lowest."† Again :—

"To understand man, we must look beyond the individual man and his actions or interest, and view him in combination with his fellows. It is in society that man first feels what he is, first becomes what he can be. In society an altogether new set of spiritual activities are evolved in him, and the world immeasurably quickened and strengthened. Society is the genial element wherein his nature first lives and grows."

A soldier can fight and win victories only as a unit of his regiment; so an individual can realise himself only as an organic member of the community to which he belongs. The life of the community is *his* life, its achievements *his* achievements. Society or the state is the embodiment of the higher life of the individual. It is the earthly god that demands worship from him and in the service of it lies his salvation. Society, as Carlyle says, "is the vital articulation of many individuals into a new collective individual; greatly the most important of man's attainments on this earth; that in which, and by virtue of which, all his other attainments and attempts find their arena and have their value. Considered well, society is the standing wonder of our existence, a true region of the supernatural; as it were, a second all-embracing life, wherein our individual life becomes doubly and trebly alive, and whatever of infinitude was in us, bodies itself forth and becomes visible and active."

The particular duties of an individual are determined by his station in society. He can realise himself and the aims and purposes of his community only by doing those duties, just as a member of the body lives and enables the body to live by discharging its own special function. There is no station in life which has not its appropriate duties. To know what his duties are, a man has only to look to his particular station in society. It may be very humble and obscure, there may be nothing attract-

* *The Social Contract*, Tozer's Tr., pp. 114.

† As an illustration of this, see the fine story of a poor Irish woman in *Past and Present*.

ive about it, but still the duties of his life, such as they are, flow from it. "The station," observes Carlyle, "that has not its duty, its ideal was never yet occupied by man. Yes, here in this poor, miserable, hampered, despicable, actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy ideal; work it out therefrom; and working, believe, live and be free!" His message to all, therefore, is this, "Do the duty which lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a duty! Thy second duty will already have become clearer."

I have tried to show that in Carlyle's view morality consists in self-realisation. But it cannot be said that he succeeds in fully comprehending the significance of it. Self-realisation involves the development of the theoretical as well as the practical sides of our nature. Carlyle, however, ignores the thinking nature of man and teaches that his destiny is fulfilled by means of practial activity. Indeed he goes so far as to declare that "the unconscious is alone complete." His ideal here is not the god-like philosopher of Aristotle or the wise man of the Stoics, but the persevering worker who subjugates the forces of nature, evolves order out of confusion, and disciplines, organises and governs men. An all round personality, however, involves wisdom as much as prudence, power of speculation as much as steady action. It in short consists in a harmonious development of all the powers of the mind. If it was the error of Plato and Aristotle to extol the mere thinker, it is the error of Carlyle to extol, in an equally one-sided manner, the mere worker.

HIRALAL HALDAR.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN FACTORY COMMISSION

(Concluded.)

WE now come to the most important part of the Commission's report, namely, the institution of a class of "young persons" between the ages of 14 and 17, and the question of the restriction or otherwise of the hours of adult labour. Both subjects have already formed the theme of animated controversy among large employers of textile factories. In Bombay and Ahmedabad their respective organisations some weeks ago seriously considered the subject and formulated their own resolutions for the information of Government, which, of course, are in direct opposition to the views propounded and recommended by the Commission. Both Associations evidently seem to have taken their stand on the fact that the recommendations made in respect of the two problems are against the weight of the evidence recorded. A regular examination of the evidence, as recorded in the bulky Bluebook, (Vol. II) shows that, exclusive of the evidence of mill operatives in different places where it was possible to gather a few, and of the views set forth by the Governments of Bombay, Madras, the North-Western Provinces and Eastern Bengal, the number of witnesses was 285. Of these as many as 156 were "Noes." The "Ayes" and the Neutrals or doubtfuls made up the rest, namely, 129. Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to disclose here the statistical information touching the witnesses in the different parts of the country :—

	No. of Witnesses	European
1. Ahmedabad	22	5
2. Broach	5	3
3. Bombay	76	30
4. Jalgaon	12	5
5. Agra	5	4
6. Aligarh	6	1
7. Hathras	7	0
8. Cawnpore	13	9
9. Lucknow	10	8
10. Calcutta	38	30
11. Dacca	5	5
12. Moulmein	6	6
13. Rangoon	12	10
14. Madras	13	10
15. Sholapur	3	1
16. Amraoti	10	3

	No. of Witnesses	European
17. Phulgaon	2	0
18. Wardha	4	3
19. Hinganghat	2	2
20. Nagpur	12	5
21. Delhi	8	4
22. Amritsar	7	3
23. Dhariwal	1	1
24. Lahore	6	3
	285	151

Thus against 156 positive "noes" there were 88 positive "ayes." The doubtfuls formed the rest. But even when the doubtfuls and the ayes are taken together there is a clear majority of 29. In matters of this controversial character, it is always safe for a Commission to accept the views of the majority. But so far it seems that the Factory Commission have in the matter of the institution of the new class of young persons, between the ages of 14 and 17, given the go-by to the views of the majority. While endeavouring outwardly, as is very plain on the face of the report, (*Vide* Section VIII) to respect the opinion of the majority, namely, that no restriction should be imposed on the hours of adult labour, the Commission have by an ingenious roundabout way recommended the institution of the new class of young persons whereby they believe that the same effect as the regulation of the hours of adult labour by legislation could be easily achieved. In paragraph 44 they express their conviction that "it is impossible to work men regularly for 14½ hours a day—even in the manner in which Indian operatives admittedly work—without serious permanent injury to their health." This is their strong conviction. Indeed they go further and assert that in their opinion—

"No further argument is necessary to prove that such a condition of affairs must inevitably lead to the deterioration of the workers; it must also render factory work so unpopular that the labour supply necessary for the adequate development of the industrial resources of the country will not be forthcoming; and the abuse is of so grave a character, so opposed to all humanitarian considerations, and so fraught with serious consequences both to the industrial population and to Indian industries that the Government would, in our opinion, be justified in taking steps which experience might show to be necessary in order to prevent it from continuing or recurring."

The language of these statements, some of which are mere gratuitous assumptions which we would discuss later on, could not be more explicit and emphatic. With views so clear and so vigorously expressed, we should have expected that the Commission would have straightway recommended the Government to legislate for 12 hours for adult labour. But what do they in reality recommend? This that for certain reasons specified the legislation for the regulation of such labour might be let alone! What an inconsistent position this is for the Commission to assume! But it is evident from the laboured reasoning of the Commission that they desire to hunt with the hound and run with the hare. They seem anxious to please Government on the one hand and to please the influential owners of cotton and jute factories on the other. They give some reasons why the restriction by legislation should not be imposed after premising that they would gladly recommend it if it were demonstrated that the object—a working day of 12 hours—"could not be attained in any other manner." Of course, this kind of "hedging" had become a virtue of necessity for the Commission after they had taken up the illogical and inconsistent position just pointed out. Here then are the specific reasons for non-restriction in the teeth of their own conviction that the longer hours are an abuse and ought to be restricted by law! Firstly, they

"do not consider that any case has been made out in favour of applying a principle which is admittedly of somewhat doubtful validity, which commands acceptance in very few countries, which is open to the gravest objections from a practical point of view, and which supplies a remedy very much more drastic than the circumstances of the case demand."

This reasoning is in direct conflict with their own conviction, notably so when in the preceding paragraph (45) they opine that there can be no guarantee that the millowners might not at some future time, with conditions similar to those which prevailed in 1905, again work their factories for 14½ hours, though assured by most witnesses as to the great inherent improbability of the recurrence. They aver that "no reliance can be placed upon the vague general assurances to the contrary." More. As an additional powerful argument in support of their great disbelief in the "general assurances," the Commission further observe that they

"have already seen that the Millowners' Association (of Bombay) is powerless to enforce any rules of a restrictive character on individual proprietors, while a considerable number of operatives are prepared to

work for 15 hours a day, if they can thereby obtain correspondingly high wages."

Is it not clear from all that is urged above that their first specific reason against restriction is strained and laboured and wholly gives up the case stated with such emphasis and conviction in the 45th para? The Commission are satisfied that the recommendations regarding the institution of the new class of young persons will "prevent the recurrence or continuance of the abuses." But if the abuses are certain to take place as already stated in the 45th paragraph, how a mere institution of a new class of young persons between the ages of 14 and 17, restricted to work for 12 hours only will sweep away the abuse? Surely the millowners will know how to walk round the law? Indeed, at the Bombay millowners' association, Mr. N. N. Wadia demonstrated with effect *how* that could be managed without breaking the law! It is to be feared that so far as the first specific reason is urged the Commission have not only argued in a circle but given up their strong position in favour of direct legislation as abuses were liable to recur and there was no unanimity among the millowners to take concerted action against such abuses.

The second specific reason urged is that the restriction, if imposed, would be felt as a great hardship by all save textile factories, which alone were the greatest sinners.

"In no other industry have we found the existence of any abuse, in the matter of excessive working hours, calling for interference, and we are strongly opposed to the imposition of any unnecessary restriction on the employment of labour in factories, *especially at a time when the further industrial development of the country is of such vital importance.*"

The reasoning here is sound and we welcome it. But may it not be asked that the other factories might by a provision of the law be reasonably exempted from the restriction which in the abstract the Commission find it absolutely essential to impose in order to prevent the abuses in textile factories? The last are the greatest sinners. Why should not they be penalised while the rest are allowed to go free? Common sense would suggest that while it is highly expedient to encourage the good people, so as to stimulate their further goodness, it is equally expedient on the other hand to punish the vicious, so that the punishment may prove an excellent corrective. Surely, nothing could have prevented the Commission from expressing their opinion to the Government that the legislation should be so framed that cotton and jute factories might be brought within the 12 hours' restriction and other factories whose beneficent development prospectively is highly essential, should be exempted from it. Such a proviso would be welcomed by all reasonable and practical men. More. The proviso would act doubly. In case at any future time it was discovered that other industrial factories, owing to the exemption, were abusing the indulgence, these, too, might be brought up within the restrictive section. It would go a great way to keep the last class of factories always on their good behaviour.

The third reason is rather an answer to those who like us point out what might be done for exceptions in the second. Anticipating such argument as we have just adduced the Commission are constrained to observe that—

"Practical objections exist to the *general* enforcement in India of any law rigidly restricting the working hours of adult males. In all industries *overtime is frequently necessary*; and we believe it would be impossible to devise a *workable system of exceptions* which would give employers the freedom they could legitimately claim, and at the same time secure the general enforcement of the restriction."

We are not at all in accord with this belief. Neither do we think any insuperable practical objections could come in the way of carrying out the restrictive clause with exceptions. It would be enough were the Legislature to enact that all factories spining and weaving cotton, silk, jute and other fibres shall not work for more than 12 consecutive hours during a day. Whenever the Government is of opinion that other factories should be also brought within this provision, they have simply to pass a resolution under the legislation which would reserve to them the power so to include; and there would be an end of it.

The fourth specific reason, however, lets out the cat from the bag.

"The imposition of a direct restriction on the hours of adult labour *would be repugnant to the great majority of capitalists both in India and abroad, who have invested or are considering the question of investing money in India.*"

Are we to be told that when a State, from the most humanitarian motives, is intent on legislating and thus ameliorating the physical condition of the country's producers—a condition which is an invaluable *national asset*—that it should bear in mind the contention of an interested class of people who are known to engage labour for longer hours than is good for it? For a State to proclaim in one breath that it is determined to conserve the physical condition of labour lest it should deteriorate, and in the other breath to say that it would not like to offend those who employ labour or the other class who invest in industries which depend upon human labour, is really most inconsistent. It is utterly unstatsemanlike. By all means adopt practical measures but pray see that those measures in the long run do not defeat the object for which they are introduced. The interests of Capital and Labour in actual practice are not identical. If the State is to be a protector of Labour against the abuses of Capital, then it must take its stand on a broad and clear line. Its policy should be well defined and not open to equivocation or subterfuge. It cannot play simultaneously to the galleries of Dives and Lazarus. So that the fourth specific reason of the Commision seems to us to be as bad as their first. To us it is clear as the noonday sun that the Commission, in endeavouring to hold the scales even, have fallen between the two and have betrayed themselves into a serious inconsistency. We should have been infinitely pleased had the Commission taken up a bold and well defined attitude the one way or the other. Either their strong convictions should have prompted them to recommend the Government to restrict the hours of labour for textile factories to 12 hours or to leave them alone as they are at present without any of those strained qualifications which disfigure their otherwise excellent report. It is of no use, we repeat, hunting with the hound and running with the hare, but that is just what they have done. Before we conclude this part of the subject let us go back to some of the assumptions of the Commission to which we have alluded at the outset. In paragraph 44, they have observed that working for 14½ hours must inevitably lead to the deterioration of the workers. These 14½ hours practically mean 13 *really* working hours generally prevailing in textile factories. The mills have worked for at least 17 years for 13 hours, say, from the date of the amended Factory Act of 1891. Now it will not be denied that the period of 17 years is pretty long for testing the physical condition of workers. If so, what may be the result of the test? The Commission themselves have given it in a section of their report where, after a searching examination of factory hands, they have been able to deny any deterioration whatever. Indeed, they have graphically, and faithfully too, described their physical condition along with the economic, and expressed their satisfaction at the general health which is, as stated in our last article, every way better than that of all other classes of labourers. Why then, in the face of so categorical an opinion, should the Commission say that the hours would "inevitably" lead to deterioration?" If a period of 17 years has stood the test and satisfied the Commission that there has been no deterioration, why should they talk in the strain they have done? Either the one statement is true or the other. But both cannot be true at the same time. Thus the statements made in one chapter of the Commission's Report openly contradict those in another. So far the report loses all its value as a well reasoned out and consistent public document.

Another assumption of the Commission is equally fallacious, namely, that deterioration would make factory labour so unpopular that the labour supply necessary for the adequate development of the industrial resources of the country will not be forth-coming. This statement in the first place is hypothetical. Still we must refuse to subscribe to it. There is absolutely no warrant for so sweeping a generalisation in the whole report. On the contrary there are many statements therein which suggest that no such apprehension need ever be entertained. The Commission has been greatly misled by some of the statements of the Bombay witnesses who have averred to the scarcity of labour. That scarcity, it may be admitted, exists. But its existence is *temporary* only. When the temporary causes have been removed, labour will be as abundant as it was some years ago, albeit it shall have, however, to be *better remunerated* in view of the fact of

the dearness of living not only in Bombay but all over the country. The scarcity of labour in Bombay mills is to be largely accounted for by the fact of the large public works going on for some years and by private building operations. The Electric Tramway Company drafted awhile a large number of labourers for construction and replacement of tracks. Then the Electric Light Company and the Telephone Company drafted away another portion for their respective works, and, lastly, the Port Trustees have put into requisition thousands of labourers for their new "Hughes' Dock." It should be remembered that all these are out-door works on which labourers are employed either on daily or weekly wages. Is it needful for us to say that created as is our common humanity, there is always the tendency to accept that which offers the *best* earnings? It may be that the monthly earnings, either on fixed wages or on piece-work, in cotton factories, may be more. But it is well known that no mill hand in any mill in Bombay or Ahmedabad is paid his or her wages till the 3rd or even the 4th week after the month for which the wages have been due. Is it at all necessary to say that the poor labourer, whose daily necessities are great, prefers to work at places where wages are paid weekly or daily instead of seven or eight weeks after the work is done? Necessarily they are attracted to those works where there are such opportunities of early and prompt payment. We are strongly of opinion that were the public works vastly to increase in Bombay, there would be even *greater scarcity* of labourers for cotton mills for more reasons than one. Open-door work in sun and air is every way better than confined work in hot rooms with imperfect ventilation. The hours for work are from sunrise to sunset. There are no hard and fast rules as in mills, no cutting of absentee wages. All these are advantages which the labourer appreciates apart from the facilities of enjoying early wages. He is his own master who works when he likes and stays away when he likes without the penalties attached to labour in a mill.

Again, it should be remembered that famine and plague between them during the last 12 years have played a great havoc. The birth-rate had gone very low as the Sanitary Commissioner has recorded, albeit during the last two years it is showing some improvement. Meanwhile the death rate had been too high. Part of the population of the Presidency has been decimated by the two scourges and it takes time to recuperate the loss. In Ahmedabad, labour has grown dearer than what it was before famine overtook the greater part of Gujarat. The day agricultural labourers who used to be drafted as unskilled operatives into cotton mills in that city are not to be secured in large numbers for some time yet to come. There, too, the process of recuperation must go on slowly.

Lastly, it should not be forgotten that there has been a considerable extension of existing cotton mills in Bombay while there has been created a large number of mills in Ahmedabad. In other parts of the Bombay Presidency also extension and construction have been actively going on these 3 years and more. Necessarily a large demand has risen for labourers but which for the other causes already explained has for the time caused a scarcity of labour in cotton mills. It should not however be forgotten that the extension has also been the cause of scarcity. But the law of normality will have to assert itself sooner or later. The extraordinary demands elsewhere must in due course cease, meanwhile population, too, will have the chance of recuperation, provided of course Nature is bountiful annually with good crop prospects. Thus the scarcity is only of a temporary character. We do not think there is any reason to believe that we are going to have a permanent scarcity of labour. So that taking every thing into consideration the statement so categorically put forward by the Commission will not bear the light of an unbiased and searching investigation. Their assumption as to the future scarcity of labour is founded on very slender reasoning and is sure to be falsified when normality has been reached as it must. In the law of nature action and reaction are equal. All the alarm which the Commission have expressed on this head is to our mind gratuitous and ill-founded. The Commission so far have had no broad grasp of the true economic conditions of the labour market.

As to the recommendation for the institution of a new class of young persons

between the ages of 14 and 17 hardly anything remains to be said. The Commission have failed to grasp the point which the millowners have, of course, intuitively grasped with their better experience. The remedy is worse than the disease. The class will in no way achieve the object if it is legally constituted. As the millowners have pointed out the law will be a dead letter. The millowners will find other means whereby they will be able to work for more than 12 hours. Let the law pass and it will be found after a twelve months' practical operation that instead of there being 25 per cent. of young persons in a mill, as fondly anticipated by the Commission, there will be hardly 15. Young persons are undoubtedly scarce. The greater the scarcity the higher the wages. Either the mills must be prepared for higher wages or they must get rid of their young persons and replace them by adults above the age of 17. The last is more feasible and as the demand for outdoor labour on public works diminishes, as it is bound to, more adults will naturally offer themselves for work. So that if millowners have no faith in this panacea which the ingenuity of the Commission has invented, it is perfectly natural. Those who are conversant with the question of mill labour and internal management have no hallucinations to entertain on the point. But what can the Commission do? They were placed on the horns of a dilemma. They wanted to do something by way of curtailing the hours of adult labour. At the same time they had a tender regard for the indigenous and foreign capitalists. It was not deemed advisable to tread on the toes of these potential and influential men. They could not seize the bull by the horn. They could not boldly and frankly recommend a twelve hours' working day, according to their own deep conviction, as they would not wound the susceptibilities of the capitalist class, so they fell upon this clumsy device of instituting a new class of young persons which is repugnant to the very class whom they wanted to propitiate. Thus they have failed in the primary object for which they were appointed. They have pleased nobody. That is invariably the fate of Commissions which have not the courage of their conviction but which must ever find some loopholes to wriggle out of them.

As to the effect on production of the shortening of the hours and the other miscellaneous matters to which the Commission have referred very little need be said. They are commonplaces and might be at once dismissed from our mind. We are entirely in accord with their recommendations for shortening the hours of child labour. It is this labour which is most abused and which requires drastic provisions and drastic penalties. In the matter of breaches of the law let us hope that the Legislature will lay the saddle on the right and not the wrong horse. Let the Legislature see that the Managers of factories are not made the scapegoats of the lust or greed of the owners and employers. It is the last alone who must be recognised by the law for purposes of punishment of offences. When such are made primarily responsible we may witness a stoppage of the abuses which prevail now in referance to child labour.

In conclusion, we must say that we have endeavoured to review the report of the Commission from an independent and unbiased stand-point. Factory legislation for India must never be light-heartedly proceeded with. It demands most careful investigation of a minute character, aye, more minute and exhaustive than has been undertaken by the Commission. The relations between employers and employed require to be thoroughly probed to the bottom. The economical conditions of the operatives, too, require to be treated from broader standpoints—(1) from the point of view of the relation of general labour to skilled and unskilled textile labour; (2) from the point of view of the operative *per se*; and (3) from the point of view of the general condition of prices and wages. In all these three respects the Commission's report is silent. Only on the economic part there has been a very inadequate and imperfect disquisition which does not touch the crux of the whole complex problem. But within the scope of the reference the Commission, it must be acknowledged, has done its work with credit and freedom from bias, barring the two matters on which we have been constrained to found our criticism in this contribution. Above all, we

are exceedingly rejoiced at the one solid piece of public service rendered by this Commission. They have scattered to the winds the philistine accusations unfoundedly brought against the general body of millowners. The heinous allegation of grinding "slavery" has been flatly contradicted. It is to be hoped that the Government will now think twice and thrice before it again hastily takes steps to inquire into so-called public abuses without first carefully ascertaining the true facts in reference thereto. The Commission, we repeat, have rendered an invaluable service in this respect for which they deserve the cordial acknowledgments of the Indian public. Let us now see what action the Legislature takes on the Commission's report.

ECONOMICUS.

THE YELLOW GOD

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BY

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE TREASURE HOUSE.

ALAN'S recovery was rapid, since, as the Asika told him, if a patient lived through it, the kind of fever that he had taken did not last long enough to exhaust his vital forces. When she asked him if he needed anything to make him well, he answered:

"Yes, air and exercise."

She replied that he should have both, and next morning his hated mask was put upon his face and he was supported by priests to a door where a litter, or rather litters, were waiting, one for himself and another for Jeeki, who, although in robust health, was still supposed to be officially ill and not allowed to walk upon his own legs. They entered these litters and were borne off, till presently they met a third litter, of particularly gorgeous design, carried by masked bearers, wherein was the Asika herself, wearing her coronet and a splendid robe.

Into this litter, which was fitted with a second seat, Alan was transferred. The Mungana, for whom it was designed, being placed in that vacated by Alan, which, either by accident or otherwise was no more seen that day. They went up the mountain side and to the edge of the great fall, and watched the waters thunder down, though the crest of them they could not reach. Next they wandered off into the huge forests that clothed the slopes of the hills, and there halted and ate. Then, as the sun sank, they returned to the gloomy Bonsa-Town beneath them.

For Alan, notwithstanding his weakness and anxieties, it was a heavenly day. The Asika was passive, some new mood being on her, and scarcely troubled him at all except to call his attention to a tree, a flower, or a prospect of the scenery. Here on the mountain side, too, the air was sweet, and for the rest—well, he who had been so near to death was escaped for an hour from that gloomy home of bloodshed and superstition, and saw God's sky again.

This journey was the first of many. Every day the litters were waiting, and they visited some new place, although into the town itself they never went. Moreover, if they passed through outlying villages, although Alan was forced to wear his mask, their inhabitants had been warned to absent themselves, so that they saw no one. The crops were left untended, and the cattle and sheep lowed hungrily in their kraals. On certain days, at Alan's request, they were taken to the spots where the gold was found, in the gravel bed of an almost dry stream that during the rains was a torrent,

He descended from the litter, and with the help of the Asika and Jeeki, dug a little in this gravel, not without reward, for in it they found several nuggets. Above, too, where they went afterwards, was a huge quartz reef denuded by water, which evidently had

been worked in past ages, and was still so rich that in it they saw plenty of visible gold. Looking at it, Alan bethought him of his City days and of the hundreds of thousands of pounds capital with which this unique proposition might have been floated. Afterwards they were carried to the places where the gems were found, stuck about in the clay, like plums in a pudding, though none ever sought them now. But all these things interested the Asika not at all.

What was the good of gold, she asked Alan, except to make things of, or the bright stones except to play with? What was the good of anything except food to eat and power and wisdom that can open the secret doors of knowledge, of things seen and things unseen, and love that brings the lover joy and forgetfulness of self, and takes away the awful loneliness of the soul, if only for a little while?

Not wishing to drift into discussion on the matter of love, Alan asked the priestess to define "her soul," whence it came and whither she believed it to be going.

"My soul is I, Vernoon," she answered, "and already very, very old. Thus it has ruled amongst this people for thousands of years."

"How is that," he asked, "seeing that the Asika dies?"

"Oh! no, Vernoon, she does not die, she only changes. The old body dies, the spirit enters into another body which is waiting. Thus, until I was fourteen, I was but a common girl, the daughter of a headman of that village yonder, at least so they tell me, for of this time I have no memory. Then the Asika died, and as I had the secret marks and the beauty that is hers, the priests burnt her body before Big Bonsa, and suffocated me, the child, in the smoke of the burning. But I awoke again, and when I awoke the past was gone and the soul of the Asika filled me, bringing with it its awful memories, its gathered wisdom, its passion of love and hate, and its power to look backward and before."

"Do you ever do these things?" asked Alan.

"Backward, yes; before, very little; since you came, not at all, because my heart is a coward and I fear what I might see. Oh! Vernoon, Vernoon, I know you and your thoughts. You think me the beautiful beast who loves like a beast, who loves you because you are white and different from our men. Well, what there is of the beast in me the gods of my people gave, for they are devils and I am their servant. But there is more than that, there is good also which I have won for myself. I knew you would come, I knew you would come," she went on passionately, "and that is why I was yours already, even before I had seen your face. But what would befall after you came, that I neither knew, nor know, because I will not seek, who could learn it all."

He looked at her, and she saw the doubt in his eyes.

"You do not believe me, Vernoon. Very well, this night you shall see, you and that black dog of yours, that you may know I do not trick you, and he shall tell me what you see, for he, being but a low-born beast, will speak the truth, not minding if it hurts me, whereas you are gentle and might spare, and myself I have sworn not to search the future, and by an oath that I may not break."

"What of the past?" asked Alan.

"We will not waste time on it, for I know it all. Vernoon, have you no memories of Asika-land? Do you think you never visited it before?"

"Never," said Alan, "it was my uncle who came and ran away with Little Bonsa on his head."

"That is news indeed," she replied mockingly. "Did you then think that I believed it to be you, though it is true that she who went before, or my spirit that was in her, fell into error for an hour and thought that fool-uncle of yours was *the Man?* When she found her mistake she let him go, and bade the god go with him that it might bring back the appointed man, as it has done. Yes, that Little Bonsa, who knew him of old, might search him out from among all the millions of men, born or unborn, and bring him back to me. Therefore, also, she chose a young black dog, who would live for many years, and bade the god to take him with her, and told him of the wealth of our people, that it might be a bait upon the hook. Do you see, Vernoon, that yellow dirt was the bait, and I — I am the hook? Well, you have felt it before, so it should not gall you over much."

Now Alan was more frightened than he had been since he set foot in Asiki-land, for

of a sudden this woman became terrible to him. He felt that she knew things which were hidden from him. For the first time he believed in her, believed that she was more than a mere passionate savage set by chance to rule over a bloodthirsty tribe; that she was one who had a part in his destiny.

"Felt the hook?" he muttered. "I do not understand."

"You are very forgetful," she answered. "Vernoon, we have lived and loved before; we were twin souls from the first. That man now, who I told you lived once on the great river called the Nile, have you no memory of him? Well, well, let it be, I will tell you afterwards. Here we are at the Gold House again; to-night when I am ready, I will send for you, and this I promise, you shall leave me wiser than you were."

When they were alone in their private room, Alan told Jeeki of the expected entertainment of crystal gazing, or whatever it might be, and the part that he was to play in it.

"You say that again, Major," said Jeeki.

Alan repeated the information, giving every detail that he could remember.

"Oh!" said Jeeki, "I see. Asika show us things, 'cause she afraid to look at them herself or take oath, or can't, or something. She no ask you tell her what she see, because you too kind hurt her feeling, if happen to be something beastly. But Jeeki must tell her because he so truthful and not care curse about her feeling. Well, that all right, Jeeki tell her sure enough. Only, Major, don't you interrupt. Quite possible, these magic things, I see one show, you see another. So don't you go say, 'Jeeki, that a lie,' and give me away to Asika just because you think you see different, 'cause if so you put me into dirty hole, and of course I catch it afterwards. You promise, Major?"

"Oh, yes, I promise. But, Jeeki, do you really think we are going to see anything?"

"Can't say, Major," and he shook his head gloomily. "P'r'aps all put-up job. But lots of rum things in world, Major, specially among beastly African savage, who very curious, and always ready pay blood to bad spirit. Hope Asika not get this into her head, because no one know what happen. P'r'aps we see too much and scared all our lives; but p'r'aps all tommy rot."

"That's it—tommy rot," answered Alan, who was not superstitious. "Well, I suppose that we must go through with it. But, Oh! Jeeki, I wish you would tell me how to get out of this."

"Don't know, Major; p'r'aps never get out; p'r'aps learn something to-night. Have to do something soon if want to go. The Mungana's time nearly up, and then—oh, my eye!"

It was night, about ten o'clock indeed, the hour at which Alan generally went to bed. No message had come, and he began to hope that the Asika had forgotten, or changed her mind, and was just going to say so to Jeeki when a light coming from behind him attracted his attention, and he turned, to see her standing in a corner of the great room holding a lamp in her hand and looking towards him. Her gold breastplate and crown were gone, with every other ornament, and she was clad, or rather muffled, in robes of pure white fitted with a kind of nun's hood, which lay back upon her shoulders. Also on her arm she carried a shawl or veil. Standing thus, all undecked, with her long hair fastened in a simple knot, she still looked very beautiful, more so than she had ever been, thought Alan, for the cruelty of her face had faded and was replaced by a mystery very strange to see. She did not look quite like a woman, and that was the reason, perhaps, that Alan, for the first time, felt attracted by her. Hitherto she had always repelled him, but this night it was otherwise.

"How did you come here?" he asked in a more gentle voice than he generally used towards her.

Noting the change in his tone, she smiled shyly and even coloured a little, then answered.

"This house has many secrets, Vernoon. When you are lord of it you shall learn them all; till then I may not tell them to you. But, come, there are other secrets which I hope you shall see to-night, and Jeeki, come you also, for you shall be the mouth of your lord, so that you may tell me what perhaps he would hide."

"I will tell you everything, everything, O

Asika," answered Jeeki, stretching out his hands and bowing almost to the ground.

Then they started and following many long passages as before, although whether they were the same or others Alan could not tell, came at last to a door that he recognised, that of the Treasure House. As they approached this door it opened, and through it, like a hunted thing, ran the bedizened Mungana, husband of the Asika, terror, or madness, shining in his eyes. Catching sight of his wife, who bore the lamp, he threw himself upon his knees, and snatching at her robe, addressed some petition to her speaking so rapidly that Alan could not follow his words.

For a moment she listened, then dragged her dress from his hand and spurned him with her foot. There was something so cruel in the gesture and the action, so full of deadly hate and loathing, that Alan, who witnessed it, experienced a new revulsion of feeling towards the Asika. What kind of a woman could she be, he wondered, who would treat a discarded lover thus in the presence of his successor?

With a groan or a sob, it was difficult to say which, the poor man rose and perceived Alan, whose face he now beheld for the first time, since the Asika had told him not to mask himself, as they would meet no one. The sight of it seemed to fill him with jealous fury; at any rate he leapt at his rival, intending, apparently, to catch him by the throat. Alan, who was watching him, stepped aside, so that he came into violent contact with the wall of the passage, and, half-stunned by the shock, reeled onwards into the darkness.

"The hog!" said the Asika, or rather she hissed it, "the hog, who dared to touch me and to strike at you. Well, his time is short —would that I could make it shorter! Did you hear what he sought of me?"

Alan, who wished for no confidences, replied by asking what the Mungana was doing in the Treasure House; to which she answered that the spirits who dwelt there were eating up his soul, and when they had devoured it all, he would go quite mad and kill himself.

"Does that happen to all Munganas?" inquired Alan.

"Yes, Vernoon, if the Asika hates them, but if she loves them it is otherwise. Come, let us forget the wreteh who would kill you if he could," and she led the way into the hall and up it, passing between the heaps of gold.

On the table where lay the necklaces of gems she set down her lamp, whereof the light, all there was in that great place, flickered feebly upon the mask of Little Bonsa, which had been moved there, apparently for some ceremonial purpose; and still more feebly upon the hideous, golden countenances and winding sheets of the ancient, yellow dead, who stood around in scores, placed one above the other, each in his appointed niche. It was an awesome scene, and one that oppressed Jeeki very much, for he murmured to Alan,

"Oh my! Major, family vault child's play to this hole, just like—" here his comparison came to an end, for the Asika cut it short with a single glance.

"Sit here in front of me," she said to Alan, "and you, Jeeki, sit at your lord's side, and be silent till I bid you speak."

Then she crouched down in a heap behind them, threw the cloth or veil she carried over her head, and in some way that they did not see, suddenly extinguished the lamp.

Now they were in deep darkness, the darkness of death, and in utter silence, the silence of the dead. No glimmer of light, and yet to Alan it seemed as though he could feel the flash of the crystal eyes of Little Bonsa, and of all the other eyes set in the masks of those departed men who once had been the husbands of the bloodstained priestess of the Asiki, till one by one, as she wearied of them, they were bewitched to madness and to doom. In that utter quiet he thought even that he could hear them stir within their winding sheets, or it may have been that the Asika had risen and moved among them on some errand of her own. Far away something fell to the floor, a very light object, such as a flake of rock or a scale of gold. Yet the noise of it struck his nerves loud as a clap of thunder, and those of Jeeki also, for he felt him start at his side and heard the sudden hammerlike beat of his heart. What was the woman doing in this dreadful place, he wondered. Well, it was easy to guess. Doubtless she had brought them there to scare and impress them. Presently a voice, that of some hidden priest, would speak to them, and they would be asked to believe it

a message from the spirit world, or a spirit itself might be arranged—what could be easier in their mood and these surroundings?

Now the Asika was speaking behind them in a muffled voice. From the tone of it she appeared to be engaged in argument or supplication in some strange tongue. At any rate, he could not understand a word of what she said. The argument, or prayer, went on for a long while, with pauses as though for answers. Then suddenly it ceased, and once more they were plunged in that unfathomable silence.

CHAPTER XX.

WHAT THE ASIKA SHOWED TO ALAN.

It seemed to Alan that he went to sleep and dreamed.

He dreamed that it was late autumn in England. Leaves drifted down from the trees beneath the breath of a strong, damp wind and ran or floated along the road till they vanished into a ditch, or caught against piles of stones that had been laid ready for its repair. He knew the road well enough; he even knew the elm tree beneath which he seemed to stand on the crest of a hill. It was that which ran from Mr. Champers-Haswell's splendid house, The Court, to the church; he could see them both, the house to the right and the church to the left, and his eyesight seemed to have improved, since he was able to observe that at either place there was bustle and preparation as though for some ceremony.

Now the big gates of The Court opened, and through came a funeral. It advanced towards him with unnatural swiftness as though it floated upon air, the whole melancholy procession of it. In a few seconds it had come and gone, and yet during those seconds he suffered agony, for there arose in his mind a horrible terror that this was Barbara's burying. He could not have endured it for another moment; he would have cried out or died, only now the mourners passed him following the coffin, and in the first carriage he saw Barbara seated, looking sad and somewhat troubled, but well. A little further down the line came another carriage, and in it was Sir Robert Aylward, staring before him with cold, impassive face.

In his dream Alan thought to himself that he must have borrowed this carriage, which would not be strange, as he generally used motors, for there was a peer's coronet upon the panels and the silver-mounted harness.

The funeral passed and suddenly vanished into the churchyard gates, leaving Alan wondering why his cousin Haswell was not seated at Barbara's side. Then it occured to him that it might be because he was in the coffin, and at that moment in his dream he heard the Asika asking Jeeki what he saw; heard Jeeki answered also, "A burying in the land called England."

"Of whom, Jeeki?" Then, after some hesitation, the answer:

"Of a lady whom my lord loves very much. They bury her."

"What was her name, Jeeki?"

"Her name was Barbara."

"Bar-bara, why that you told me was the name of his mother and his sister. Which of them is buried?

"Neither, O Asika! It was another lady who loved him very much and wanted to marry him, and that was why he ran away to Africa. But now she is dead and buried."

"Are all women in England called Barbara, Jeeki?"

"Yes, O Asika, Barbara means woman."

"If your lord loved this Barbara, why then did he run away from her? Well, it matters not since she is dead and buried, for whatever their spirits may feel, no man cares for a woman that is dead until she clothes herself in flesh again. That was a good vision and I will reward you for it."

"I have earned nothing. O Asika," answered Jeeki modestly, "who only tell you what I see as I must. Yet, O Asika," he added, with a note of anxiey in his voice, "why do you not read these writings for yourself?"

"Because I dare not, or rather because I cannot," she answered fiercely. "Be silent, slave, for now the power of the God broods upon my soul."

The dream went on. A great forest appeared, such a forest as they had passed before they met the cannibals, and set beneath one of the trees, a tent, and in that tent Barbara, Barbara weeping. Some one began to lift the flap of the tent. She sprang up, snatching at a pistol that lay beside her, turning its muzzle towards her breast. A man entered the tent. Alan saw his face, it

was his own. Barbara let fall the pistol and fell backwards as though a bullet from it had pierced her heart. He leapt towards her, but before he came to where she lay everything had vanished, and he heard Jeeki droning out his lies to the Asika, telling her that the vision he had seen was one of her and his master seated with their arms about each other in a chamber of the Golden House.

A third time the dream descended on Alan like a cloud. It seemed to him that he was borne beyond the flaming borders of the world. Everything around was new and unfamiliar, vast, changing, lovely, terrible. He stood alone upon a pearly plain and the sky above him was lit with rosy moons, many and many of them, that hung there like lamps. Spirits began to pass him. He could catch something of their glory as they sped by with incredible swiftness; he could hear the winnowing of their wings. One rose up at his side. It was the Asika, only a thousand times more splendid, clothed in all the glory of hell. Majestically she bent towards him, her glowing eyes held his, the perfume of her breath beat upon his brow and made him drunken.

She spoke to him, and her voice sounded like distant bells.

"Through many a life, through many a life," she said, "bought with much blood, paid for with a million tears, but mine at last, the soul that I have won to comfort my soul through the eternal day. Come to the place I have made ready for you, the hell that shall turn to heaven at your step, come, you by whom I am redeemed, and drive away those gods that torture me because I was their servant that I might win you."

So she spoke, and though all his soul revolted, yet the fearful strength that was in her seemed to draw him onward whither she would go. Then a light shone and that light was the face of Barbara, and with a suddenness that was almost awful, the dream came to an end.

Alan was in his own room again, though how he got there he did not recollect.

"Jeeki," he said, "what has happened? I seem to have had a very curious dream, there in the Treasure Place, and to have heard you telling the Asika a string of incredible falsehoods."

"Oh, no, Major, Jeeki too good Christian; he tell her what *he* see, or what he think she see if she look, 'cause p'r'aps he see nothing, she never believe that. And," he added with a burst of confidence, "what the dickens it matter what he tell her, so long as she swallow same and keep quiet? Nasty things always make women like Asika quite outrageous. Give them sweet to suck, say Jeeki, and if they ill afterwards, that no fault of his. They had sweet."

"Quite so, Jeeki, quite so; only I should advise you not to play too many tricks upon the Asika, lest she should happen to find you out. How did I get back here?"

"Like man that walk in his sleep, Major. She go first, you follow, just as little lamb after Mary in hymn."

"Jeeki, did you really see anything at all?"

"No, Major, nothing partic'lar, except ghost of Mrs. Jeeki and of your reverend uncle, both of them very angry. That magic all stuff, Major. Asika put something in your grub make you drunk, so that you think her very wise. Don't think of it no more, Major, or you go off your chump. If Jeeki see nothing, depend on it there nothing to see."

"Perhaps so, Jeeki, but I wish I could be sure you had seen nothing. Listen to me, we must get out of this place somehow, or as you say, I shall go off my chump. It's haunted, Jeeki, it's haunted, and I think that Asika is a devil, not a woman."

"That what priests say, Major," he answered, looking at his master anxiously. "Well, don't you fret; Jeeki not afraid of devils, Jeeki get you out in good time. Go to bed and leave it all to Jeeki."

Fifteen more days had gone by, and it was the eve of the night of the second full moon, the night when Alan was destined to become the husband of Asika. She had sent for him that morning, and he found her radiant with happiness. Whether or no she believed Jeeki's interpretation of the visions, it seemed quite certain that her mind was void of fears or doubts. She was sure that Alan was about to become her husband, and had summoned all the people of the Asiki to be present at the ceremony of their marriage, and incidentally of the death of the Mungana, who, poor wretch, was to be forced to kill himself upon that occasion.

Before they parted she had spoken to Alan sweetly enough.

"Vernoon," she said, "I know that you do not love me as I love you, but the love will come, since for your sake I will change myself. I will become gentle; I will shed no more blood; that of the Mungana shall be the last, and even him I would spare if I could, only while he lives I may not marry you; it is the one law that is stronger than I am, and if I broke it you would be murdered. You shall even teach me your faith, if you will, for what is good to you is henceforth good to me. Ask what you wish of me, and as an earnest I will do it if I can."

Now Alan looked at her. There was one thing that he wished above all others—that she would let him go. But this he did not dare to ask; moreover, it would have been utterly useless. After all, if the Asika's love was terrible, what would be the appearance of her outraged hate? What could he ask? More gold? He hated the very name of the stuff, for it had brought him here. He remembered the old cannibal chief, Fahni, who like himself languished a prisoner, daily expecting death. Only that morning he had implored him to obtain his liberty.

"I thank you, Asika," he said. "Now, if your words are true, set Fahni free and let him return to his own country, for if he stays here he will die."

"Surely, Vernoon, that is a very small thing," she answered smiling, "though it is true that when he gets there he will probably make war upon us. Well, let him, let him." Then she clapped her hands and summoned priests, whom she bade go at once and conduct Fahni out of Bonsa-Town. Also she bade them loose certain slaves who were of the Ogula tribe, that they might accompany him laden with provisions, and send on orders to the outposts that Fahni and his party should pass unmolested from the land.

This done, she began to talk to Alan about many matters, however little he might answer her. Indeed, it seemed almost as though she feared to let him leave her side; as though some presentiment of loss oppressed her.

At length, to Alan's great relief, the time came when they must part, since it was necessary for her to attend a secret ceremony of preparation or purification, that was called "the Putting Off of the Past." Although she had been thrice summoned, still she would not let him go.

"They call you, Asika," said Alan.

"Yes, yes, they call me," she replied, springing up. "Leave me, Vernoon, till we meet to-morrow to part no more. Oh! why is my heart so heavy in me? That black dog of yours read the visions that I summoned, but might not look on, and they were good visions. They showed that the woman who loved you is dead; they showed us wedded, and other deeper things. Surely he would not dare to lie to me, knowing that if he did, I would flay him living and throw him to the vultures. Why, then, is my heart so heavy in me? Would you escape me, Vernoon? Nay, you are not so cruel, nor could you do it, except by death. Moreover, Man, know that even in death you cannot escape me, for there I shall follow you and claim you, to whose side my spirit has toiled for ages, and what is there so strong that it can snatch you from my hand?"

She looked at him a moment, then, of a sudden, burst into a flood of tears, and seizing his hand, threw herself upon her knees and kissed it again and again.

"Go now," she said, "go, and let my love go with you, through lives and deaths, and all the dreams beyond. Oh! let my love go with you, as it shall, Vernoon."

So Alan went, leaving her there weeping on her knees.

During the dark hours that followed, Alan and madness were not far apart. What could he do? Escape was utterly impossible. For weeks he and Jeeki had considered it in vain. Even if they could win out of the Gold House fortress, what hope had they of making their way through the crowded, tortuous town where, after the African fashion, people walked about all night, every one of whom would recognize the white man of whom all were talking, whether he was masked or no? Besides, beyond the town were the river and the guarded walls and gates, and beyond them open country, where they would be cut off or run down. No, to attempt escape was suicide. Suicide! That gave him an idea; why should he not kill himself? It would

be easy enough, for he still had his revolver and a few cartridges, and surely it was better than to enter on such a life as awaited him as the plaything of a priestess of a tribe of fetish-worshipping savages.

But if he killed himself, how about Barbara, and how about poor old Jeeki, who would certainly be killed also? Besides, it was not the right thing to do, and while there is life, there is always hope.

Alan paused in his walk up and down the room. and looked at Jeeki, who sat upon the floor with his back resting against the stone altar, reflectively pulling down his thick under-lip and letting it fly back, negro-fashion.

"Jeeki," he said, "time's up. What am I to do?"

"Do, Major?" he replied with affected cheerfulness. "Oh! that quite simple. Jeeki arrange everything. You marry Asika, and by and by, when you master here and tired of her, you give her slip. Very interesting experience, no white man ever have such luck before. Asika not half bad, *if* she fond of you; she like little girl in song, when she good, she very, very good. At any rate, nothing else to do. Mary Asika or spiflicate, which mean, Major, that Jeeki spiflicate too," he added, shaking his white head sadly, "he no like *that*. One or two little things on his mind that no get time to square up yet. Daren't pray like Christian here, cause afraid of Bonsas, and Bonsas come square with him by and by cause he been Christian, so poor Jeeki come down bump between two stools. 'Postles kick him out of heaven, and Bonsas kick him out of hell, and where Jeeki go to then?"

"Don't know I am sure," answered Alan, smiling a little in spite of his sorrow, "but I think the Bonsas might find a corner for you somewhere. Look here, Jeeki, you old scamp, I am sorry for you, for you have been a good friend to me and we are fond of each other. But just understand this, I am not going to marry that woman if I can help it. It's against my principles. So I shall wait till to-morrow, and then I shall walk out of this place. If the guards try to stop me, I shall shoot them while I have any cartridges. Then I shall go on until they kill me."

"Oh! but Major, they not kill you; they chuck blanket over your head and take you back to Asika. It Jeeki they kill, skin him alive-O, and all the rest of it."

"Hope not, Jeeki because they think we shall die the same day. But if so, I can't help it. To-morrow morning I shall walk out, and now that's settled I am tired," and he threw himself down upon the bed, and being worn out with weariness and anxiety, soon fell fast asleep.

(To be continued.)

THE GERM OF THE UP-TO-DATE IN RURAL AMERICA

GREAT effort is being made to bring about an industrial renaissance in India. All sections and grades of people in Hindostan are exhibiting a desire to revive the old-time industries and introduce new arts and crafts. The industrial rejuvenescence of the land is gradually coming to be the central thought, the motive power of the people. In the state of mind in which the nation finds itself today, the commercial and industrial looms so large that the other departments of human life are overshadowed.

At a time when a new industrial era, modelled on the Occidental plan, is advocated for India by Westerners as well as by the Easterners themselves, it is but meet and proper to ponder over the fact that industrialism has proved to be far from an unmixed blessing in the Occident. The introduction of steam, hydraulic power and electricity, the installation of large machine shops, mills and factories, have been instrumental in robbing rural districts of their population and pouring the people into the large industrial centres. This has placed the masses in the grip of those who own the capital, or, in other words, the means of production. It has brought into existence a plutocracy which has taken the place of

old-time feudalism. The lot of the wage-earner, under the present-day industrial conditions, is far from satisfactory, much less happy. The family is taken away from the land, and despite the march of sanitation and hygiene, the compression of millions of men, women and children into a small area, the consequent perversion of the air and the addition to it of smoke pouring its poisonous gases from a thousand chimneys, have combined to play havoc with the life of mill and factory operators. But a small percentage of the working people in the Occident are able to own their own houses, and the majority of them are compelled to content themselves with residing in the ugliest and filthiest parts of the cities, in ramshackle shacks. The greed of the capitalist to rapidly multiply his money has been instrumental in pinching the wage of the working people. Drunkenness and allied vices have kept pace with the expansion of industrial centres and brought into being the problems of prostitution and pauperism. There has been a progressive weakening of family ties and an increase in selfishness. A blind adoption of Occidental industrialism spells for India these and many other evils of magnitudinous proportions.

Those who closely watch the trend of affairs in the Occident unmistakably see that a strong undercurrent of feeling has of late years commenced to fiercely fight the banes of industrialism. In Europe and America today, capitalism is face to face with socialism: the mad rush for the cities is arrayed against the desire for the simple life: the longing to amass dollars is matched by interest in psychological and psychic realms. As the commencement of the past century promised that the coming hundred years would be an era of material development, the present-day proclivities assure a keen observer of things that the Twentieth Century will be pre-eminently devoted to spiritual advancement. In the first decade of the Twentieth Century the world appears to be busy playing a game of see-saw. The Orient, so long known to be devoted to super-physical research, is veering to materialism: the Occident, for many centuries gone mad with money-making, is inclining toward spiritual phenomena. Whether or not the world will strike a balance between materialism and spiritualism and evolve a sane, practical civilization, is more than can be predicted.

To those who care to go beyond the superficial, it is patent that more and more the enlightened communities are coming into the realization that the rural districts constitute the heart of the world and the industrial centres merely the extremities of the veins. The red blood is pumped out of the human heart and sent out to the various portions of the body by means of the arteries. The veins carry the vitiated and blackened blood back to the heart to be purified once again and used for the welfare of the system. Likewise strong and robust men and women, while still young, leave the country and pour into the cities to toil and moil in the mill and factory. When weakened in body and wrecked in nervous system by the city life, they return to the country once again to recuperate themselves as much as they may. The understanding of this fact is gradually working a revolution in the Occident. Communal communities are springing up in different parts of the various European and American lands, where men and women work and live on a co-operative basis in the country.

The signs of the times are so luminous to-day that it can be safely surmised that the world tomorrow will more and more set its face against the building and maintaining of gigantic industrial centres. The tendency appears to be in the direction of splitting up a big city into ten or fifteen divisions, carrying the different portions, as it were, to as many different locations ten or twenty miles apart from one another —these towns all connected by inter-urban electric roads and up-to-date in respect of lighting, conservancy, water, roads, sidewalks, *et cetera*.

In pursuance of this policy in the Occident, the cities are being ruralized and the country places cityized. Man upsets nature's plan in madly rushing to large industrial centres. God made the country. Man made the town. The focussing of a million or more individuals in a territory ten miles square or less, in its very essence, is the reversal of Divine regulation. As the laws of health are being studied with more care and the banes of city life are being forced on the notice of the scientific men

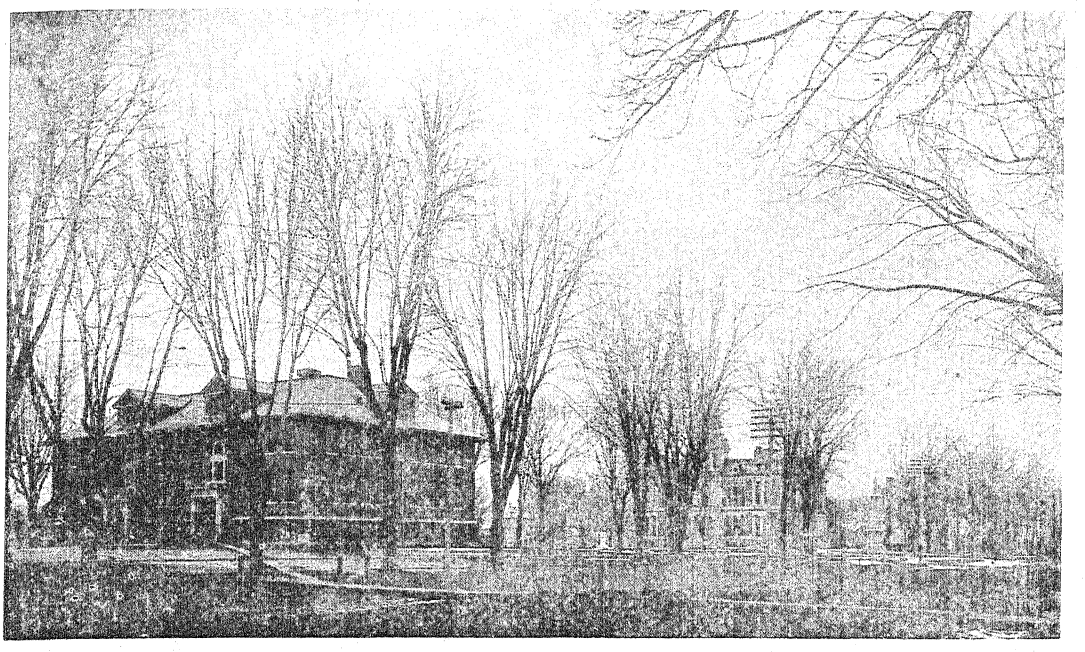
and women of the day, the awakened conscience of the intelligent people amongst the city-dwellers is becoming more and more alive to the fact that cities ought to be countrified as much as possible. The same man who was attracted to the metropolis as if drawn by a magnet, is now devoting the best portion of his attention to ruralizing the grimy looking and foul smelling city. To this change of attitude is due the building of park systems and boulevards shaded by rows of trees.

A corresponding change is taking place in the rural districts. Electric lights, telephones, cement walks, paved roads, water-works fed by artesian wells, sewage canals and similar improvements, which a decade ago only the largest cities could claim, are making their appearance in the rural towns.

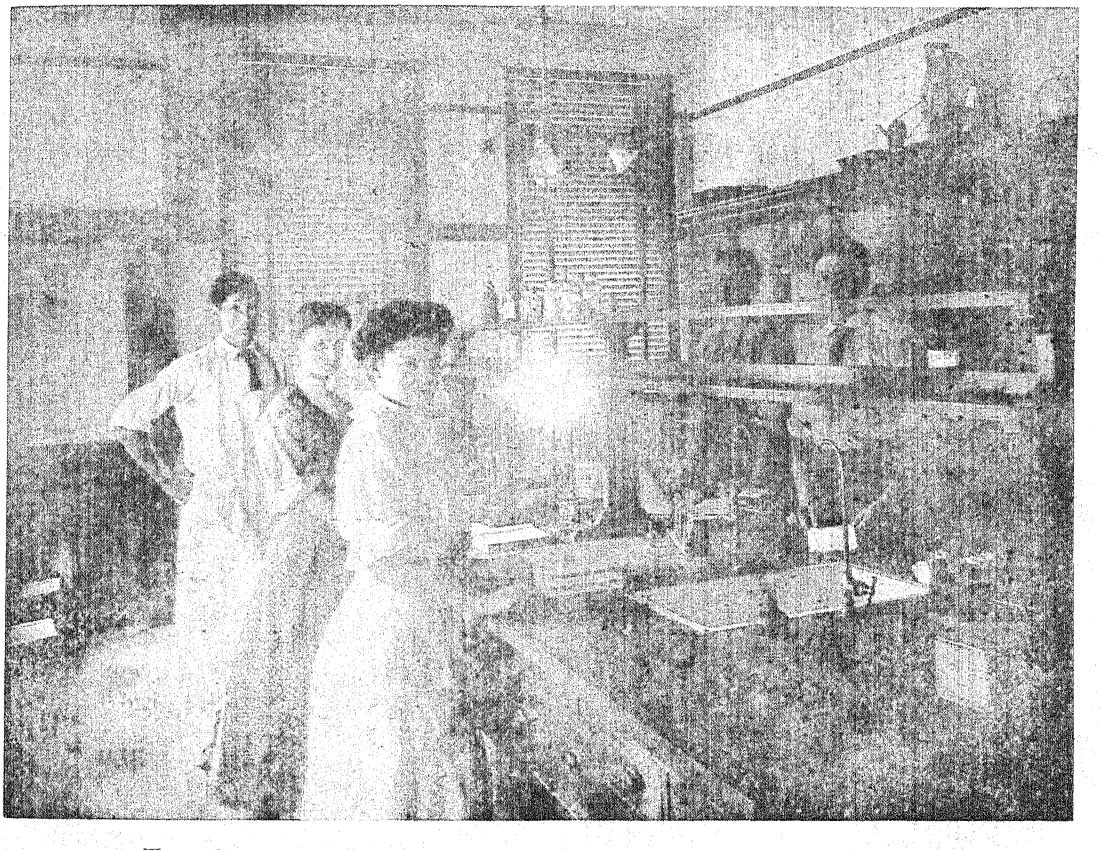
The little town of Cambridge, located in the heart of Western Illinois, one of the most prosperous States of the United States of America, may be cited as an example of the cityizing of rural towns. It is not a manufacturing place, nor is it an old town. The site it occupies today, three score years ago was a trackless prairie, treeless and almost manless. Cambridge is by no means a large town. Its population in 1908 is less than 1,400 souls. Its area within the city limits is one square mile. But Cambridge is an up-to-date town—a splendid illustration of the spirit of the times.

Cambridge has electric lights, telephones and cement walks. It also has water-works fed by a deep artesian well which supplies quantities of clear, crystal, hygienically and chemically pure water for drinking purposes and is a great blessing in case of fire, as by its means water can be pumped higher than any building in Cambridge. Before the boring of the deep well which supplies the water for all purposes in the town, it was necessary to depend upon cisterns at the intersections of the principal streets. The water was gathered in these cisterns from the roofs of buildings, and in case of fire, was pumped out by means of a hand pump which was manned by the male citizens—and sometimes by the women, in cases of stress and emergency. To-day, with the pressure that can be secured from the city water-works, it is possible to fight fire in the most modern manner, and as a result, insurance rates have been lowered in the little city and a feeling of security has been engendered, which makes the amount of money expended in building the water-works seem infinitesimal. The artesian well ought to be of interest to India, for it would solve many problems that perplex the people. In arid Districts, where it is impossible to secure water by shallow wells or other ordinary means, the artesian well offers a chance to secure a constant water-supply; while in Districts where the water is unfit to drink, and is the cause of malaria and other diseases, the artesian well would afford pure water and thus do away with sickness and death from a contaminated water-supply.

The town of Cambridge has a fire brigade, a High School and a Court House. The Steam Railway runs through it, and within a few months an electric inter-urban Railway will connect it with cities near-by. The Post Office distributes four mails a day and sells $ 5,000 (Rs. 15,000) worth of stamps each year, while $ 400 (Rs. 1,200) is collected as the rent of mail boxes. One post-master, one assistant post-master, one clerk and five carriers of rural free delivery mail are employed in the office. These rural free delivery carriers have routes, in some cases 27 miles long. They deliver mail once each week-day to the farmers living in the country, and at the same time collect the mail which is to be forwarded, and sell stamps and other postal supplies. The rural free delivery of mails has been one of the greatest boons to farmers which the Government has bestowed, and is highly appreciated by them. The people who are served by the rural free delivery are not required to pay for the service. All that is required of them is to furnish a water-proof, burglar-proof mail box in which the carrier may deposit the mail. The government of the United States has expended upwards of $99,000,000 (Rs. 29,70,00,000) since 1906 in perfecting rural free delivery. This mail service, according to P.V. DeGraw, fourth assistant postmaster-general, is costing the government about $35,000,000 (Rs. 10,50,00,000) annually for its maintenance, and the expense is constantly increasing as the service is extended. Two women carriers of rural

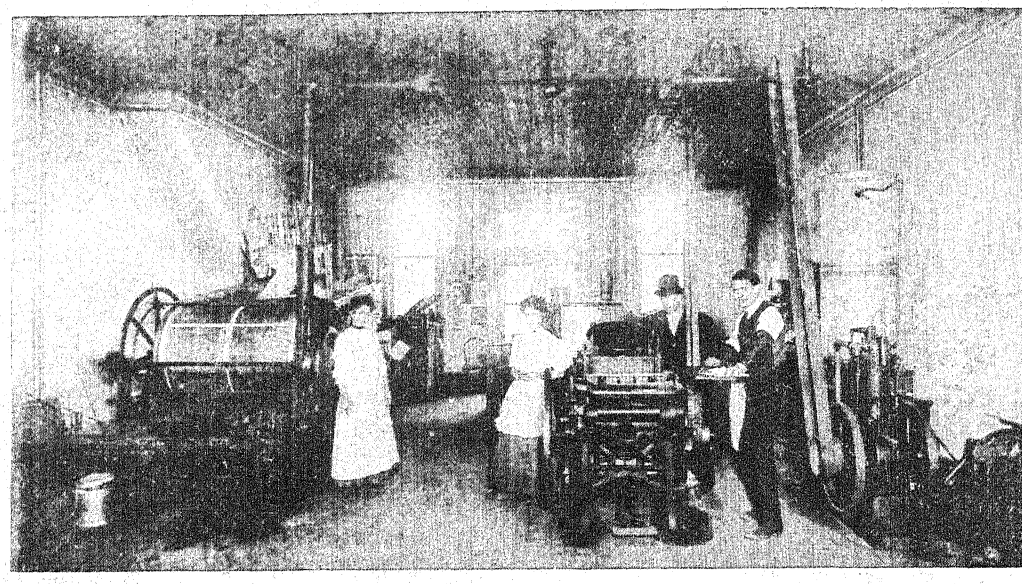


SCHOOL-HOUSE. COURT-HOUSE.



THE CHEMICAL LABORATORY AT THE CAMBRIDGE HIGH SCHOOL.

Compare this laboratory of a school in an American village with that of even the average Government Colleges in India. This photograph represents a potential reason why America is going ahead while India stands still.



THE CAMBRIDGE CHRONICLE OFFICE.

The interior of a country-town Newspaper and a Job-printing Office. Notice the up-to-dateness of the establishment. The presses are run by a gasoline engine. The figure on the extreme right is the Editor-Manager of the Newspaper, also the head-compositor and the engineer of the shop. He is a self-educated man—a type of the best brand of Americans.



DELL WILLIAM'S BARBER-SHOP. MARK ITS UP-TO-DATE CHARACTER.

mail are employed by the Cambridge post office.

There is a public library in the town, with several thousand volumes at the disposal of the reading public; a music store; two 5-cent shows, where, for five pennies (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas) people can see hundreds of feet of moving pictures and hear an illustrated song. Cambridge has an opera house, where a traveling theatrical company performs weekly or oftener. Besides, amusement companies give concerts in the churches, of which there are four in town. A fifth church, the place of worship of the Episcopal (church of England) congregation, is in use only a portion of the time. The city has a band of its own, and a Cambridge woman, Mrs. Imogene Eaton, leads it. Cambridge interdicts the sale of liquors for intoxicating purposes—the saloons are therefore closed; but there are four cafes and refectories, four places where people drink aerated water and eat ice-cream and sweetmeats, and two hotels. The town has seven doctors—two of them women; two dentists; and one veterinarian. A bakery, steam laundry, three barber shops, two furniture stores, one shoe store, three dry-goods stores, three millinery establishments, two wall-paper stores, four hardware stores, two meat markets, three grocery stores, three banks and six lawyers do a lively business, season in, season out. There are two tailors for men and six dressmakers for women who are kept as busy as they can be, while a dress-making school instructs young women in the art of making their own clothes or learning the profession. With two plumbers, three blacksmiths, three building contractors, ten painters, and thirty carpenters, the city finds it hard to secure labor for erecting new buildings or repairing old ones. Two livery stables and one motor car garage afford facilities for travel to people bent on business or fun. Two implement houses cater to the trade of the farmers settled all around the country in the neighborhood of the town. There are three weekly newspapers, and their publishers maintain job offices as well. A photograph gallery, under the supervision of an expert photographer, is liberally patronized by Cambridgeites. The town has planted beautiful flower beds on the corners of its principal streets and is now planning to establish a public park.

The illustrations which accompany this article show a startling contrast when placed alongside the attractions of an Indian town the size of Cambridge. Probably the Indian town has existed for centuries, but its people live in such a depressed state that they lack the inclination and ability to improve themselves or their environments. A congregation of huts and ramshackle brick and stone buildings is the Indian town of 1,400.* There are less than half a dozen dilapidated, ancient looking shops, all of which sell a little bit of everything. Groceries, dry goods, candies, drugs and medicines, all are retailed in the same store. The people who reside in the town are seedy-looking. Poverty is writ large on their foreheads and their bodies are so many living pictures of famine. Life for them is humdrum and prosaic. The villager usually dwells in a shanty. Its walls are crudely constructed of mud. It is thatched with straw. Not infrequently the same room is used for sleeping, cooking and living purposes, and for storing household goods and kitchen supplies. The adjoining room serves as a cow-house. Not far from this the fertilizer is allowed to rot. Both the men and women dress sparely. The men, in many instances, have merely a loin cloth, or barely enough to cover their nakedness. The women in some localities wear trousers and wrap around their heads and shoulders a loose sheet, beneath which sometimes a shirt can be seen. In other places members of the fair sex wrap around their persons *dhotis* or *saris*.

The Indian farmer today employs almost identically the same methods which were in vogue a thousand years ago. His plow consists of a crooked stick, at the end of which is a piece of iron, drawn by a yoke of slow-moving oxen. He almost exclusively depends upon nature to irrigate his fields. In some cases he waters his crop by drawing bucketfuls of water from a well by means of oxen. He appears to be playing with his land instead of endeavouring to make his living out of it. The same thing is true of the staple industries which

* Mr. Saint Nihal Singh has some Punjab village (we do not call them towns here in India) or other in view, where stone or brick is available. But for the most part our villages consist of huts with mud walls, or walls of bamboo or wicker work plastered with mud. Mr. Singh's description of an Indian village seems to us somewhat roseate and idealistic! ED., *M. R.*

support the Indian working people. Take for instance cotton and wool spinning, dyeing and weaving in the rural districts of India. All processes of cleaning, spinning, dyeing and weaving are performed by hand. The outfits used are a thousand years old. The craftsman works at his decadent trade as did his ancestors thirty generations ago. The same characterization runs through everything else in the Indian village. The keynote of rural life in India is a staunch loyalty to the old—an aversion to the new order of things. *The whole atmosphere is charged with a slavish obedience to the ways of those who have been dead for centuries.*

Here in this Western village of Cambridge, the germ of the up-to-date is conspicuously busy. Everything in and around the city spells CHANGE—*change for the better.* The people are improvement-mad. They insist that their homes shall be fitted with the most modern devices for reducing drudgery and insuring comfort—they demand all modern facilities which give a community claim to being progressive. The cow and horse barn of a Cambridge resident is better than a public building in India. The Cambridge man's barn is lit by electricity, and he milks his cows by the light of the incandescent globes, turning on the current from the house so that the barn is a blaze of light when he enters it.

The school building is the pride of the community. It is a magnificent structure, one hundred and twenty-seven feet long, seventy-six feet wide, and two stories and a basement in height. It is built of Galesburg brick with stone trimmings, slate roof and interior finish of oak. Heating, ventilation and sanitation are amply provided for by the most modern systems for securing the desired results. The building is heated by direct and indirect radiation automatically controlled by thermostats and the humidity is regulated by humidifiers and humidostats. Inside toilets are provided for by the septic tank system of sewerage, which makes the presence and multiplication of disease-breeding germs an utter impossibility.

The basement contains toilet rooms, the boiler and fuel room, four fresh-air and heating rooms, domestic science and manual training rooms, two play rooms, Janitor's room and a gymnasium fifty by thirty-two feet in size and thirteen feet high.

The first floor contains six grade rooms, school-board room, teacher's parlor and a corridor seventeen feet wide and seventy feet long. The second floor is occupied by the high school assembly room, two recitation rooms, seventh and eighth grade rooms, Superintendent's office and store room. All rooms are provided with suitable cloak rooms.

In size the high school room is fifty by thirty-two feet, with two additional alcoves, each twenty-two by ten feet. One alcove contains the library, the other the teacher's rostrum. The main room is twenty feet high and the alcoves fourteen, and all are artistically decorated and finished.

The laboratory contains a most modern equipment, and the science lecture room has a splendid collection of birds, the gift of a public-spirited citizen. A local system of telephones connects all departments. All parts of the building except the eight grade rooms and their cloak rooms, are provided with electric lights, there being one hundred and sixty lights in the building. Program clocks are placed in all the rooms. These clocks are run by electricity and automatically ring the periods. Each clock synchronates with the master clock every hour, thus insuring uniformity of time.

There are lavatories in toilet rooms, play rooms, teachers' room, laboratory and office, and drinking fountains on every floor.

All windows above the basement have spring roller venetian blinds; all furniture, except the pupils' desks, is quarter-sawed oak; all grade rooms are provided with picture moulding, tack strip and plate rail, and all corridors are finished in burlap and have moulding for pictures.

All inside locks are master-keyed; all class rooms provided with a teacher's closet; all rooms have book cases, and all doors opening to corridors have plate glass panels.

The Board room is suitably furnished, and has a fireplace. The teachers' room is furnished with Rs. 180 worth of wicker furniture, bought by the teachers, and about Rs. 210 worth of rugs, curtains, screens, mirrors and toilet articles that were generously given by the merchants of Cambridge.

A large palm given by a public spirited citizen stands upon a pedestal in the rear

of the high school room. This palm is ten feet across, and standing on a pedestal five feet high, it gives a touch of beauty seldom found in a school room.

One hundred and seventeen boys and one hundred and thirty-eight girls attend the school, and they are taught by ten regular teachers and two special teachers—a supervisor of drawing and a supervisor of music. One day out of each week the teacher of music spends in the different rooms, instructing the pupils in harmonics, while one day out of each month the drawing teacher gives lessons in that art.

Education in Illinois is compulsory and the following provisions of the present compulsory law are of interest:

"Every person having control of any child between the ages of 7 and 16 years shall annually cause such child to attend some school or private school for the entire time during which the school attended is in session, which period shall not be less than 110 days of actual teaching.

"The law provides that where the child is being instructed for a like period of time in the elementary branches of education by competent persons or where the child's mental or physical condition is such as to make the attendance impractical or inexpedient, then the law does not apply.

"An exception is also made for children between the ages of 14 and 16 who are necessarily and lawfully employed during the hours when any public school is in session.

"The law provides for a penalty of not less than $5 (Rs. 15) nor more than $20 (Rs. 60) and the person so offending to stand committed until fine and costs of suit are entirely paid.

"The case may be heard before a Justice of the Peace or in any court of record. The fines so imposed shall be for the use of the public schools in which said child resides.

"The law provides for a penalty of not less than $3 (Rs. 9) and not more than $20 (Rs. 60) for making a false statement concerning the child's age.

"The law also provides that it is the duty of the board of directors to appoint one or more truant officers whose duty it shall be to see that the provisions of this act are carried out. The truant officer so appointed has power to arrest any pupil of school-going age who habitually haunts public places and place the same in charge of the teacher."

Within a stone's throw of the school house is the *Chronicle* office. The *Chronicle* is the leading newspaper of the town. It is a weekly paper and has been in active existence for fifty years or more. Two printing presses—a large one for printing the paper and doing heavy work and a smaller one for turning out job printing—are run by a gasoline engine of two and a half horse power. There is also another job press which can be run either by the engine or by foot power. A cutting machine and a variety of type compose the rest of the office furniture.

The owner of the newspaper is a self-made man, yet in the thirties. He does not remember ever having gone to school and he has worked hard for all he calls his own. He manages and edits the paper, sets display advertisements for it and also looks after the job type-setting.

The most impressive thing about the Cambridge *Chronicle* to an Oriental is that of the 8 pages of which it consists, 4 are not printed in the office. These 4 pages are technically known as "patent insides" or "ready print". They are supplied to "The Chronicle" by a "trust" or corporation, which maintains establishments in central cities in almost all the States of the Union. Every country town like Cambridge prints one or more weekly or bi-weekly newspapers and buys "patent insides."

Advertisements are secured in the United States on a circulation basis, that is, the larger the circulation of the periodical, the bigger prices it obtains from advertisers. The patent insides people have an enormous weekly circulation and readily obtain a great volume of advertisements at high rates. This has a very beneficent result, as the country-town newspaper proprietor can secure ready prints for a little more than he would expend on buying white paper on which to print his periodical.

The patent insides are elaborate affairs. They furnish the foreign news and news of the country. Political gossip, both of the State and Nation, is made a special feature. In America politics taints the news. The Republicans and Democrats, &c., manipulate the news to suit themselves. The publishers of the patent insides, therefore, get out two series of ready-prints—one for the use of Democratic newspapers and the other for Republican papers—thus offering a latitude to people of different shades of political opinion. The news of the markets and commercial and financial items are carefully gathered and prominently printed. Besides the news, there are departments of peculiar interest to agriculturists, dairy men, cattle breeders, and women who make their own dresses. A serial story and a complete short story, a column or two in lighter vein and

columns of stories and puzzles for the younger members of the family comprise the leading features of the ready print. Every little while the pages are livened up with an illustrated travel article.

The Cambridge grown up people and children spend a half hour or more of an evening amusing themselves at the five-cent shows. The moving pictures are attractive. Nothing is thrown on the screen which would offend the most fastidious taste. The scenes are usually comic—though once in a while the deeper emotions of the spectators are stirred by representations of tragic events. Some of the moving pictures not only amuse, but instruct as well. The Fourth of July is observed as "Independence Day" throughout the United States. It is a day on which all patriotic Americans like to dwell on the causes which brought about the schism between the English and Americans which led to the formation of the United States. On this day, this year, the citizens of Cambridge saw the scenes of the war of independence thrown on the screen, and with thrilled emotions pondered over them, leaving the place of performance with a greater love for their country and the democratic ideals for which it is constantly striving.

A great deal can be written about the up-to-dateness of Cambridge stores of every description; but the photographs reproduced with this article tell the tale more significantly than words could do. Therefore the writer deems it more purposeful to devote the space to a description of a typical Cambridge residence. The house in which the writer is at present residing and where he has spent more than three weeks will serve as a good illustration. It is a two-story house, built of wood, standing on a brick foundation. In the parlor the walls are adorned with several good-sized paintings, two or three of them being the work of the young woman who is the mistress of the house. In one corner is a sweet-toned piano. The floor is of hard wood, highly polished and a part of it is covered with an artistic rug. In another corner is a lady's writing desk. Several rockers and a few chairs give the room a cosy appearance.

Adjoining the parlor is the sitting room. A handsomely upholstered lounge, one or two easy chairs, an oak library table with a number of books and magazines on its shelf, and an almirah full of well-bound books, give the room a comfortable and pleasing look. The floor is covered with a warm-colored rug. In one corner stands the checker-board with checkers in a small box —this to amuse the six-year-old son of the family. The dining room, kitchen and laundry open from the sitting-room. The kitchen and laundry are of peculiar interest. The kitchen is fitted with a huge range and a gasoline stove. Gas, generated from gasoline, is burned in three burners permitting three things to be cooked simultaneously. A portable oven made of sheet-iron can be put on one of the burners and used for baking bread, cakes and pastry, and roasting meats and vegetables. Near the stove is the kitchen cabinet. It contains many bins, drawers and shelves. The knives, forks, spoons and small utensils used in cooking, sugar, condiments, tea, coffee, vegetables, etc., etc., are placed in their respective compartments. One part of the kitchen cabinet consists of a table to be used in the work of preparing food and washing dishes. Moulding boards slip in and out of the table and are employed in preparing the dough for bread and pastry. One of the compartments of the cabinet contains implements used in canning and preserving fruits. The cabinet is compactness itself, and saves the housewife thousands of steps a month.

The laundry has a washing machine which is run by water power. It is fitted with a wringer which works easily and wrings clothes thoroughly, adjusting itself according to the thickness of the clothes that are being pressed through it. The washing machine is so arranged that it can be worked by means of hand, if desired. There is a wash board besides the machine, which can be used for rubbing the soiled spots out of the clothes if the machine fails to do its work well. Stationary tubs are at hand for rinsing and bluing the clothes. These tubs are provided with drains, and the water runs into them from the faucet directly and runs out at the drain, so there is no tiring carrying of water connected with washing in this house. These improved implements in the laundry render the work of washing clothes so light and pleasant that almost every family in the

town does its own washing. In a corner of the laundry is the ironing board, made in a shape which permits its being used with ease and comfort for ironing; the patent irons with wooden handles that detach from the irons while they are being heated on the gasoline stove; and the wooden clothes-horse on which the clothes are hung as soon as they are ironed and left until all the dampness is dried out of them. All these things save steps and the temper of the housewife is never tried by her work, which is made more like play than real labor.

The most fascinating part of the laundry is the shelf containing chemicals for removing stains, spots and rust from garments. A prominent position is given to the washing fluid. This is made of potash, salts of tartar, liquid ammonia and is used to aid the laundress in the work of cleaning soiled garments. "Javelle water" is often used for the same purpose. A bottle of ammonia stands ready for removing spots on white clothing. Ox gall is used for "setting" colors so they will not fade. Cream of tartar and alum are kept on the shelf. Their uses are manifold in the laundry. Chloride of lime is at hand for use in removing mildew, while oxalic acid destroys stains of fruit or tea, and salts of lemon takes out rust stains.

The bedrooms, the bath room and the sewing room are on the second floor. There are washbasins and running water in each of the bedrooms. The beds are all of iron and are provided with springs and downy mattresses. The bath room has hot and cold running water, the water being instantaneously heated when needed by a gasoline flame under the pipe, and running into the bath tub, where a hot bath can be had at any time desired. The sewing room has a machine which can be worked either by foot-power or electricity. It is also provided with a large table for use in cutting garments, basting and sewing.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE

THE autumn publishing season with its rush of new books has not inaptly been likened to the bursting of a big dam. This year the number of new books is almost greater than before and it is a difficult task to select the most important for mention.

We note, however, with pleasure that the end of the "Book War," the dispute between *The Times* and the associated publishers, is announced and that *The Times* and Mr. Murray are joining in the issue of a cheap popular edition at 6s. of "*The Letters of Queen Victoria.*"

"*The New Spirit in India* (Harper 10/6) is a masterly study of problems created in India by that spirit of Liberalism which has made great headway within the last 10 years. These problems are treated by Mr. Henry W. Nevinson with a philosophic detachment, a humorous tolerance, a power of sympathetic insight and a charm of literary style which are beyond all praise. The existing state of strain on the relations between Indians and Anglo-Indians is summarized and explained and two remedies are proposed, one immediate and concrete, the other remote and unsubstantial.

Mr. Nevinson's immediate remedy would be the division of Bengal along lines that would be acceptable to the Bengalis. His other remedy is a change of heart among Englishmen in their treatment of the natives. What is therefore needed while India is passing through its present state of transition is mutual forbearance and mutual compromise on both sides.

At Large (Smith, Elder 7/6 net) is the most frankly personal book Mr. Arthur Benson has yet given us. Here he speaks from his own doorstep, describes his life at Haddenham in the Isle of Ely, its leisure, peace and eagerness, all with an engaging frankness which never degenerates into egoism. Mr. Benson, leaving the larger problems alone, gives rein to his humour telling us of public life, of great folk and

their moods and influence, of our school system, of faith, of humanity, of God, declaring himself boldly on the side of democracy and confessing his doubts of ecclesiasticism.

Mr. Benson has had the good fortune to meet many celebrated persons and gives us some glimpses of them here and there. The uplifting purpose of the book is clear from passages such as the one suggested by a visit to the schoool on Speech Day evoking thoughts of the old boy comrades whose destinies were determined.

"It is the pursuit not of the unattained but of the unattainable to which we are vowed. It is rest that is forbidden." The aim is the thing.

No more fascinating book has recently been published than Ellen Terry's *Story of My Life* (Hutchinson 6/ net). There is plenty of fun and humour in the book, there are often shrewd and penetrating comments on actors and others but nowhere is there the slightest trace of malice, bitterness or ill-will. We get delightful glimpses of many men of note in these recollections, of Tom Taylor, Charles Reade, Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Bernard Shaw, though of course most of the best stories are those about stage celebrities from the time of Charles Kean aud his wife onwards. A sympathetic and admiring picture is given of Irving who has inevitably the first place in Ellen Terry's reminiscences.

The tragic incident of her first marriage to George Frederick Watts is treated in a touching, simple and frank way. We get a pleasant account of the great men and women she met at that period, among them Tennyson with whom the girl wife got on splendidly.

The hard work necessary to ensure success on the stage is everywhere insisted on as well as the importance of the three I's, Imagination, Industry and Intelligence.

The most scholarly and best informed of all our English Tolstoy translators and commentators is undoubtedly Mr. Aylmer Maude who, during a long residence in Russia, was fortunate in becoming an intimate acquaintance of the modern prophet of both Moscow and Yasnaya Polyana.

We are therefore glad to find that the responsibility of writing the authoritative biography of the great philosopher and writer has fallen on Mr. Maude who, in *The Life of Tolstoy* (Constable 10/6 net) has given us a detailed, trustworthy and readable account of the first fifty years of the life of the "last of the rationalists." Besides the incidents already more or less known such as: his failure at college, his card debts, his escape from the Tartars, how he challenged Tourgènef to a duel, his troubles as arbiter of the Peace, how he managed a school, etc., we have much new information on other matters.

We learn how Tolstoy pleaded at a Court-Martial, how he exercised influence at Court, why he let himself be elected to the Zemstvo, how he fought the professional pedagogues and planned a peasant university, why he was for a while confined to his estate, how he went on a pilgrimage to Optin Monastery and how Tchaypovsky's socialist group influenced him. Tolstoy's remarkable sense of logic is a dominating feature of his work. Whatever view one may adopt as to his teachings, there can be no two opinions as to his eminence as a personality and a writer. The frequently noted discrepancies between his professions and his practice are at once a part of the tragedy of human failure and a striking characteristic of the earnestness and consistency of the heroic man.

In Mr. Swinburne's *The Age of Shakespeare*, (Chatto 6/ net), a collection of essays and studies gathered from periodicals and other sources, we have as it were a guide to the glories of the Shakespearean dramatists.

Pinnacle upon pinnacle of praise is piled up to the very skies, yet we feel that although long and loving intimacy with the dramatists may have made Mr. Swinburne too fond it has nevertheless given him the insight of an informed sympathy and a faithful knowledge of secluded paths of dramatic poetry.

India through the Ages, a popular and picturesque History of Hindustan, (Routledge 4/6), is an unusually bright and valuable primer, and ordinary men and women will now have no excuse for remaining ignorant of Indian History. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel with her wonted imaginative energy has made the book as racy and readable a story as could be desired. Although she shows that she understands the anecdotal surface of India rather than its soul, believing in the myth that the present unrest in India is foster-

ed by "professional agitators" and "disappointed claimants," yet as a story-teller she deserves unstinted praise. Whether writing of the coming of the Aryans or the Mahommedan invasion or the plots and counterplots of French and English trading companies, she sets forth her facts with a narrative skill engrossing us as if we were reading fiction. The book stops short at the Indian Mutiny, in regard to which we are given very little detail.

Mr. Farley Oaten in his *Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature* (Kegan Paul 3/6 net) while confessing that he has drawn largely upon volumes of the *Calcutta Review* for his facts and comments has given us a work containing much convincing criticism and admirably expressed information. Mr. Oaten is a virile writer, has made the most of his reading and gives us quotations and summaries of the works of Kipling, Mrs. Steel, Aliph Cheam, Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir Alfred Lyall, Meadows Taylor, etc. etc.

In *Life and Labour of the People of India* (Murray 12/ net) Mr. Abdullah Yusuf-Ali, I. C. S., has given a comprehensive picture of the life of the people of India, avoiding all controversial topics, yet approaching his subject from a fresh point of view, that of one born and bred in India, associated with Government and viewing life from the administrative point of view and from his Cambridge education and lengthened study of European life and methods able to present facts in a form acceptable to Europeans and Indians alike. Town life, village life, the leisured classes, student life, industrial and economic problems, public health, administration, civic life, woman's life and social tendencies are exhaustively and sympathetically treated, and the attactiveness of the volume is increased by many illustrations from drawings and photographs by Indian artists.

The Reminiscences of Lady Randolph Churchill, (Arnold 15/ net), bright and readable from cover to cover, without a tedious page, is one of the best, as well as the most daring memoirs of our time ever published. No woman of our time has seen more of man's world. Born in America, nurtured in Italy and France, domiciled in England, travelled everywhere, Lady Randolph Churchill (as we must here call her though now she is Mrs. Cornwallis West) was one of the reigning beauties in the eighties and through her son is still a force in English politics. In the course of her life and travels Lady Randolph has met many of the most conspicuous men of the passing generation and we get interesting stories about Lord Beaconsfield, the late Duke of Devonshire, Boulanger, King Milan of Servia and Bernard Shaw.

Concerning Lafcadio Hearn (Unwin 8/6 net) is a welcome monograph by Dr. George M. Gould, who knew Hearn intimately for many years and, acquainted with every side of his intellectual development, gives us here an unvarnished picture of the man and his moral character. The extreme frankness of Dr. Gould's estimate of his friend may somewhat disconcert many readers. The foibles, faults and almost irreconcilable inequalities of Hearn's temperament are very openly discussed. The result is a very interesting psychological study but bears a somewhat curious aspect when regarded as the last kind office performed by a friend for friendship's sake. A full and valuable bibliography is provided by Miss Lama Stedman and those who widely appreciate Hearn's eloquent writings about the life and literature of the East will be interested in learning more about the man, who appears to have been one of those irresponsible creatures who are by nature the victims of circumstance, capable of generous impulses, capable also of inconceivable disloyalties.

The third volume of a very remarkable work is now before us. It is the further instalment of *Storia do Mogor*, or Mogul India, 1653—1708. By Niccolao Manucci, Venetian. Translated by William Irvine, I.C.S., vol. III (Murray, 24/). We have here very interesting reading matter and some unique pictures, representing court and official life in India in the days of Aurungzeb, the last of the "Great Moguls." This book should be greatly appreciated by those anxious to learn more of seventeenth century India, the habits of the people and the political events of the time.

Burma, the first of a series of International Handbooks published by Moring (10/6 net), contains a vast fund of interesting, practical, commercial and political information. It is written by Sir George Scott, K.C.I.E., but special articles on fauna, flora, forests, means of transport, and music have

been contributed by Mr. Oates, Capt. Gage, Messrs. Bruce, Richard and Mariano respectively. The work is greatly enriched by 65 large size illustrations beautifully reproduced from excellent photographs taken on the spot.

A Spirit in Prison by Robert Hichens (Hutchinson 6/) is a sort of sequel to the "Call of the Blood," the novel immediately preceding it which ended in the death by assassination of a husband who had been faithless to his wife during a prolonged separation. Seventeen years have elapsed; Hermione, while her daughter Vere was growing into young womanhood, has never ceased to regard her dead husband as a faultless and perfect lover, her French friend Emile Artois and her Italian servant Gaspare having decided to keep her in ignorance of her husband's infidelity.

At the commencement of this book, Hermione, living with Vere and her faithful servant Gaspare on a small island near Naples, sees in an Italian fisherboy Ruffo who makes the acquaintance of her daughter, something which attracts her curiously and stirs vague memories. The secret that this lad is the son of the dead husband, the fruit of the amour which cost him his life, is not divulged till many important incidents have occurred and four hundred pages have been turned. The discovery leads to a great scene between Hermione and her lifelong friend Artois in a ruined palace by the sea in which a really fine pitch of emotional intensity is reached. Hermione reproaches Artois for his long sustained deception; he defends himself and defends his dead friend. However the end is peace and reconciliation, Hermione finding in Ruffo the son she had always desired.

The most carefully delineated and analysed character and therefore the most interesting is that of Emile Artois, the man of 60, a novelist of great repute.

Hermione's attitude to her daughter, the slight shadow of something very like jealousy which arose for a while between them, is very cleverly handled and the book is sure to find favour with Mr. Hichen's large circle of admirers.

There is no other novelist who writes so much as Mrs. Mann and who writes so well. We are always sure of an interesting story and in the *Heart-Smiter* (Methuen 6/) we are not disappointed. Mrs. Mann interests us in her heroine even before that designing young person, happily named Daphne Snare, appears on the scene and our interest is held and increased till she steps into the hansom at Liverpool Street and drives out of the story.

Mr. Maurice Hewlett's new novel, which with whimsical fancy he calls a "Comedy of Degrees" is as graceful a thing as he has yet done. In *Half-way House*, (Chapman 6/) a cultivated, wealthy country gentleman of 50 falls in love with Mary Middelham, a dainty, charming young girl in her early twenties, a very human girl with a few innocent flirtations behind her. He thinks he will guide her gently, teach her, make of her a personage but she soon develops a character of her own. Then the only one of her old lovers of whom she was afraid turns up, he uses the power he has over her in a distinctly unpleasant way and tragedy might happen had there been no Half-way House, no Jack Seahouse, her good genius, the happy camping out philosopher, to whom she could flee in her hour of need, who does not fail her. The philosopher, a rare, almost unique type, discourses on many things and the development of Mary under his clear, calm ruling, is not a surprising thing. The story is better and more amusing than the majority of the novels that issue from the press.

In *Diana Mallory* (Smith, Elder 6/) Mrs. Humphry Ward has presented us with another heroine worthy to take her place in the gallery of singularly fine and sympathetic women among whom we have "Mavella," "Eleanor," "Lady Rose's Daughter," "Kitty" and others. *Diana* is a splendidly true character, from first to last the central and most enthralling figure, who a motherless girl while living on the continent with her father in seclusion, has become interested in Oliver Marsham, a rising young Liberal politician. Left alone in the world at twenty-two she settles down to country life in a typical English village with delightfully portrayed neighbours, among them the socialist parson, and the old Cambridge coach. She is a radiant creature, a passionate Imperialist and red-hot Conservative, and she and Oliver have many a spirited argument on their respective creeds, about tariffs and pro-

tection through which arises the tenderer emotion of love. Then the thunderbolt falls, a coarse colonial cousin Tanny reveals to her the secret of her mother's crime, a murder committed under what her old friend who defended her believed to be justifying circumstances. Oliver's mother becomes adamant in opposing the match, he himself is not of the metal of which heroes are made and when at the end after much suffering the way is prepared for his eventual regeneration and the hope is indicated that with a transformed Oliver Marsham Diana Mallory will live a contented life, our only regret is that she cannot see Marsham as others see him. The book, even though a trifle too long, is marked throughout by the literary thoroughness and distinction which we always associate with Mrs. Humphry Ward.

In *The Virgin in Judgment*, (Cassell 6/), Mr. Eden Philpotts has given us another fascinating romance of Dartmoor. Here again we have the author's keen intuition and unabashed revelation of peasant life, with its plain elemental passions on the surface and its half-articulate tangle of emotions underneath. To Rhoda Bowden, the heroine, virginity is a sort of fetish but her hysterical prudery is the ruin of her little world. She serves as her brother's second in a most bloodthirsty duel with the man who kissed her, and her affection to her brother David stands out in clear relief. But when her brother marries, Rhoda, who continues to live in the house, suspects her innocent sister-in-law of infidelity and so works on the miserable object of her suspicion that at last she drowns herself in sheer weariness and terror. In the end the brother turns Rhoda, the avenging angel, out of doors, in a paroxysm of fury and she is brought to feel how she has made desolate by her own error the house whose honour she was only so eager to defend.

A man of genius (Lane 6/) is the last of a trilogy of Devon novels, "Widdicombe" and "a Wingless Victory" being its predecessors. This work again displays the hallmark of culture in addition to charms of style and imagination. Indeed we may fairly say that Miss Willcocks shows the wit of Barrie in alliance with the bold realism of Thomas Hardy and the philosophic touches of George Meredith without his obscurities. The story deals with the career of a degenerate farmer's gifted son, his fall and his recovery by the aid of three women. Thyrza Braund certainly tried him as Potiphar's spouse is said to have tried Joseph and if he failed to act up to Joseph's high standard he had the excuse that there was no Potiphar in the case. The penalty paid was a heavy one and although the author suggests that Ambrose missed his real affinity Damaris, the woman of genius, it is a moot point whether she would really have proved a better mate for him than Thyrza the thoughtless. All the characters are interesting and well-drawn; John Darracott, the really heroic male character, the vicar, a delightful study and Ambrose's mother who is a really interesting type.

In *Catherine's Child*, (Smith, Elder 6/) we meet old friends, familiar faces and Mrs. De La Pasture knows how to make all her people very human, very real. Although Catherine's daughter Philippa is the ostensible heroine, a beautiful strapping girl of 16, she is not nearly as sympathetic to us as her mother, the gentle, pensive widow of 35. Little Lily Chilcott is a delightfully quaint and pathetic child. Indeed some of the minor characters are most amusing and real. Philippa's disappearance in London, her being decoyed away by the wicked Madame Minart for the sake of a probable reward is the only incident which strikes us as rather unlikely and we are left regretting the final dénoument.

Mr. Bailly's novel *The God of Clay* (Hutchinson 6/) presents us with a series of episodes in the career of Napoleon Buonaparte all treated in a spirited manner, exciting our entire interest. Yet as we close the book, we reflect that after all Buonaparte has been cleverly made to everywhere reveal his meaner self. We see the clay but very little of the divinity of the hero both in the historic scenes at Toulon and Acre and in the scenes of the author's fancy. His ruthlessness to friend and foe alike when any obstacle stood in the way of his ambition appears most clearly and yet we leave him not without a certain sympathy at the end, looking out over the dark waters that separate him from England, impotent and alone, his ambition thwarted and the friend after whom he yearned gone away to his enemies.

Miss Marie Corelli's new novel *Holy Orders*, (Methuen 6/), is a story with a purpose, based on evidence, instances which have actually occurred in a lonely district upon the north-east coast. The story exhibits in a lurid light the evils of one phase of the drink question, and the hero, Richard Everton, the vicar of the parish, sets himself with indomitable courage to combat the curse of intemperance among his parishioners.

In the Spirit of Revolt, (Methuen 6/), Mr. Philip Gibbs takes for his hero, Richard Kelmarsh, the crude young labour member for Burslem who meets in a boarding-house in Bloomsbury an actress, a suffragette, a crusted Conservative and sundry other characters, all well and sharply drawn. He marries the actress and then the troubles begin. Regarded simply as a novel, politics apart, there is a keenness and tenderness in the delineation of character which makes the book extremely pleasing.

Those who like poetry set in its native atmosphere will welcome an illustrated edition of Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*, (Kegan Paul). The illustrations are from beautiful photographs by Mrs. Eardley Wilmot, who has had exceptional opportunities of studying the Indian hill country.

Kashmir: Land of streams and solitudes (John Lane 21/ net) is the result of Mr. Piri's three years' wandering on the outposts of civilization. Armed with special permission from the Indian Government the author and his sister the artist penetrated far into the wilds, especially along the Gilgit Road. The book only published to-day, is most interesting and its beauty is much enhanced by 125 full page and other illustrations.

Oct. 21, '08. LINA OSWALD.

ANCIENT CHRISTMAS GAMES

BY W. GROVES-HORNER.

MANY of the merriest games which were once popular at Christmas have for ever passed away, only a few being known to the present generation out of the long list formerly kept up.

HOT COCKLES.

"Hot Cockles" was much in favour. It was a species of blind man's buff, in which the blinded one knelt down, and being struck behind, had to guess who inflicted the blow. The poet Gay thus describes it:—

> As at hot cockles once I laid me down
> And felt the weighty hand of many a clown,
> Buxoma gave me a gentle tap, and I
> Quick rose, and read soft mischief in her eye.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Another game was called "Questions and Answers." It is mentioned in an old book with the title "Round About our Coal Fire," published in the early part of the eighteenth century. It perhaps perished from its very inquisitiveness, for the commander could oblige his subjects to answer any lawful question he might put to them, under the penalty of paying any such forfeit as he might choose to lay on the delinquent.

FOX I' THE HOLE.

Quaint old Herrick three times mentions a game called "Fox i' the Hole," but it cannot be gathered from what he says how it was played.

> Of Christmas sports the wassail bowl
> That's tossed up after Fox i' the Hole.

Perhaps it was a relation of "We'll catch a fox, and put him in a box," a phrase used in the game of "A Hunting we will go."

GAMES OF CARDS.

Cards furnished several old-fashioned games. One is mentioned by Scott in his graphic picture of Christmas Eve told in "Marmion," as the vulgar game of "Post and Pair." It is also mentioned by many of our old writers, amongst whom may be quoted Jonson, in his "Masque of Christmas."

> Now Post and Pair, Old Christmas's heir,
> Doth make a jingling sally;
> And wot you who, 'tis one of my two
> Sons, card makers in Pur Alley.

It seems that three cards were dealt to every

player, and the excitement of the game consisted in each person vying or betting on the goodness of his own hand. A pair of royal aces was the best hand—from this the game is also known as Pair Royal—and then the other cards according to their order. The modern game most resembling it is "Commerce."

Noddy.

Another game was "Noddy," which was in great request at this season. In an old work Father Christmas is represented as speaking to his children of the games of that time, and says, "I leave them wholly to my eldest son "Noddy," whom, during his minority, I commit to the custody of a pair of knaves and one and thirty." "Poor Richard's Almanack" for 1755 notices the game thus:—

> Some folks at dice and cards do sit,
> To lose their money and their wit;
> And when the game of cards is past,
> They fall to at Noddy at the last.

Ruff.

One more card game played was "Ruff," otherwise known as "Cross Ruff," "Double Ruff," and "Trump." This game was an ancient form of whist, and played by two against two or three against three. This practice, as well as others, is alluded to in another quotation from "Poor Robin's Almanack," 1693:—

> Christmas to hungry stomachs gives relief,
> With mutton, pork pies, pasties, and roast beef,
> And men at cards spend many idle hours,
> At loadum, whisk, cross ruff, and all fours.

Until the reign of Henry VII. the people of England had enjoyed immunity from interference with regard to the use of playing cards, but this monarch enacted a statute prohibiting the apprentices from indulging in the game, except during the Christmas holidays, and then only while under the roof of their respective masters. This was confirmed with due severity by Henry VIII. Repression of national sports must, however, necessarily be transitory, and as each generation passed away the love of cards was transmitted in succession. They became an indispensable adjunct to Christmas entertainments, and the Squire of Queen Anne's time possessed, we are told, an almost superstitious regard for cards, never playing till the festive season came round, and then the family pack was produced from the mantel-piece with due solemnity. Stevenson, an old writer of Charles the Second's time, says: "The country maid leaves half her market, and must be sent again if she forgets a pack of cards on Christmas Eve."

Dun in the Mire.

A diversion that caused much frolic was "Dun in the Mire," and was played thus:—A log of wood representing "Dun," or the cart horse, was brought into the middle of the room. Then a cry was raised that "Dun has stuck in the mire," and two of the company went to pull him out, either with or without ropes. These called others to their assistance till the whole company, perhaps, were making a great show of lifting and pulling, the merriment really arising from the sly efforts of each to let the log fall on his neighbour's toes. Old writers often mention the game, and our great dramatist, in "Romeo and Juliet," act 1, scene 4, makes Mercutio say to Romeo:

> Tut, dun's the mouse, the constable's own word,
> If thou art dun, we'll draw thee from the mire.

Handy Dandy.

"Handy Dandy" was a simple game. One of the party concealed something in his hand; if his friend guessed rightly in which hand it was he won the article, if wrongly he lost an equivalent. This is a schoolboy game now-a-days, but it was sufficiently important then to be noticed by Piers Plowman, by Brown in his Pastoral, who tells us how "boys with pibbles play at handy dandy," and in "King Lear," act 4, scene 6, Shakepeare alludes to it when he makes King John say to Gloucester: "Look with thine ears—see how yond justice rails upon yond simple thief. Hark, in thine ear; change places; and, handy dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief?"

Shoeing the Wild Mare.

Herrick mentions another game, "Shoeing the Wild Mare," about the precise nature of which antiquarians differ. Brand, in his "Popular Antiquities," says that "it appears the wild mare was simply a youth so-called, who was allowed a certain start, and who was pursued by his or her companions with the object of being shod if he, or she, did not succeed in outstripping them." Most likely the shoeing was done in some rough

fashion, but this is Herrick's allusion to it:

> Christmas sports, the wassail bowl,
> Of blind man's buff, and of the care
> That young men have to shoe the mare.

Cap Verse.

Another game, more difficult one would think two centuries ago than now, was "Cap Verse," in which one gave a word or line to which another had to find a rhyme on pain of forfeit. This pastime, sometimes called "Cento Rhymes," is capable of affording in modern times a very great amount of amusement when material is plentiful.

The Game of Goose.

For the children there was introduced in bygone days the game of "Goose." Goldsmith has, in his "Deserted Village":

> The pictures framed for ornament and use,
> The twelve good rules, the Royal Game of Goose.

Strutt says in his "English Games and Pastimes" that it was played by two persons, although it readily admitted of many more, and was well calculated to make the young people sharp at reckoning the sum of two given numbers. The table was about the size of a sheet almanack, and was divided into sixty-two compartments, arranged in spiral form, with a large open space in the centre marked with the number 63, the other compartments being numbered from 1 to 62, inclusive. The game was played with two dice, each player throwing in turn, and marking with a counter whatever number the dice cast up. Thus, if there was a four and a five, he marked nine, and so on till the game was completed. The number 63 had to be reached exactly, and should the player exceed it he had to reckon back and throw again in his turn.

Blind Man's Buff.

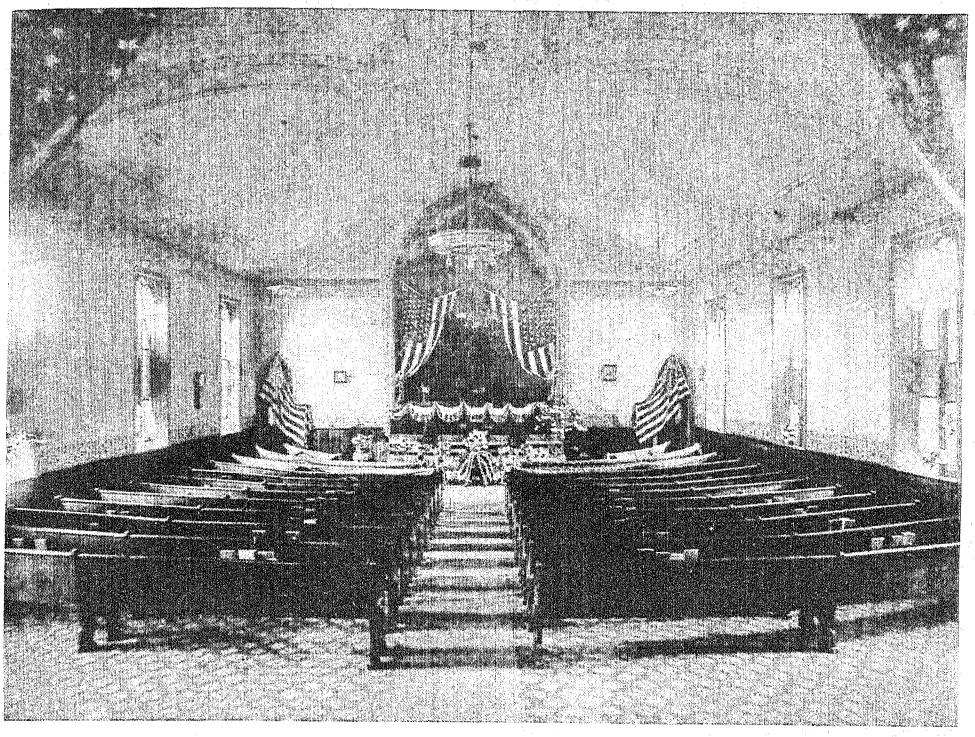
"Blind Man's Buff," if learned folks speak true, may claim a vast antiquity. The first blind man, it is said, was Polyphemus, the cave-dwelling giant whom Ulysses met on his wanderings, and who ate Ulysses' men. Thereafter, as all schoolboys ought to know, Ulysses made the giant drunk, and pushed out his one eye with a pointed stick. Then the first blind man's buff began. Ulysses and his men had to get out of the cave. They did it by fastening themselves under the bellies of the giant's sheep, one man to each sheep, and as the giant only felt the sheep's backs, they all won safe away.

Miscellaneous Games.

Another amusement, and one that was very popular, was to empanel a jury, whose duty it was to find the churl of the parish; their finding doubtless represented much local feeling, but would in most cases be the true verdict. It was customary to "hold up hands and spoons out of porridge and pyes" in remembrance of absent friends. According to Machyn, Lord William Howard's Men of Misrule, in Westmoreland, about 1615, went so far as to carry on their antics in Church during the time of divine service, playing at bowls with puddings and pyes in the aisles, and did many unseemly things, which the minister tolerated "because he doth ordinarilie dine and suppe at the Lord Willyam's table, but never prayes with him."

Besides all these our ancestors amused themselves with bull and bear baiting, "loaf stealing," and of course music and dancing; whilst among the quieter sports, which considering the portentous length of the festive period—from Doling Day, December 21st, to St. Distaff's Day, January 7th—must have been a welcome and necessary relief from the prodigious cheer and romping on a larger scale so dear to our respected ancestors, were ghost and fairy stories, practising charms, dice, chess, and tables, all of which latter amusements are mentioned in one of the "Paston Letters"—December 24th, 1484, as suitable for a house of mourning by Lady Morley, who having lost her lord the previous July, expressly orders that "her folk" were to have "none disguisings, nor harpings, nor lutings, nor singings, nor none loud disports."

Gambling seems to have been a great amusement at this time. The practice is alluded to perpetually; in fact, the gambling of the King and Royal family in public, at the Groom Porter's in St. James's Palace, notorious in the days of Charles II. lasted down to the reign of George III. by whom it was finally discontinued. It was one of the privileges of the Groom Porter in those days to provide dice, cards, etc., for the Court, to decide disputes at cards, dice, bowling, etc., and finally, to keep an open gaming table at Christmas for all comers, from the King and Royal family downward.



INTERIOR OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AT CAMBRIDGE.



MR. EASTLAND'S RESIDENCE AT CAMBRIDGE.



JOHNSON'S DRUG-STORE AT CAMBRIDGE.



HUNT, JOHNSON & TAYLOR. GROCERY-STORE AT CAMBRIDGE.

MAKING THE BAD CHILD GOOD

A bad child is a problem which concerns not only the family and the immediate neighbourhood in which it lives, but, as it forms the axis upon which the future of the nation revolves, it is a problem for the people at large to consider. The little one, being the man or woman of tomorrow, constitutes the most valuable asset of a nation. An eminent authority upon children, a man who has spent the best part of his life in studying boys and girls, has gone to the length of pronouncing that the child is not only the most inestimable asset of a nation, but is the State itself. Naturally, it is of paramount importance that a nation should look after the education and training of its normal children; endeavor to correct the bad child and implant within him the germ of goodness; and, so far as is possible, even make the defective child a useful member of society. The relative importance of the child to human society renders the making of a bad child good the most momentous question of the day.

A bad child is often compared to a weed in the garden. Weeds, though they ruffle the temper of the gardener and bring upon themselves the fate of being stamped out of existence, yet have their uses, as present-day science is daily demonstrating. The bad child, likewise, is not an entirely barren proposition. Victor Hugo realized this fact years ago when he made Jean Valjean, the hero of his novel, *Les Miserables*, deliver a homily upon the characteristics of the nettle. According to him, the young, tender shoots of this noxious weed made excellent greens. It was only when the branches grew old and tough that it became a pest to mankind. Thereby Victor Hugo plainly indicated that if the bad human child is taken in hand during the formative period of its life, its faults can be corrected and it can be rendered a useful member of society. This is a dictum which the expanding science of sociology is more and more firmly establishing, and which is enlisting the closest attention of all intelligent men and women of the civilized world.

There are those who resent the comparison of a bad child with a garden weed. They assert that a bad child is merely a flower that has been left to grow as it would, and has ended by reverting to a wild state. Proper attention will bring it back to its state of perfection and beauty. They declare that there is no such thing as a bad child. What is commonly called a bad boy or girl is merely a child which, through lack of proper parental training and good environments, has reverted to a state of semi-barbarism. Loving, watchful, tender care will make it as fine in character as though it never had merited the name "bad".

Hitherto society has preferred to weed out the bad child rather than engage itself in making it good. The delinquent and the defective child has been allowed to grow as it might, and, when developed to manhood or womanhood, it showed the least inclination to fall away from social regulations, it has been visited with Mrs. Grundy's ire and sent to jail, and sometimes to the hangman. The worst part of the old way of dealing with delinquent children lay in the fact that, though punishing them as criminals for alleged crimes, society was not content with the punishment, but continued to brand them as outcasts when they emerged from jail, after having paid the price of their folly, thus making it impossible for them to be anything but bad, so long as they lived.

This was a pre-eminently short-sighted policy, and the enlightened communities are today waking up to realize its banes. The building and maintaining of gaols costs money. Besides, the bad child, like the weed, goes to seed and breeds abundantly of its kind. Thus society, under the old regime, not only taxed itself to guarantee the living expenses of bad mem-

bers which it consigned to penitentiaries and significantly failed in making them useful citizens; but also directly contributed toward the propagation of more criminals by permitting bad children to contaminate others, and by imprisoning the little ones who had committed some slight depredations, along with hardened criminals, thus submitting them to an influence which was mephitic, and which never failed to taint their entire afterlife.

Society, within the past decade, has come to realize that it is infinitely cheaper to conduct a reformatory than to keep up a jail, still cheaper to keep the bad child out of reformatories and appoint a probation officer who will help it to overcome temptation, and by sane guidance and counsel, assist it over the rough places in life, engender in it healthy habits of body and mind, develop its normal appetites and discourage abnormal tastes; and by securing the co-operation of its parents in making it a valuable member of society, not only save the child from crime, but also materially contribute to the moral and material uplift of the parents or legal guardians of the child. For the probation officer often is obliged to take in hand the educating of the parents along hygienic and aesthetic lines in order to make it possible for them to provide an environment that will be beneficial to their child, and thus, in uplifting the child, the family and the entire neighbourhood is uplifted.

In child saving propaganda it is more and more being learned that it is a perilous thing to put the bad boy or girl in an institution and thus permit it to become insti tutionalized. Bad boys and girls who grow up in a charitable establishment live automatic lives. When the time comes for them to leave the institution, they find themselves at sea, utterly unable to man their barge of life. It is difficult for them to dissociate themselves from the routine and regulations of the institution, to break habits of dependence and to take themselves in hand and independently set out in life.

These banes of institutionalism make it imperative upon the child saver to endeavor to make the bad child good without removing it from the paternal roof. Or, if removal from the parental home is found necessary, to transplant the little one to the home of some conscientious, kind-hearted and intelligent persons who will act as foster-parents to it and co-operate with the probation officer appointed by the State to work for the regeneration of the unregenerate one.

The probation idea was evolved in the United States of America and it is there that it can be seen in operation in its highest and best forms, although today it has been copied by practically every enlightened nation interested in saving the child of today in order to provide a splendid manhood and womanhood for tomorrow. The Juvenile Court had its inception in the brain of a Chicago woman, Mrs. Lucy L. Flower. She interested the members of the Chicago Woman's Club in the idea, and their support led to the enactment of the Juvenile Court Law, largely through the efforts of the late Judge Harvey B. Hurd, who has been called the Father of the Juvenile Court. The development of the idea has received a great deal of attention throughout the United States, notably of Judge Ben. B. Lindsay, who has made his Juvenile Court at Denver, Colorado, the Model Court of its kind in the world.

The idea of the Juvenile Court is to remove the child who is going wrong entirely from the taint of the jail, and treat it as a child rather than as a criminal. Instead of being herded in an ordinary jail with criminals of every description who would teach it to do things it never would have dreamed of without being contaminated by them, the little one who has committed a depredation, perhaps only in childish play rather than from viciousness, is taken to a Juvenile Home, where only children are cared for. Here it is kept until the Judge of the Juvenile Court can look into its case and judge what is the best thing to do for it. More than likely it is placed under the care of a probation officer and sent back home to be cared for by the parents : but, if after repeated trials, the child still fails to reform, then it is sent to an industrial school where it will be subjected to the necessary discipline and at the same time will be taught a useful trade. At the industrial school the child is considered as an individual rather than as one of a common herd, to be treated all alike. It is studied carefully, and when it is discovered in what

direction its talent seems to lie, it is trained along lines that will bring out all the good that is latent in it. At the same time the bad qualities are starved out for lack of expression.

The probation system constitutes the central idea of the Juvenile Court, and the functions of a probation officer are many. The delinquent child is intrusted to his care, and the law gives him authority over the small charge which exceeds even that of the parents themselves. He looks after the conduct of the little one and makes regular reports to the Court regarding its behaviour. He persuades it to lead a moral and upright life. He decides as to whether or not the parental home is a healthy environment for the child. He has the power, backed by an order of the Court, to take away the child from parents who are incapable, for any reason, of bringing it up properly. It is his duty to select fosterparents for the child or place it in an institution. If he finds that he can improve the surroundings of the child by uplifting the parents, he sets in to do this. But in all his work he never loses sight of the fact that the saving of the child is his prime duty, and that the child belongs as much, if not more, to the State than to its own parents.

Judge Lindsay recently remarked: "When parents and the State do their full duty toward the child, there will no longer be any use for the Juvenile Court;" but so long as it happens that children are born to parents who are inefficient to take care of them and develop them into law-abiding and useful citizens, it is imperative that the young boy and girl charged with crime should be rescued from the ordinary court and from the usual punishment—a term in jail—and tried by a Juvenile Court Judge, as a child, and not as a criminal—a Judge who will be eager to give the child the chance to outgrow its badness and become a good citizen.

The whole fabric of the Juvenile Court is based on the idea that a delinquent or an erring child should be treated as a child and not as a confirmed criminal. Judge Lindsay says:

"All children are entitled to chilhood. The question is not, what is best for the law, but what is best for the child. Correct the child as a child and not as a criminal. My duty is to make the child a good citizen; and I try to teach the child to want to do right, to dare to do right. Ask the child: 'Is it right to steal, do you want to be a thief?' and he will understand you; but talk to him of jails and the police and he will hate you. Our system of dealing with the child is based on force and violence. We must remember that fear of a policeman never yet made a bad child good. I do not try to make a bad child good. I show him that I do not wish to harm him, but to help him. As we strengthen the rights of the child we add to our national wealth."

These words spoken by Judge Lindsay are pregnant with potent good for society. They contain the nucleus of what the world today knows about child saving. The problem of child saving, when boiled down, resolves itself into the fact that the child is not bad because of innate badness, but merely through coming in contaminating contact with badness around it. Badness with the child is not inherent. It is rather incidental. The judge therefore exhorts: "Do not prosecute the child; prosecute the adult who helps degrade the child." Suiting the action to the words, Judge Lindsay prosecutes the mother who permits her to read cheap, trashy novels that tend to degeneration; and punishes the father who sends his son to a liquor shop to buy drink for him and thus places him on the highway that leads to drunkenness, disgrace and death. Likewise he prosecutes the bar-tender who, goaded by greed, sells wine to a child of tender years who has been sent by its parents on the mission to secure it for them. The fault primarily lies with the adult, and they are responsible for it—not the child.

What the Juvenile Court is doing today is merely to take the bad boy or girl out of the clutches of the law—for clutches they are, in every sense of the word—and place it in the hands of a child-doctor—one who, through intelligence and training, has the ability as well as the inclination to trace the causes of the child's delinquency and irrectitude and help fashion a new character, filled with goodness. The Juvenile Court is laying emphasis on the fact that each child's case should be judged on individual merits, and that the judge shall take the time and pains to investigate the history of each child and its parents and should change the environments of the young one so as to give it an opportunity to live a decent, straightforward life. The judge is the father--the preceptor of the erring little one, rather than the magistrate.

At this stage of the twentieth century the mischievous notion "spare the rod and spoil the child" is rapidly becoming out of date. The futility of "breaking the child's will" is more and more being demonstrated and a humane and intelligent treatment for the child of tender years is being advocated. Judge Lindsay, more than any other single individual, has contributed this sane method of handling erratic and so-called criminally inclined children. Judge Lindsay is himself a boyish-looking man, five feet five inches tall. He has hazel eyes, a large, well-rounded forehead, full at the temples. His head is high over the ears and his chin is short below the lips.* Persuasiveness without seeming to sermonize is the most developed trait in his character. He talks simply, tersely. He approaches the boyish charge with:

"Come, Jim, you were out on good behaviour. Let me see, I let you off twice, didn't I?"

"Yes, Jedge."

"I was good to you, wasn't I?"

"Yes, sir, Jedge, yer Honor."

"I gave you your chance, Jim, didn't I? And don't you think now—come, honest!—that you ought to go to the Industrial School at Golden?* Come, be honest!"

"Yes, sir."

"Golden is the place for you, Jim. You are too weak; you can't keep out of bad company; it's your ruin. Aint it so?"

"Yes, Jedge."

"De gang's got you, Jim, an' its a bad bunch to train with. When you come out of Golden, you' ll be a new boy. I'm going to ask you to go to Golden, on your honor, just to please me, Jim."

"Yes, Jedge."

"And here are your papers. Now, listen. If you want to run away, Jim, and throw away the papers, all right; but if you want to please me, you'll go yourself, alone, and report to the keeper at the Industrial School. Will you go?"

"Yes, Jedge."

"Take the car at the corner, Court House Square, and change at Mining Exchange—the electric connects with the steam train in the bottoms,—and so to the industrial school. Will you go?"

"Yes, Jedge."

"Alone?"

"Yes, Jedge."

"Well, shake on it. There! Good by, Jim, and when you get to Golden write me a letter that you have arrived. Shake, Jim."

The boy shakes hands with the judge and reports himself, unattended, at the Industrial School, where he is kept away from temptation and his mind occupied in learning some occupation.

The first time Judge Lindsay sent a bad boy to Golden alone, without the protection of a guard, he has admitted, himself, that he trembled as to the outcome. Everyone connected with his court, and the newspaper reporters present, thought he had gone mad. The boy he was dealing with was considered one of the most desperately bad boys in Denver. Judge Lindsay had made every effort to save him, but so far nothing had availed, and he found it necessary to send him to Golden. The happy thought struck him to put the boy on his honor, and let him make the trip alone, without sending an officer along to guard him as if he was a prisoner. He hoped by this means to stir the latent manhood in the lad and bring out the best in him. In fear and trembling he awaited word from the Industrial School as to whether the boy had reported there or not—everyone said that he would skip out and steal the money that had been given him by the judge to pay his fare to the school. To every one's surprise, and to the great relief of Judge Lindsay, the youngster, proud of the trust that had been placed in him, reported at the school with his papers, and served out his time. Since then, Judge Lindsay has adopted this plan exclusively, and out of the hundreds of boys he has sent to Golden without police guard, not one has proved untrue to the trust the Judge has reposed in him.

In cases where kindly treatment has failed to make a bad child good, it has often been found that the irrectitude proceeded from physical rather than moral causes. In such cases, under the direction of the Juvenile Court, surgical operations have been performed in order to rid the child of the physical abnormality and thus remove the cause of the moral derilictness. A London surgeon recently performed an operation of this kind. It seems

*The name of a suburb of Denver, Colorado. Here the industrial school connected with the Juvenile Court of Denver, over which Judge Lindsay presides, is situated.

that a boy of good family, who had always been surrounded by the best possible influences, suddenly began to show evil, even brutal, instincts. Everything that his parents and his friends could do to stop his wicked tendencies was of no avail, when, finally, some one suggested that the trouble might be one that a physician or surgeon could cure.

Thereupon a wellknown surgeon was consulted, who asked that the boy be sent to him for a careful examination. The surgeon conceived the notion that something might be the matter with the boy's brain, and having made a thorough examination of his head, he thought he had found the seat of the evil. Under his direction the boy was taken to a hospital where a part of his skull was removed. In a few days he was taken back to his parents, completely cured.

INDO-AMERICAN.

ECONOMICS NOT ONE BUT MANY

FEW errors have been productive of so much mischief as the common assumption that there is a fixed science of economics, holding good for all countries and all communities at the same time. The fact is, that Political Economy as it has been formulated, up to the present, is based on nothing but the principles of exchange. It is little more, at bottom, than the economics of trade—and this for the best of all possible reasons, that it has been laid down by trading nations, and visualised from the trader's point of view.

In a peasant country, however, the trader's view is not only out of place; it is positively harmful. The interests of farmer and shopkeeper are often sharply opposed. Let us picture again the fertile valleys which give birth to the peasant community. The need of tools, of pottery, and of clothing,—together with the intensive character of the labour required on the fields, which limits the area of the farmer's estate,—cause the agricultural units to inhere in a network of industrialised villages. Between farms and villages, almost all transactions can be carried on in kind. Money is scarcely a necessity. Food is paid for practically in labour. The bargain struck is of mutual service. We see this, in the small towns of many native states to-day. At the distant crossing of the highways, however, sits the trader with his money-bags. Here comes the peasant, with his grain and foodstuffs to barter for coin. He comes on a market-day, with others of his kind. The trader is in no hurry to buy. The peasant is at a disadvantage. He parts with his goods at the lowest price-level to which he can be reduced. *His loss, however, is the shopkeeper's gain.*

Now what was the whip that drove the farmer into market? Behind him stood the tax-collector, requiring payment in coin. If taxes were levied in kind, the pressing necessity to raise a certain amount of money by a certain day, might be averted, and the peasant might choose his own time for selling. But as long as taxes are taken in cash only, he must raise the amount at any sacrifice, in a given time. *Thus he has to sell, at selling-price, which is always low. But when he faces the collector of taxes, he has to pay at buying-price*, which is uniform and high. The net result, therefore, to the peasant, is a loss on every transaction. Out of this accumulating loss, he has to build up his fortunes.

Here is a capital instance of the antagonism between the Economics of the Trader and those of the Peasant. The translation from exchange in kind to barter for coin is absolutely fatal to any agricultural commonwealth, and for this reason, that it means selling at the lowest value, and paying at the highest.

We might go further, and see what it means for the peasant, when the price of grain is high in the market. *A high price for grain means* ALWAYS *that the supply is short.* A low price for grain means on the contrary that there is abundance to be had.

Those who have seen a famine district know that when the supply of grain is short, and the price high, it is not only the distant townsfolk, but even the farmers themselves, who are effectively poorer. Under present trading conditions, therefore, even when the trader is driven to pay a high price to the peasant, this high price does not connote prosperity for the agricultural commonwealth. On the contrary, it means any degree of impoverishment, up to actual famine.

This is a point on which it is necessary to be very clear, as language is at present created by persons saturated with the trader's outlook, and this leads to much confusion of thought. In America, for instance, apples lie rotting under the trees. They are not collected, because labour is dear, transport is dear, and the farmer cannot command a price that would make the outlay worthwhile. This waste is, of course, extremely regrettable, but we in India know a problem that is a good deal more acute. As long as he has the apples, the farmer and his household are effectively rich, for they have possession of food. It is only in a commercial sense that they are suffering from poverty. Now it is a good deal better to be effectively prosperous, though commercially poor, than to live in a countryside which has been drained and stripped by adjacent railways till a single bad season raises the value of food almost to its weight in silver!

How necessary it is to form clear mental images, when dealing with such questions, and how rare is the ability to do this, was brought vividly to my mind, when I heard a prominent politician state that Government ought not to collect uniform taxes from year to year, *but ought to levy a larger amount when grain fetches a high price, and less when it is lower !!!*

Nothing more perversely wrong than this could well be imagined. A trader, of course, believes that he who sells his commodity at a high price grows rich: because his own type of prosperity is to be measured in coin, and the statement holds good for himself. The very reverse, however, is true of the farmer, whose grains and foods are raised in money-value, only by their scarcity. And if a Government be compelled to take one point of view into account, to the exclusion of another, it is surely better that it should ignore the shopkeeper, than that it should ignore the peasant. The organisation of finance in an agricultural country ought rather to base itself on the economic interests of the commonwealth of producers, than on the need to replenish the distributor's till.

The same economic fallacy which assumes that money is wealth, leads to the desire to multiply ports and railways, and to turn peasants into cotton-growers, jute-growers, tea, coffee, indigo, or sugar-growers, instead of actual *bonâ fide* farmers. The peasant who grows a crop for commerce is merely a rural appanage of the shopkeeper. He is not a true peasant at all. Farmers and planters are not the same. Money is not always wealth: it is often poverty. THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE ARE ALWAYS WEALTH.

The foundation-stone of a sound system of peasant economics is that each farm should produce all that is needful for its own maintenance, and that only for foreign luxuries should a small margin of its produce have to be bartered for coin. When the taste for foreign luxuries grows strong in an agricultural people, ruin is already at their doors. The importance of trade spells death to the peasant commonwealth.

It would appear, then, that the interests of the Trader and of the Peasant are often antagonistic. There is in fact no cheap and easy Science of Political Economy,—forming a kind of Statesman's Ready Reckoner,—as we have hitherto been apt to suppose. On the contrary, those outstanding ranges of generalisation, which looked from a distance so uniformly well-established and clear, are apt, on a nearer approach, to turn into very evident optical illusions, whose apparent stability was due only to a particular point of view. Falsehood is always mischievous, and rarely more so than here; but perhaps the best way to attack it is to trace it back to the self-interest that originated it, and thus undermine the whole structure.

Even the compilation of a system of Peasant Economics would not exhaust economic truth. For the fundamental civilisations are manifold, and each has its own interests and its own needs, while all are inherent in a common national home. The work of the farmer is necessarily limi-

ted in its area. This leads to the strictly bounded field, fenced in and ditched and irrigated. The problem of the peasant, in other words, is *intensive*. The very opposite is the case of the shepherd. For the good of the animals he breeds, he must have wide grazing-lands, hence communal possession and institutions. A pasture becomes exhausted, and the tribe must move on. A nomadic civilisation at once. This is a system that will give rise easily to despotic systems of Government, for the rule of the chief of the tribe must necessarily be absolute, both when settled and on the march. The peasant-state, on the other hand, tends to be democratic and parliamentary. The interests of pastoral and agricultural communities, of shepherd and peasant, are apt to be different though entwined. But the same considerations apply in both cases, when we would compare them with the trader. Money does not necessarily mean wealth to the shepherd, any more than to the peasant. Nor does want of money necessarily mean poverty. Yet money is the shop-keeper's only standard of value, and such statements are too hard for him.

According to the clearest thinkers on the subject, there are six basic civilisations, those of the peasant, the shepherd, the fisher, the hunter, the forester, and the miner. Each of these has its own institutions, ideals and needs. The city is merely the meeting place of the six, and their point of contact with the world beyond. There is no such thing as progress for any country, except on terms of going back and re-enforcing the basic communities and their systems. To emphasise the cities and add constantly to *their* power, is merely to assist in the process of exploitation. For while the city, in an organic state of power and development, is a source of strength and wellbeing to the rural civilisation, the city overgrown or over-powerful is a disease in the body politic of the most morbid type, like cancer or plague. To try to prevent such overgrowth of the city, however, governmental interference by methods of repression would be merely childish. Can a cancer be removed by anyone who happens to see it, with the first knife that is picked up? The only way to lessen the overgrowth of cities is, not to check one or try to create another; but to strengthen the prosperity of the rural area, strengthening this, it must be remembered, in every case in its own way, and with due regard to its type—whether fisher, peasant, shepherd or what not.

Where the city is identified entirely with the interests of the shopkeeper, the trader, or (in its highest terms) the financier, and given an unchecked preponderance of opportunity for growth, it is difficult to see what is to stop the career of a country towards ruin. As an example of this, we have only to look at some of the countries of Western Europe. In England, villages are falling into decay. Farms are lapsing from cultivation. The cities are growing daily, by the drifting in of people from the country to seek employment in those great hives of manufactures called factories. These manufactures represent the interests of the shopkeeper. Their raw material is drawn from the distant parts of the earth, and their finished products are distributed to the *banias* of the whole world. By lavish expenditure on technical schools, the English cities are striving to repair the losses to human skill which have been occasioned by the decay of the old manual crafts, with their hereditary guilds. But they bid fair soon to be cities without any home supply of food behind them, and what is man without grain? In other words, real progress would lie, for England, in turning back upon the civilisation of wheat-farms and grazing-farms, not in encouraging the growth of social tumours.

Scotland was once a country in which the main significance of the city lay in the fact that it contained the school and college. These drew their scholars from the thinly scattered rural population of the whole country. To-day, this population has been largely evicted, in order to throw their holdings into the parks and shooting-areas of men of wealth. The retired financier likes, in his old age, to become the hunter: it is therefore of importance to him that the wild animals should have every opportunity of breeding in comfort and security. Equal privileges for man do not seem so necessary.

In cities like Lucknow, Benares, or Amritsar, as they were in the ages of their origin, the interests of distribution could not override those of the neighbouring

producers. The mediæval city, in this respect, always differs from the modern. We have only to look at Bombay or Calcutta, in order to learn the elements of the contrast. We live in an age of finance, an age saturated with the standards and superstitions of finance, and if we would see clearly, the first fallacy that we must be rid of, is the current assumption that price always connotes value, or that money is a true indicator of wealth. We must at all costs distinguish between commercial estimates of well-being and effective prosperity.

[For the classification of the six fundamental civilisations in opposition to an age of finance, I am indebted to the teachings of Prof. Patrick Geddes, popularising Dr. Play. For the use made of this classification, I am of course responsible.]

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

EQUATION OF NATIONALITY

NATIONALITY has an equation not unlike the well-known equation in mathematics. In the sphere of our collective existence we are required to find out the value of x in order to solve the problem of nationality—a problem complex beyond measure by reason of its implication with a score of questions that spring into existence as soon as it is grasped. To state the problem more clearly: there is a well-defined geographical unit called India, there are the inhabitants of the different provinces of India, living practically under one government, &c.; now, what is that thing which will make these equivalent to the expression, *The Indian Nation*, having a healthy and vigorous actual existence? In truth, the problem of nationality does not stand apart by itself but is resolvable into numerous intricate questions connected with the different walks of national life. It is the synthesis of numerous minor problems—social, political, educational, moral, industrial—and each one of these problems emphasizes in its own way the importance of the sphere it is connected with. A social problem aims at pointing out the urgent need of social amelioration, a political question loses no opportunity to trumpet itself into public notice and an industrial problem imperatively demands our most cautious consideration. But the Ultimate National Problem "How will the all-sided advancement of the entire nation be effected?" stands supreme in its characteristic grandeur, lording it over, nay, comprising the different minor problems that stare us in the face as we view in our respective individual way the diverse sides of the national character. There is a local grandeur, so to speak, about the minor problems that form the limbs, as it were, of the Ultimate or Final Problem but what we have chosen to denominate the Ultimate Problem is possessed of a *universal*, an *imperial* grandeur. Each minor problem though constituting an essential part or limb of the Ultimate Problem narrows its vision to a restricted area and considers itself "the monarch of all it surveys," but the final or ultimate problem commands a wide outlook, exercises a lordly superintendence over the various divisions of national life and beams forth in the halo of its own surpassing splendour. A patriot restricting his vision to one or two minor problems touching one or two sides of the national life is a patriot, if we are permitted to say so, of *local* interest—of interest that lives and moves and has its being in the circumscribed region beyond which it cannot travel, of interest that smells of uncatholicity and uncomfortable closeness. The modern age has revealed to us that the ideal patriot must watch over the different ramifications of national life, that he must warn his countrymen against evils of every description and that he must not stunt the *vitality* of his patriotism by deliberately fettering it down to an enclosed area. Such a patriot alone is able to solve the equation of nationality, to find out the x which cuts the gordian knot and to enfranchise the national life.

It has got abroad that India has entered

upon a new era, that her heart throbs in new vigour, that her pulse beats with new life. Some of us have been led to believe that she is within sight of the promised land, that she will ere long be safe in a haven which the warring elements vainly assail. Such a day shall, no doubt, be a glorious millennium for India, a day wistfully looked forward to by all true-hearted Indians. For our own part, we cannot be so morbidly pessimistic as to be slow to dream of such a day, but ours is a dreaming not quite in accord with the dreaming that ordinarily dominates.

It cannot be gainsaid that when an enslaved nation wakens to life the most glorious thing that powerfully fascinates it is political liberty. The pangs of slavery seem then to be abominable and political emancipation captivates the national fancy. Such an eager and heart-felt hankering after political emancipation is quite natural and is one of the most reliable indications of a dawning life. The absence of such a desire bodes national death; for history records that nothing stirs a nation so powerfully as love of freedom. Freedom has in all ages won the unstinted homage of the master-spirits of every nation and bards have sung her glory and martyrs worshipped her with their precious blood. The rise of a party of upholders of absolute, unqualified freedom, heralds the coming of a bright era of national life and those who demur to their creed ignore one of the most prominent psychological laws that bear sway no less over the national mind than over the individual. The desire of freedom stirs as powerfully in the breast of the Moderate as in that of the Nationalist. The manifold sufferings of the Indian nation prey upon the heart-strings of a genuine Indian, Moderate or Nationalist. But all the apparent brawls between the Moderate and the Nationalist relate to their practical methods of procedure. The creeds of the two parties are divergent on the face of them, but, in our opinion, they are essentially the same. Instead of discussing the creeds, which is far from being the aim of the present paper, we shall confine ourselves to a few things deserving of the attention of both the parties.

A careful observer will not fail to notice that our country, although it has been in a state of subjugation for hundreds of years, has nevertheless felt from time to time the *mighty* pulsations of new life. I use the word 'mighty' advisedly; for the pulsations coming in the shape of social and religious reforms, have stirred the national life to its depths with a revolutionary force. The rise of a *Kavir*, a *Nanak*, a *Tukaran* during the period of Mahomedan subjugation plainly tells us that there was something in the Indian society which was secretly leavening its inner life. To all appearance, the Indian nation was dead but there flowed among the hidden strata of its society healthy currents of life. The rise of a Rammohan Ray, a Dayananda Saraswati, a Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, a Keshub Chunder Sen, and of a patriot like Harish Chunder Mukerji during the British regime points to the fact that India although smitten by sorrows of diverse species retains still an unfailing vitality. The above were men of whom any civilised nation may well be proud, and a country which can give birth to such men cannot be irretrievably lost. But it seems to us that India though glorified in the eye of the world by the birth of such master-spirits has failed, nevertheless, to avail herself to the full of the inestimable advantages which originated in their philanthropic labours. Europe, the mistress of the modern civilised world, knows how to reap lasting fruits from the self-denial of her great men. There rises an obscure man in a corner of the country and lifts up his voice against social or political iniquities and the appreciative nation is not slow to buttress his noble cause and when he quits the scene of earthly activity his beneficent cause is not interred with him but it lives on from age to age vitalising thereby the national life and perpetuating his golden memory. But in India the contrary prevails to a large extent. The Indian national life is encrusted with an unhealthy conservatism. Whatever makes against this conservatism, thrives ill here. Although a noble cause in Europe does not always command universal support and does not infrequently meet with opposition, there is one marked trait in the character of the European nations which we Indians should endeavour to develop. A European reformer is not always looked upon as something like a messiah. He is liable to bitter persecution and his life itself is not always

safe. But the living nations of Europe and America know how to hold fast to a cause when they are convinced of its intrinsic worth. There are mighty passions at work in Europe—passions which ignore the philosophy of the "golden mean" and which either end in dreadful carnage or in total subversion of human ills. When Theodore Parker proclaimed a crusade against Slavery his life was in constant peril; but, undaunted by fear of death, he bore bravely on. Strange to say, that when the Americans who had opposed him got convinced of the heinousness of this barter of human flesh, they joyfully abolished it at an enormous pecuniary loss to themselves. We have mentioned above that the philanthropic labours of a Western reformer live on from age to age. This requires no illustration; but, if any one has doubts as to the accuracy of this statement, he may study the history of institutions like the Salvation Army of General Booth, the Young Men's Christian Association which has covered the whole world with a network of noble activity and which was originally founded by a poor apprentice to a draper and that of the Sisters of the Poor. But a noble institution founded by an Indian reformer seldom strikes deep roots. The calumny, persecution and loss of money borne by the illustrious social reformer Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar for the cause of widow-marriage were great. In fact, he was once threatened with assassination. But the noble structure he had raised at such an enormous cost crumbled away during his life-time. Persecution and opposition he braved with an unexampled fortitude and strove to convince the Pundits of Bengal of the sacredness of the cause he had espoused. His vast knowledge of the *shastras* bore down all opposition and he was led to believe that he had won a victory; but when the inner conviction demanded conformity with the outward action, the orthodox community held back. How dissimilar to the instance we have gathered from the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade! If there are ravages of stormy passions in Western countries, there are also there the golden harvests of a righteous zeal. The Western nations have the tenacity to hold on to a cause, the self-renunciation to glorify it, the courage to die by inches for its success. We have the capacity to be swayed by a noble impulse *minus* the courage to effect its realisation, *minus* the persistency to regard a cause as a glorious heritage bequeathed to the nation by a disinterested spirit. Here lies the difference between India and Europe—a great difference, indeed.

It might be argued by some that the Europeans, being in fulness of life, are able to perpetuate their institutions; whereas we, being under the ban of political serfdom, or, in other words, with our national life beating low, are not in a position to carry on a propaganda from year's end to year's end. This is a most shallow and specious view of affairs. A close insight into the real situation will reveal to us an opposite truth. We cannot tackle a work of public utility, of general well-being to the country with a firm grip, not because we are in the depths of misery but because we very seldom take pains to find out what is really conducive to our national well-being. The Europeans look upon every reform, social, political or educational, as being linked with the life of the entire nation. Whether a Miss Mary Carpenter enters upon a career of useful activity or a Dr. Bernardo gathers together the waifs of London, the Europeans have the good sense to regard every noble institution set a-foot by some private individual as a contribution to the health and vitality of the entire nation. Private enterprises of a philanthropic character are incorporated or welded with the national life. In our country a noble institution is more or less looked upon as a private concern. Leaving out of sight the case of Vidyasagar, we can still allude to several other instances. The well-known Telugu author Rai Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu is a staunch advocate of widow-marriage, and has laid out a large sum of money in opening a Widows' Home but the unselfish example of this talented and influential Telugu gentleman does not find quite a fitting support from his province. The well-known Widows' Home of Prof. Karve is another instance to the point. The genuine self-denial of Prof. Karve, we believe, (inspite of the fact that his institution is the most flourishing of all) has not elicited the appreciation of the entire nation. The nation does not seem to feel strongly that

in maintaining a Widows' Home, Prof. Karve or Mr. Viresalingam Pantulu is building the national life. We seriously doubt whether their institutions are reckoned as an *essential factor in the development of the composite national life.* Let us take the liberty to add one more instance. We are going now to speak of a gentleman, unknown to fame and occupying a humble though honourable position in society, who has been for the last twelve years carrying on a most useful public work with remarkable zeal and assiduity. It is a work for the improvement of the poor blind people. The institution he maintains is known as *Andhasram* or asylum for the blind and is located at 58, Elliot Road, Calcutta. The founder of this institution is trying in his own way to teach its inmates to read and write (in the way that the blind are taught to do so) and to do several other kinds of useful work which can help them to win their bread. But the noble founder on being questioned by us if he was sufficiently backed by the public sorrowfully answered in the negative. This useful institution is regarded as a private concern with which the *liberty-loving* Indian nation has little or almost nothing to do and it would have long ago finished its career had not the zeal of its founder been the source of a welling vitality. Is multiplication of instances necessary to point out the difference between India and Europe? Europe understands what is needful to the growth of her national life and all-hails it; we can chaffer and chatter about the philosophy of nationality but are found wanting when weighed in the balance. The gospel of action and the philosophy of patriotism are as apart from each other as the east is from the west.

Let us consider the present history of India. There are a number of institutions like those mentioned above which are of immense benefit to the country and which as we have observed, will probably cease to live or drag on a miserable existence after the death of their founders. It is true beyond all doubt that there does not flow through the country a ceaseless stream of activity maintained in the suppression of evils that are eating into the vitals of our national life. We have of late learned to look upon Englishmen as *Feringees* but it seems to us that the *Feringees* are in several respects doing more for India than the various races inhabiting it put together. Reference has already been made to the Society of the Sisters of the Poor and we do not desire to speak anything more about it in this paper. But every impartial observer cannot but acknowledge that the good which the Christian missionaries are doing to India by diffusing the light of knowledge among its masses and its benighted mountainous tribes is simply incalculable. We have left them in a state of ignorance and superstition for several hundred years, but the Christian missionaries are going to build a *New Indian Nation* (though necessarily a nation converted to foreign ways of life) out of them. In saying this we do not lose slight of the fact that the growth of a large Christian community will further complicate the Indian political problem; for Indian Christians are for the most part non-patriotic, if not un-patriotic. In short, the system, order and tenacity which prevail in the philanthropic labours of a European nation at home are not lacking to the efficient activities which a number of Englishmen are carrying on in the cause of the amelioration of India. This is the key to their success. They do not undertake anything in a haphazard way and give it up ere the ultimate object is reached. This is an object-lesson which the *Feringees* can teach us. The Indian bureaucracy may not be a perfectly convenient machinery and may be prone to defying our attempts to set it right but the labours of those Englishmen and Englishwomen who have consecrated themselves to the service of India are simply unique in character.

Let us now revert to the equation mentioned at the outset. How can we solve the equation of nationality? In order to answer this question, we must turn for a while to history. When I think of the history of our country during the last fifty years a certain natural phenomenon spontaneously rises in my mind. I feel a peculiar gratification in comparing the eventful history of our country to a vast ocean which in a storm breaks itself into colossal waves but retains no trace of them when the lull comes. This country may be likened to a sea in which the billows of reform have risen high but which like billows have pass-

ed away for ever. India has brought fourth numerous enthusiasms but the care to nurse them into maturity is conspicuous by its absence. If one reform were tenaciously clung to, the others would follow close upon its heels. Take the case of Female Education. The well-known Drinkwater Bethune was, in a deep sense of the term, the father of Female Education in Bengal, but is the college started by him in a quite flourishing condition? I mean, is the number of its students highly encouraging? The conservatism which we have mentioned in the beginning is at work in this respect. In fact, if we knew how to clutch firmly the various reforms which have from time to time been introduced into our country, we as a nation could have been far above our present helplessness. The enthusiasms of a nation must be consolidated if it is to live. The signs of life produced in a dead animal by the action of galvanism should not be mistaken for the real life which is *continuous, steady, progressive* and *organic*. A nation may feel temporarily inspired by a reformer, but to *retain* that inspiration, to *assimilate* it, to make it an abiding *factor* in the growth of its character is *life* itself. Such a retention of inspiration puts to flight all the gloom which enshrouds a people just as the darkness of night is put to flight by the crimson glory of the morning Sun.

But all this is not the discovery of *x* in the problem. Let us seek to find it out now. The shrewd Japanese hold aloft the banner of their nationality and the civilised world is giving it a most hearty salutation. But Japan has risen since Japan has been fortunate enough to discriminate her true weal, Japan has risen since Japan weeded out first the evils in her own society. It is simply astonishing to notice the remarkable celerity and undaunted firmness wherewith Japan strove against her own harmful social usages. All that stood in the way of a common national brotherhood was throttled to death and this method has not yet been abandoned by her. The next thing which this glorious Queen of the East did in the early stages of her growing nationality was to unify what we have more than once denominated *enthusiasms*. She made her enthusiasms flow together in one broad, undivided current so that they might converge with their rich fertilising powers upon the life and heart of the entire nation. Unification or rather integration of enthusiasms, of purposes, of activities is the key-stone of national greatness. Social, political and religious reforms must be linked fast. They are not to be looked upon as separate from one another. But in India divorcement of enthusiasms, of social reform from political propaganda is the canker that eats into the national life. In a word, integration of functions which is the main feature of all organic life, dominates the growth of national life also; for national life is pre-eminently *organic* in constitution. Most apparently, therefore, the power which residing in a nation can knit its diverse enthusiasms into a compact family, can establish an unbroken unity between them and can ineffaceably stamp upon the national consciousness the eternal, immutable verity that in the height of political zeal, society should not be left to itself and that social evils are the first to affect the growth of mankind,—the power which goes in among the depressed and acts as a lever in lifting them up, the power, in short, which *unifies* the national life in all its different divisions, is that which may be called the saving grace of a fallen nation, the *x* of the equation of nationality. This power is nothing but a *burning* abhorrence of wrong—wrong of every description—or, in other words, an *overmastering* sense of justice—justice to the lowest of the low—in the national mind. If this power comes to be realised, the Indian nation will cherish a well-balanced indignation of social and political disabilities. The Indian nation will, in that case, cease to devote three days to the discussion of political questions and only a few brief hours to the consideration of social grievances. If the era of the integration of national enthusiasms dawns upon this land, the Indian Social Conference will awaken as much interest as the Indian National Congress and will be as hugely thronged. Indeed, we have left society almost to itself and unless we lay an iron grasp upon the wrongs which afflict it, national regeneration will ever remain a romantic figment. The zeal which is wasted in inveighing against British Power should before all be aimed at the destruction of the Demon that is sucking the life-blood of our society. In the name of God who is the

Judge of all nations and the Author of all righteousness, India should undertake to raise the millions of her uneducated women, the number of whom in Bengal alone is 39,005,324 out of 39,215,224, to elevate the countless hordes of her depressed people, to shed warmth on the absolutely unsunny lives of thousands and thousands of her helpless widows.* These evils swaying, political liberation is a dream. The nation has forged its own chains and *itself* it must break them. The nation has bred its own evils and itself it must destroy them. To deplore foreign domination and at the same time to shut our eyes to the evils that we ourselves have engendered is a *luxury of grief*. In this most critical juncture of the national life when we are ill able to find out the real good of the country, India must be told what she is to do, what her vigorous sons and daughters must battle with, must strive against. It is the hearty desire of every sensible Indian that the youths, who have been enamoured of the ideal of National Independence, who have been, under the driving power of an irresistible impulse, facing perils with a bravery undreamed of before, on whom the spirit of Nationalism has laid a firm hold, and who have learned to 'dare and die',† could be told the real way, could be placed beyond all possibility of a misuse of energy. Who can stamp it upon their zealous hearts that national independence is only an organic growth, that it develops with the development of the inner life of the nation, that it cannot be attained by frantic attempts at flinging off the British yoke but by a healthy development of the composite national life. In fact, it is not foreign rule which weighs so heavily upon the breast of the nation (there is no intention on our part to ignore its necessary evils) as the *time-ignored* tyranny of society and if we are able to destroy this social tyranny, if we are able to extend legitimate rights to our women, to preach the gospel of social freedom to the down-trodden communities, to fence off the evils of the caste-system and to breathe new life into the offscourings of the nation, in short, if we are able to enthrone and glorify Justice in our own social organisation, we shall earn a peace and happiness which no foreign rule can seriously hurt. Let India once more educate her women as she did in the past, let India extend that justice to her depressed classes which she is demanding of her foreign rulers, let there be a thorough integration of her manifold potentialities and let society be purged of all evils the enormity of which cannot be sufficiently described and it is then and then only that India will once more shine in her primal glory, that India will once more, being thus mistress of herself, teach the world her noble religion and philosophy. Let not an overwrought zeal of independence blind us to the actualities of our situation and lead us into bogs and marshes like the delusive light of will —o'—the wisp. A *vigorous* propaganda of social reform coupled with political agitation on strictly constitutional lines and with a revival of indigenous industries is sure to usher in a period of peace and happiness which foreign rule, as already observed, cannot seriously affect. Liberty means *outgrowing* and if the Indian people can outgrow or at any rate grow equal to their rulers in all the resources of national life, it is then and then only that national independence will be possible. But this *outgrowiug* is the slow work of years and entails a tireless patience and cannot be accelerated by terrorism or anarchism; for it is highly doubtful whether terrorism or anarchism has ever done substantial good to any nation. Are we prepared to plod on in order to consolidate the Indian nation and are the Indian leaders willing to direct brave and unselfish, though wofully misguided, youngmen like the late Khudiram Bose into right and fruitful channels of activity? But the leaders themselves, if there are leaders at all, hardly seem to know the real distress of India, the hidden disease which undermines her strength and saps her vitality. The bark of Nationality needs to be rightly steered, else it is in risk of splitting on the rock of ruinous fanaticism. May India be saved from such a calamity!

CHUNI LAL MUKERJI.

* 5,435,041 out of 24,906, 324 (Hindu only) in Bengal alone. The one-year old widows also have been included.

† These were the very words said to have been used by a youngman implicated in the Manicktollah "bomb conspiracy."

"SPECIMENS OF INDIAN TEXTILES"—WHERE ARE THEY?

ACCORDING to Bolts, whose "Considerations on Indian Affairs" was published within ten years after the battle of Plassey:—

"The oppressions and monopolies in trade which have been introduced of late years but particularly within the late seven, have been the principal causes of such a decrease in the real revenues of Bengal, as may shortly be most severely felt by the Company. For the Ryots, who are generally both landholders and manufacturers, by the oppressions of gomastas in harassing them for goods, are frequently rendered incapable of improving their lands and even of paying their rents; for which on the other hand they are again chastised by the officers of the revenue and not infrequently have by those harpies been necessitated to sell their children in order to pay their rents or otherwise obliged to fly the country."

Again, the same author wrote:—

"We come to consider a monopoly the most cruel in its nature and most destructive in its consequences to the Company's affairs in Bengal of all that have of late been established there. Perhaps it stands unparalleled in the history of any government that ever existed on earth, considered as a public act, and we shall not be less astonished when we consider the men who promoted it, and the reasons given by them for the establishment of such exclusive dealings in what may there be considered as necessaries of life."

It is recorded by Bolts that the Indian weavers

"upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced upon them by the Company's agents, universally known in Bengal by the name of *Mutchulcahs*, have had their goods seized and sold on the spot to make good the deficiency; and the winders of raw silk, called *Nagoads*, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs to prevent their being forced to wind silk."

It is not necessary to mention all the measures which in the early days of the East India Company led to the ruin of Indian industries. But all those measures did not bring about the total extinction of Indian manufactures and industries. For after all knowledge is power and the manufacturers of England were ignorant of many of the processes employed by Indian artisans in the manufacture of their articles and wares.* The holding of the first International Exhibition in 1851 was not only an incentive to the manufacturers of England to produce articles for the Indian markets, but it indirectly afforded them an opportunity to learn the trade secrets of Indian craftsmen. The English manufacturers left no stone unturned to wring out of the Indian artists the secret processes by which the latter succeeded in manufacturing their beautiful articles.

A couple of years after the first International Exhibition, took place the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company. Several witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committees appointed to inquire into Indian affairs gave it in their evidence that English manufacturers should be afforded facilities to have an extensive market for their articles in India.

At the same time Dr. John Forbes Royle, who had been in charge of the Indian Department of the first International Exhibition, impressed upon the Court of Directors the importance of forming a Museum in London to permanently exhibit the products and manufactures of India. It is needless to say that the Court most gladly adopted his scheme, because the Museum was to be established at the expense of India and it was to afford bread and butter to a large number of the inhabitants of England. But while completing the arrangements of this Museum he died in January 1858. Dr. Forbes Watson was appointed as his successor. It was during his tenure of office that the last step leading to the destruction of Indian textile manufactures was taken.

What this step was has been very well described by Dr. Watson himself. He wrote:—

"Specimens of all the important Textile Manufactures of India existing in the Stores of the India

* "We as a manufacturing people are still far behind them (the Indians)."—Sir Thomas Munro. See *The Modern Review*, Vol. II., p. 541.

Museum have been collected in eighteen large volumes, of which twenty sets have been prepared, each set being as nearly as possible, an exact counterpart of all the others. The eighteen volumes, forming one set, contain 700 specimens, illustrating in a complete and convenient manner, this branch of Indian Manufactures. *The twenty sets are to be distributed in Great Britain and India—thirteen in the former and seven in the latter*—so that there will be twenty places, each provided with a collection exactly like all the others, and so arranged as to admit of the interchange of references when desired."

The passage which we have italicised in the above extract shows that the authorities did not possess any sense of proportion when they distributed thirteen sets in Great Britain and seven only in India.

The distribution of the seven sets in India was an afterthought. It was not the original intention of the authorities, as is evident from what Dr. Forbes Watson wrote:—

"The original intention was that the whole of the twenty sets should be distributed in this country (England.) Further consideration, however, points to the expediency of placing a certain number of them in India: 1st, because this course will facilitate those trade operations between the two countries which it is the object of the work to promote and encourage; and 2ndly, because it is possible that the collection may be of direct use to the Indian manufacturer. .....

"It seems to be clearly for the advantage of India that every facility should be given to the introduction, from this country, of such manufactures as can be supplied to the people there more cheaply* than by hand labour on the spot. The many will thus be benefited, and the hardship which may possibly fall upon the *few* will not be serious or long felt, since their labour will soon be diverted into new and, in all probability, more profitable channels.

"*The chief advantage, however, which is likely to attend the distribution in India of a certain number of the sets of Textile Specimens will, it is believed, arise from the opportunity which will thereby be afforded to the agent in India of directing the attention of his correspondent here (England) to the articles suited to the requirements of his constituents.*"

We have italicised the last paragraph, as in it the writer unmasks himself.

The places to which the thirteen sets were alloted in Great Britain and Ireland were as follows:—Belfast; Bradford; Dublin; Edinburgh; Glasgow; Halifax; Huddersfield; Liverpool; Macclesfield; Manchester; Preston; Salford and the India Museum, London. Dr. John Forbes Watson was sorry that this distribution still left "some important places unsupplied. These are, however, in almost every instance situated near to one or other of the selected localities."

Regarding the distribution of the seven sets in India, Dr. Watson recommended "that a set be placed in each of the following places, *viz.*: Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Kurrachee, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and lastly in Berar.

"With respect to the three last-named divisions either Allahabad, Mirzapore, or Agra in the North-Western Provinces, Umritsur or Lahore in the Punjab, and Oomrawattee or Nagpore in Berar, will probably be found the most suitable, but it may be left to the respective Governments of the divisions in question to decide on the exact locality."

The set for the North-Western (now the United) Provinces is not kept in any one of the cities recommended by Dr. Watson. It is kept in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, to which place it was transferred from the Allahabad Museum in September, 1878. Lucknow is not a centre of any textile industry and therefore the set is kept there!

Dr. Watson proceeded—

"Regarding the conditions on which the gift should be presented,—the first should be that due provision should be made for its permanent protection, and that freedom of access be afforded to all properly recommended and practically interested persons.

"The sets should be assigned in trust to the chief commercial authorities in the selected places, for the use not only of those connected with the district in which they are deposited, but of non-residents also, who can show a practical interest in Textile manufactures. The proposed plan of sending seven of the sets to India, diminishes the number of commercial centres in this country which will receive a copy, and it therefore becomes more necessary that those which do get one should be required to make it easy of access to agents, merchants, and manufacturers who reside in those which do not."

It was made a condition that the authorities in the selected districts should undertake:—

"That access to the work be given to any person bearing an order to that effect signed by the President, Vice-President, or Secretary of the Society of Arts; the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, or Secretaries of the Chamber of Commerce; the Chairman or Secretary of the Association of the Chambers of Commerce; the President, Vice-President or Secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Secretary of the Cotton-Brokers' Association; the Chairman, Vice-Chairman or Secretary of the Liverpool East India and China Association; by the Presi-

* As to this cheapness it should be borne in mind that the poorer classes in India for whose benefit cloth was sought to be made cheap have always used the coarser fabrics. These products, of the handlooms, are even now cheaper than Manchester goods considering that the former last much longer. But our fabrics were formerly actually cheaper in price than English textiles, as Mr. Robert Brown said before the Lords' Committee which sat before the renewal of the E. I. Company's Charter in 1813. See the January (1908) number of this review, p. 28, and the December (1907) number, p. 545.

dents, Vice-Presidents, Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, or Secretaries of such other Associations for the promotion of Commerce as now exist or may hereafter be formed; and by the Reporter on the products of India."

So it was not difficult for any one to consult the work in Great Britain. But in India the existence of this work is hardly known to 999 out of 1000 educated persons —much less to the weavers and other uneducated artisans. It would be interesting to know if the sets deposited in India have ever been consulted by even any educated Indian. These might have been consulted by some interested Anglo-Indians but not, we think, by any educated native of this country.

Since these sets were prepared at the cost of India and now, thanks to the Swadeshi movement, an impetus has been given to the textile industry in this country, is it not time and is it not fair and just that all the thirteen sets which are in Great Britain should be brought to India and kept in important centres of commerce and industry in this country? As a first step, may we not demand that the existence of the seven sets in India should be made widely known? They should be made easily accessible to all Indians actually engaged in manufacturing textile fabrics.

These twenty sets of 18 volumes each were to be "regarded as *Twenty Industrial Museums*, illustrating the Textile Manufactures of India, and promoting trade operations between the East and West, in so far as these are concerned."

Of course, it was meant more to benefit the West than the East and this Dr. Watson himself admitted, for he wrote:—

"The interests of the people in India, as well as those of the people at Home, are concerned in this matter, and *both interests must be considered.* Our remarks in the first instance, however, will apply more particularly to the latter.

"About two hundred millions of souls form the population of what we commonly speak of as India; and, scant though the garments of the vast majority may be, an order to clothe them all would try the resources of the greatest manufacturing nation on Earth. It is clear, therefore, that India is in a position to become a magnificent customer.

* * * *

"If we attempt to induce an individual or a nation to become a customer, we endeavour to make the articles which we know to be liked and needed, and these we offer for sale. We do not make an effort to impose on others *our own tastes and needs*, but we produce what will please the customer and what he wants. The British manufacturer follows this rule generally; but he seems to have failed to do so in the case of India, or to have done it with so little success, that it would almost appear as if he were incapable of *appreciating* Oriental tastes and habits.

"There are probably few things beyond the understanding of our manufacturers, but it will be admitted that some education in the matter is necessary, and that without it the value of certain characteristics of Indian ornament and form will not be properly realized. This supposes the means of such education to be readily accessible, which hitherto has not been the case, simply because manufacturers have not known with any certainty what goods were suitable. To attain to skill in meeting Eastern tastes and Eastern wants will require study and much consideration even when the means of study are supplied; but up to the present time the manufacturer has had no *ready opportunity* of acquiring a full and correct knowledge of what was wanted.

"The deficiency here alluded to, will, we believe, be supplied by these local Museums,

* * * *

"The 700 Specimens (and we again point out that they are all what is called working *samples*) show what the people of India affect and deem suitable in the way of textile fabrics, and if the supply of these is to come from Britain, they must be *imitated* there. *What is wanted, and what is to be copied to meet that want*, is thus accessible for study in these Museums."

Thus it was all from motives of philanthrophy that specimens of Indian textile fabrics were made accessible to the manufacturers of England.

But even up to the year 1866, the Indian weaving industry had not totally ceased to exist. For Dr. Forbes Watson wrote:—

"* * The British manufacturer must not look for his customers to the upper ten millions of India, but to the hundreds of millions in the lower grades. The plainer and cheaper stuffs of cotton, or of cotton and wool together, are those which he has the best chance of selling, and those which he would be able to sell largely, if in their manufacture he would keep well in view the requirements and tastes of the people to whom he offers them.

* * * *

"We know India now-a-days as a country whose Raw Products we largely receive. We pay for these partly in *kind* and partly in *money*; but India never buys from us what will repay our purchases from her, and the consequence is that we have always to send out the large difference in bullion, which never comes back to us, disappearing there as if it had been dropped into the ocean. We buy her Cotton, Indigo, Coffee, and Spices; and we sell her what we can in the shape of Textile and other Manufactures. It must not be forgotten, however, that there was a time when India supplied us largely with Textiles. It was she who sent us the famous Longcloths, and the very term *Calico* is derived from *Calicut* where they were made. She may never resume her position as an exporting manufacturer of goods of this sort, * * * This is clear, however, that it will be a benefit to the masses of

the people of India to be supplied with their clothing at the cheapest possible rate—let this be done by whom it may. If Great Britain can give Loongees, Dhotees, Sarees, and Calicoes to India which cost less than those made by her own weavers, *both* countries will be benefitted. * *

"The machinery and skill of Britain may thus do a present service to India, by supplying her with material for clothing her people at a cheap rate, an end to which these *collections* must certainly lead by showing the home manufacturer what it is that the natives require."*

Regarding this act of philanthrophy, one Christian officer wrote:—

"Every one knows how jealously trade secrets are guarded. If you went over Messrs. Doulton's pottery works, you would be politely overlooked. Yet under the force of compulsion the Indian workman had to divulge the manner of his bleaching and other trade secrets to Manchester. A costly work was prepared by the India House Department to enable Manchester to take 20 millions a year from the poor of India: copies were gratuitously presented to Chambers of Commerce, and the Indian ryot had to pay for them. This may be political economy, but it is marvellously like something else."

[Major J. B. Keith in the *Pioneer* September 7, 1898.]

It is much to be regretted that no writer on Indian economics has so far referred to the part which the holding of Exhibitions and the distribution of specimens of the textile manufactures of India have played in ruining the weaving industry of India. Perhaps the imposition of the tariff and the transit duties would not and could not have so effectually destroyed Indian industries had not the authorities made the Indian artisans betray under compulsion their trade secrets to the manufacturers of England.

Owners of cotton mills and hand-loom factories all over India should move in the matter in order that (1) the seven sets of Indian textile manufactures already in India may be made easily accessible to Indian manufacturers and (2) the thirteen sets in Great Britain may be restored to India and placed in suitable centres here. This will help greatly in the revival of genuine Indian patterns and colours.

* In this connection it is necessary to remind our readers what Mr. Tierney, a member of the House of Commons, said in a speech delivered in that House as far back as 1813 :—

"The general principle was to be that England was to force all her manufactures upon India, and not to take a single manufacture of India in return. It was true they would allow cotton to be brought; but then, having found out that they could weave, by means of machinery, cheaper than the people of India, they would say, 'Leave off weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we will weave for you.' This might be a very natural principle for merchants and manufacturers to go upon, but it was rather too much to talk of the philosophy of it, or to rank the supporters of it as in a peculiar degree the friends of India. If, instead of calling themselves the friends of India, they had professed themselves its enemies, what more could they do than advise the destruction of all Indian manufactures?"

THE KING-EMPEROR'S MESSAGE

IT is no use denying that the Message of His Majesty the King-Emperor has been, and could not but be, regarded by the Indian community as a disappointing document. It adumbrates no reforms, contains no definite promises, leaves little room for hope and gives no proof of successful grappling with the political problems that have cropped up in India as the inevitable result of the new spirit which even Lord Morley admitted is abroad in the land. It only contains some political platitudes which have been given currency to by English tacticians both Conservative and Liberal. It pales into insignificance by the side of the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria the sincerity of which cannot be doubted, and which is redolent of an aroma of sympathy which does not breathe in the Message of the King-Emperor, the latter lacking even the grace, dignity and the finish of the former. The history of the Queen's Proclamation is well-known. Writes Mr. Wilson, the author of the *Life and Times of Queen Victoria*, the Queen—

"objected strongly to the draft of it which was submitted to her, and begged Lord Derby to write one out for her in 'his own excellent language,' keeping in view 'that it was a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them after a bloody civil war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem."

Such a Proclamation should, says her Majesty, "emphasise the ideas of generosity, benevolence, religious toleration, liberty, and equality before the law. What offended her

deeply in the draft was a menace reminding the Indian people that she had 'the power of undermining' native religions and customs. Her Majesty, writes Lord Malmesbury by her directions, 'would prefer that the subject should be introduced by a declaration in the sense that the deep attachment which her Majesty feels for her own religion, and the comfort and happiness which she derives from its consolations, will preclude her from any attempt to interfere with native religions.' And a few additions were made to the draft made out by Lord Derby by the Queen.

The Proclamation of the Queen is interesting to us from more points of view than one, for rightly or wrongly for a very long time our political ambitions were based on it, and our political agitation was carried on according to its provisions. Thus its importance in our political life cannot be gainsaid.

Though attempts have often been made by English and Anglo-Indian officers of the Crown to minimise the importance of the Proclamation, and thus avoid the obligation that it imposes on those entrusted with the administration of the British Empire by calling it a political hypocrisy—a document containing pledges given to pacify a people

"Back from the Comradeship of Death,
Free from the Friendship of the Sword"

with no intention or obligation to redeem them, the people of India have declined to believe that these pledges signified nothing. On the other hand their admiration for Lord Morley was great when in presenting his first Budget in the House of Commons as Secretary of State for India he said:—

"There is a famous sentence in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 which says: 'It is our further will that so far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.' I think those words 'so far as may be' have been somewhat misinterpreted in the past. I do not believe that the Ministers who advised Queen Victoria in framing one of the most memorable documents in all our history meant those words to be construed in a narrow, literal, restricted or pettifogging sense. I do not believe that Parliament ever intended this promise of the Queen to be construed in any but a liberal and generous sense."

And it is a matter of regret to the people of India that the general principles so clearly set forth in the Proclamation have often been ignored by men in power in this country and out of it. They are sorry measures have been taken to upset and revolutionise—to break the continuity of the policy dictated by those principles which though not always acted upon and at times submerged in turbulent waves have never been openly denied to be the declared and unalterable policy of the Crown for the good government of this country.

Evidently the "cries of India" are still lost in the "remote and unheeding ocean" that separates England from her great dependency in the East, and matters are so represented there that the official view is considered to be the correct view.

That Proclamation was issued fifty years back, long before the new spirit had manifested itself, and, indeed, before European political ideas had been imbibed by Indians through the medium of schools, literary meetings, and printed books. Half a century, the present Message truly says, is but a brief span in our long annals, yet this half century will stand amid the floods of our historic ages a far-shining landmark. It has accelerated the manifestation of that unity in diversity which India had so long carefully preserved under a crust of conservatism; marked the conversion of the heterogeneous hordes of India into a homogeneous whole; watched the birth of political life in India; and witnessed the awakening of race-consciousness resulting in the eagerness of the nation to vindicate its manhood and secure for itself its proper place "in the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

The political vision of the Indian is no longer bound by provincial prejudices precluding the possibility of united action and the formation of a nation in the true sense of the word. The India of to-day is really a new India, her people being instinct with a new life, alive to a new sense of responsibility, animated with new and common aims and aspirations. "It has been," said Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Congress of 1887, "the dream of my life that the scattered units of my race may some day coalesce and come together, that instead of living merely as individuals we may some day so combine as to be able to live as a nation."

That dream has been realised, falsifying the assertions of political oracles who have so often and so glibly said that a people diverse in origin, in religion, in language, and in manners and customs can never become a nation and adding another example to the list that contains the cases of Austria and Switzerland. Indeed one is tempted to say that one discerns the dawn of what Macaulay called "the proudest day in the annals of England" when "the public mind of India may so expand under our system as to outgrow that system"; and "being brought up under good government may develop a capacity for better government," and "being instructed in European knowledge may crave for European institutions."

The Message takes no notice of the changed circumstances in the country which demand a change of policy. "Your institutions *must* be reformed," said Rickards to the "constituted authorities in England" as far back as 1832. It is time the institutions had been changed. But the Message adumbrates no such changes.

A detailed examination of the Message will convince even the casual observer that manifold misstatements have marred its utility as a political document, and that is the reason why it has failed to produce the desired effect on the people of India.

After the preamble the Message automatically converts itself into a brilliant panegyric detailing the various virtues of the servants of the Crown. "Difficulties," says the Message, "such as attend all human rule have risen up from from day to day.

"They have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep devotion and counsel, and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. If errors have occurred the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy."

How one wishes such had been the case always! That servants of the Crown have often faced difficulties with toil and courage we are ready to admit. But patience has not always been their strong point. And one cannot pass over in silence the assertion about the correction of errors and abuses. A graver error than the Partition of Bengal has not been committed by the British in India. That has been admitted even by Secretaries of State and Viceroys, each trying to throw the responsibility on the other. Yet nothing has been practically done to correct the error, the plea of the "settled fact" being considered sufficient justification for disregarding the wishes and trampling under foot the sentiments of the people. A remedy, similarly, has not been applied to every abuse. Let us give an instance.

In a letter, dated 12th December, 1901, from the Government of Bengal to the Home Department of the Government of India, it was stated that:

"In no branch of the administration in Bengal is improvement so imperatively required as in the Police. There is no part of our system of government of which such universal and bitter complaint is made, and none in which, for the relief of the people and the reputation of Government, is reform in anything like the same degree so urgently called for. The evil is essentially in the investigating staff. It is dishonest and it is tyrannical."

The Indian Police Commission presided over by Sir Andrew Fraser, who as Lieutenant-Governor took a pride in being called "the Policeman's friend," quoted this letter in their Report, and said:—

"The Commission desire, as the result of their inquiries, emphatically to record their full concurrence in the views of the late Sir John Woodburn as above expressed. There is no province in India to which these remarks may not be applied."

"Everywhere," says the Report, "they went, the Commission heard the most bitter complaints of the corruption of the police." Then the Report adds—

"Suspects and innocent persons are bullied and threatened into giving information they are supposed to possess. The police officer, owing to want of detective ability or to indolence, directs his efforts to procure confessions by improper inducement, by threats, and by moral pressure. Actual physical torture is now rarely resorted to; but it is easy, under the conditions of Indian society and having regard to the character of the people, to exercise strong pressure and great cruelty without having recourse to such physical violence as leaves its traces on the body of the victim. Some times suspects, whom the police officer does not desire to report as under arrest, are kept for days together under so-called 'surveillance,' which is nothing else than unauthorized confinement or restraint, a system which affords serious opportunity for malpractices. All this is done to secure evidence in support of the view which the police officer from time to time holds regarding the case. If in his opinion enough of evidence is not thus obtained to secure a conviction, he will not hesitate to bolster up his case with false evidence. Sometimes this leads to an innocent person being prosecuted through police mistakes. More often, perhaps, it leads to guilty persons escaping through the suspicion thrown on the police evidence. Many a good case has been ruined in this way, but

the police officer is unduly impelled by the statistical test to try to make his investigation end in conviction. When an investigation fails, the complainant is sometimes finally bullied or threatened into acknowledging that a mistake has been made, and that the case is 'false.' When it is successful the accused is often subjected to unnecessary annoyance: the law about bail is overlooked, the rules limiting the use of handcuffs are forgotten, and no serious effort is made to treat the accused with that consideration as to his food and comfort to which (with due regard to the interests of justice) he is entitled until he is convicted. What wonder is it that the people are said to dread the police, and to do all they can to avoid any connection with a police investigation?"

Such was the opinion arrived at by the Indian Police Commission. But what was the remedy applied? If our memory does not play us false, the other day a member of the C. I. D. on being asked in a court of justice if he had not on a previous occasion been censured by a dispenser of justice, impertinently replied that that had not stood in the way of his promotion. And the Comilla Shooting Case and the Midnapore Conspiracy Case are too recent to be forgotten. But what exemplary punishment has been inflicted upon the Police officers who have not hesitated to sully the reputation of the Government, and drag into the mire its prestige with the people? What remedy has been applied? The Government of India is a bureaucracy; and as Mr. Lilly, formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service, has put it, "dislike of change is a leading characteristic of bureaucracies."

When speaking of the servants of the Crown the Message overlooks the fact that the Indian Service however efficient is too costly for the people. Aberigh Mackay missed two people at the Delhi Assemblage of 1877. And he wrote with his usual brilliance:

"All the gram-fed secretaries and most of the alcoholic chiefs were there; but the famine-haunted villager and the delirium-shattered, opium-eating Chinaman, who had to pay the bill, were not present."

Mr. Blunt in his *Ideas about India* puts it thus:—

"It is unnecessary for me to argue out the question of the excessive costliness of the civil and military establishments of India. These are notorious in the world as surpassing those of all other countries to which they can be fairly compared in the present time or the past. And, although they may also lay claim to be the most efficient, it does not prevent them from being a vast financial failure. It is a perpetual astonishment to travellers to note the scale of living of every Englishman employed in India, in however mean a capacity. The enormous palaces of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, their country houses, their residences in the hills, their banquets and entertainments, their retinues of servants, their carriages and horses, their special trains on their journeyings, their tents, their armies of retainers and camp followers—these are only samples of the universal profusion; and equally noble hospitality reigns in every bungalow on the plains; and endless dinners of imported delicacies, with libations of imported wines, tempt night after night the inhabitants of the most solitary stations to forget the dismal fact that they are in Asia and far from their own land."

And who but the perishing people of India, with whom famine is the horizon and insufficient food the foreground, pay for this?

After describing the Indian village which is a dreamland of plenty, Mr. Aberigh Mackay said:—

"Amid this easeful and luscious splendour the villager labours and starves. Reams of hiccoughing platitudes lodged in the pigeonholes of the Home Office by all the gentlemen clerks and gentlemen farmers of the world cannot mend this. While the Indian villager has to maintain the glorious phantasmagoria of an imperial policy, while he has to support legions of scarlet soldiers, golden chuprassies, purple politicals, and green commissioners, he must remain the hunger-stricken, over-driven phantom he is.

'While the eagle of thought rides the tempest in scorn,
Who cares if the lightning is burning the corn?'

If Old England is going to maintain her throne and her swagger in our vast Orient she ought to pay up like a—man, I was going to say; for, according to the old Sanscrit proverb, You can get nothing for nothing, and deuced little for a halfpenny. These unpaid-for glories bring nothing but shame."

So even if we admit that the servants of the British Crown in India have faced all difficulties "with toil and courage and patience, with deep devotion and counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken", we cannot help saying that the excessive costliness of the service alone is enough to explain why it cannot be popular with the people, who have to pay for it.

In one of his Budget speeches Lord Curzon said:—

"We all look at the progress of the cart, and observe with shrill cries whether it is sticking in the ruts or getting on. But few spare a thought for the horse until perhaps it staggers and drops between the shafts."

Such is the case here. The outsiders admire the glowing gorgeousness of the service, and the Emperor speaks, in accents of admiration, of its many merits; but no one spares a thought for the Indian poor, the patient, humble, silent millions who pay to

maintain the gorgeousness and the efficiency of the service to which the English youth, to whom

"—the slow toil of Europe seems tiring,
And the grey of his fatherland cold,"

is easily attracted, and, as is not unoften the case, die of hunger to pay.

Yet while these men die of starvation the well paid servants of the Crown are paid compensation allowances in addition to their pay! One is tempted to say:—

"Give to poor men, son of Kunti—on the wealthy
waste not wealth:
Good are simples for the sick man, good for
nought to him in health!"

HEMENDRAPRASAD GHOSH.

INDIA'S MILITARY PROBLEM

ON the continent of Europe, there exists a system of military service known as conscription. Every family is bound to contribute one of its members to the army to learn military tactics and discipline to serve the country in the hour of its need. In this way the youths of the nation are prepared to defend their hearths and homes against any possible invasion of an enemy.

In England there is no system of conscription, but in its stead, the natives of that country have the systems of militia and volunteering. Conscription is, of course, compulsory but not so volunteering or militia. Since the Boer War there have been many influential natives of England who have advocated the introduction of conscription in their country. They are considering the means of arresting the physical deterioration of their nation and also measures for the defence of their country.

But how fares India under the rule of England so far as her military problem is concerned? In India there is no system of conscription, volunteering or militia for the native. It was in 1885, when the Panjdeh scare was at its height, that the princes and people of India to show their loyalty to the British raj offered—the former to raise corps and place the same under the Indian Government for Imperial defence—and the latter their services to serve in defence of their country. The offer of the princes was immediately accepted, but that of the people was forthwith rejected.

The Indian National Congress came into existence after that event. In its early days it also petitioned the Government to permit Indians to enroll themselves as volunteers. But as was bound to be the case, the mendicancy of the Congress was of no avail—the prayers of that body fell on the deaf ears of the officials from the Viceroy downwards. But one of the officials, General Sir George Chesney, after his retirement from India, published a new edition of his "Indian Polity" in which he devoted some pages to the Indian National Congress. Of course, this bureaucrat would be false to his Anglo-Indian creed if he were not to ridicule and abuse the Congress, and he did so to his heart's content and to the delight of his co-bureaucrats. Referring to the question of volunteering, General Chesney asked why volunteering should be permitted to the natives of India, while it is not permitted to the natives of Ireland in Ireland! Well, it is the brain of an Anglo-Indian bureaucrat only which could secrete such an argument. Of course, the natives of Ireland are a conquered people and therefore England has imposed many disabilities on those natives. In Ireland, volunteering does not exist and therefore nobody can consider it a grievance not to be enrolled as a volunteer.

But India in the first place is not a conquered country, and in the next place, volunteering exists in India, from which only pure-blooded Hindus and Muhammadans are excluded. The native Christians if they assume English names and Parsees under certain conditions are allowed to enlist in the volunteer corps existing in this country. It is, therefore, a great grievance to the Hindus and Muhammadans who form the large majority of India's

population to be excluded from volunteering. To be fair and just to them and in order that all the subjects of His Majesty may be treated alike, it is necessary that all the inhabitants of India without distinction of caste, creed or color should be considered eligible for admission into volunteer corps; or if necessary, separate corps may be raised for Indian volunteers.*

As in England, so in India, there should be volunteer corps composed of students of colleges and schools. Education to be perfect should aim at the harmonious development of all the faculties of the human being. Military training is one of the means of such a development. Discipline cannot be properly learned without military training. It will also to a great extent allay the unrest among students.

The Boers have shown what militia can do in actual warfare. Instead of keeping large standing armies, the civilized countries of the world maintain militia corps. England has an establishment of militia. But in India, there is no such establishment. If the system of militia were established in India, the military expenses would be very materially reduced.

The writer on the Native Indian Army in the 8th volume of the *Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* referring to the absence of corps of militia in India says:—

"Our whole military organization stands at present exclusively on the basis of a 'standing' army—which forms, so to speak, the beginning, the middle, and the end of the system. It has no reserve, † and no support in the country of any kind to fall back upon. Such an army organization stands alone, we believe, without example in the modern world; and surely nothing can be opposed to the whole theory and practice of modern European nations, including England herself. We may go further, and venture to add that in our former history, such a standing army never existed in India. In ancient times under Hindu rule, our Kshatriya and Rajput classes served not only to provide sufficient material for the standing army of the country, but also furnished the reserve force in the system, occupying very much the same position which the 'landwehr' and the 'land sturm' do in the German system. Later on, in modern times, under Mahomedan and Mahratha rule, the Rajputs and Mahrathas did similar service."

But there can be no system of volunteering or militia established in India, unless Government repose confidence in the people of the country and repeal the much detested Arms Act. The writer who has been quoted above truly observes:

"It should also be remembered that throughout this period, the population was armed, and therefore was in a position to supply in an emergency a never-failing reserve of fighting material."

The learned writer then proceeds to the considerations which

"bring out the true gravity of the mistake committed in our exclusive dependence on a mercenary standing army, without a basis or support in a natural reserve or militia, and acting only as an accessory branch of an imperial army located 10,000 miles away."

According to this writer,

"There are special circumstances connected with the present condition of India, to which we cannot afford to shut our eyes.

"(1) There is first the fact which we have on the authority of Sir R. Temple, namely, that the martial spirit of several Indian races, once famous as warlike and brave, is gradually dying out. Whatever may be the true explanation of it,—whether it is due to the working of the Arms Act, or to the effects of British peace, or to the growing poverty of the people, the fact remains undisputed, and has to be reckoned with, particularly in view of prospective difficulties and struggles on the frontiers with races and powers of first class importance.

"(2) There is next the difficulty caused by distance from England, which would alone preclude any sanguine hope of timely help in the hour of need. * *

"(3) There is further the possibility of complications in Ireland nearer home, and breaking out simultaneously with disturbances on the Indian frontiers. * *

"(4) Again, the far-seeing military policy of incorporation adopted by Russia in her Asiatic possessions, which aims at enlisting, on behalf of her hold on Asia, and also for the purposes of political expansion, the martial instincts and the military talents of her subject races, this policy requires the most watchful attention of the Government of India."

The arguments of the learned writer are as strong to-day as they were when advanced about a quarter of a century ago. But the British Indian Government have never cared to bestow any thought on the subject. To quote the above writer again—

"It is quite clear that the petty arts of official subterfuge, which seek guarantees for safety and defence in the conflicting feelings and interests of race, creed,

* A learned writer (whose identity can be very easily recognised) in the eight volume of the *Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha*, speaking of the volunteer movement, said:—

"What is peculiar to this country is that the Indian corps are composed of Europeans or Eurasians exclusively. The privilege is thus accorded only to the members of the ruling race, and denied to the native subjects of Her Majesty. This exclusion of the native element from the Volunteer system of the country is in our judgment unfair and impolitic and furnishes a legitimate ground of complaint on the part of the more intelligent classes of the community. It seems to cast an undeserved slur on the loyalty of the people, and creates feelings of suspicion and distrust where they ought not to exist, and gives rise to false and unfavourable impressions in foreign countries, near and remote, regarding the relations between the rulers and ruled in India. Further, the natives of the country,—* * are beginning to think that they have a right—a moral and a constitutional right to claim the full privilege of British citizenship, and to ask to be allowed to share equally with her Majesty's British subjects the honors and toils of citizen-service." (pp. 39-40).

† There is a system of reserve, but this is not of much use.

and class, will ill meet the demands of a serious military crisis on the N. W. frontier."

The writer summed up his proposals as follows:—

"(1) That the Native Army should be made as *national* as possible in composition, tone, and character. The present policy of foreign recruitment is in many respects a grievous wrong, and must be abandoned. * *

"(2) That a strong reserve and national militia be created as necessary supports of the standing army,* *

"(5) That the voluntary movement be encouraged."

None of the above proposals can be given effect to, unless confidence be reposed in the people of this country and also the Arms Act be repealed or its rigour relaxed.

The Native Indian Army, because it is not *national* in constitution, and because its loyalty is not relied upon, is therefore not so efficient and strong as it ought to be. The above writer has truly observed:

"The practical effect is that our native army is gradually deteriorating in quality from a moral, if not from a physical point of view. While the higher and better classes do not enter the service, and stand apart, excluded from, and unattracted to, it on its present basis, it is driven to draw its strength, more and more, from the needy, hungry, and lower classes of the population. In consequence of such a radical change in the character of its material, a distinctly lower tone is coming to be imparted to our military organization, in its native branch at least. The soldiers are held more and more to the national colors by what is appropriately called the 'bondage of the salt,' and less by the stronger tie of a lively sense of duty and honor. * *

"It is thus, we believe, that it has come to pass that our native soldiers leave the service as they enter it, in no way improved by the discipline. Pay, in the absence of higher prizes, becomes the ruling motive from beginning to end, enlisting for money, serving for money, and leaving with the hope of money. There are no higher prospects to strike their imagination, or elevate their minds beyond considerations of paltry pay and pension. The soldiers thus circumstanced, must be thoroughly mercenary in their loyalty. They are loyal to the salt they eat, and loyal to the Government that feeds them, but of that higher sentiment of loyalty, warm and single-minded devotion to duty, to the national cause, to the national flag, * * no larger measure can, we fear, be expected in this condition from them, human nature being what it is."

The operation of the Arms Act is making the people emasculated and so good recruits are very difficult to obtain in British India. In the *Modern Review* for July 1908, Mr. Nepal Chandra Roy has advanced some very strong arguments in favour of the repeal of that Act.

It may be very safely predicted that much of the unrest which is now visible in India would disappear as the morning mist before the rising sun, if the Arms Act were repealed and Indians allowed to form corps of volunteers and militia, and admitted to the grade of Commissioned Officers—not only as jemadars and subedars—but Captains, Majors, Colonels, &c.

Conclusion.

We consider India's military problem so important that during the last eighteen months we have tried to discuss it in all its different aspects. It is such a vital problem that on its right solution depends not only India's financial stability but also the manhood of the nation. It is more important than the expansion of the Legislative Councils, the establishment of the Advisory Councils or even the Council of Notables. More attention should be paid to the subject than it has hitherto attracted. The representative assemblies of this country such as the Indian National Congress and the different Provincial Conferences have not so far bestowed any consideration on this question, which its importance deserves. It is a matter of deep regret that the Indian press also have not considered it worth their while to discuss the question.

We present a summary of the subject in all its different bearings as it concerns the interests of this country.

I. Recruiting.

The Native Indian Army should be recruited from every race, creed and caste of India. No such distinction as fighting and non-fighting races or castes should be recognized by the Indian authorities, but every one of His Majesty's subjects should be considered eligible to enter the Army provided he is physically and morally fit to perform the duties of the soldier. The enlistment of foreign mercenaries and men who are not inhabitants of British Indian provinces should be discontinued.

II. Officering.

The Native Indian Army is at present officered by British and Indian officers. The former hold the King-Emperor's, but the latter the Viceroy's Commission. The duties performed by native officers are those of warrant officers belonging to British regiments. Their pay is very small compared with the emoluments of the white officers. It

is highly desirable in the interests of India, that the native officers should be educated men belonging to respectable families. They should be trained in some institution like Sandhurst or Woolwich. The Duke of Connaught when he commanded the Bombay Army, proposed the establishment of an institution like Sandhurst in India. Unfortunately this proposal was not given effect to. It is highly desirable that an institution like the above should be as soon as possible established in this country to which persons of education should be admitted for instruction and training. If they are found qualified and suitable in other respects they should be granted commissions not as jemadars but as Second Lieutenants and Lieutenants. They should commence their service on a pay of 100 Rs. a month and this should increase with their promotion to higher grades and it should not be less than two-thirds of the pay of British officers of similar rank and standing in the service.

As the number of Indian commissioned officers increases, the number of British officers attached to Indian regiments should be reduced till the proportion of British to Indian officers in a regiment stands at one to four respectively.

An opening will thus be created for the educated youths of India; and much of the unrest and discontent now visible will disappear. Unless this is done, that is, the commissioned ranks of the army are thrown open to the children of the soil, it should not excite surprise if the Queen's Proclamation be looked upon as so much waste paper.

The Romans conquered like savages but governed like philosophers. We read in Gibbon—

"The grandsons of the Gauls, who had besieged Julius Caesar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquility of the State, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness."

But what is the picture of the British rule in India? Why, the grand-sons of those who with their valour, blood and wealth helped the British in establishing their supremacy in India are rigidly excluded from all ranks of trust and responsibility, honor and glory. Certainly it would not redound to the credit of the British Administration of India if some future historian like Gibbon had to write of the rule of England in India that England found India weak but made her weaker and emasculated and excluded her inhabitants from the military affairs of their own country.

III. The Sepoy.

Jack Sepoy is a very patient and docile creature and therefore he is not treated so well as he deserves to be. Writes Lecky:—

"A people who are submissive, gentle and loyal fall by reason of these very qualities under a despotic Government."

From the earliest times of the rise of the British power in India, although the Sepoys have been very loyal and faithful to the British and contributed materially to the establishment of their power, they have been mercilessly treated whenever they have been guilty of any offence however trivial. Since the suppression of the Mutiny and the reorganization of the Indian Army, much power has been vested in commanding officers of native corps, which power if they do not actually abuse, they, at least a great many of them, use in such a way as even the most despotic ruler of any portion of mankind could not have very safely ventured to exercise.

It is necessary to revise the Indian Articles of War and bring it in conformity with the Military Law of England. The punishment of the Sepoys should not for the same offence be greater than that inflicted on the white soldier in India. Flogging should be at once abolished from the Indian Army.

The pay of the Sepoy also should be increased. Their starting pay should be at least twenty rupees a month.

The white soldier in India receives free ration. The Indian Sepoy does not get it. An invidious distinction is thus made which is not proper. To make the Sepoy contented and happy, he should also be allowed free rations.

The quarters in which the sepoys live compared with the palatial barracks of the white soldiers are very wretched and insanitary. Regarding the article "How the Sepoy is housed" which appeared in the *Modern Review* for September, 1907, Mr. W. T. Stead wrote in the *Review of Reviews* for October, 1907, as follows:—

"An article on how the Sepoy is housed contrasts the official optimism of the supreme Indian authorities with the very unsatisfactory reports tendered by the district

principal medical officers. There is certainly a strong case made out for barrack reform."

It is very necessary to improve the Sepoy's quarters. They should be constructed of *pucca* bricks and the floors also should be *pucca*. It is because the houses of the Sepoy are not built of good materials, that they suffer more from plague, consumption and other epidemic diseases than the British soldiers. The Sepoys are poorly paid and so they cannot afford to have their few household goods destroyed by the ravages of white ants, which is invariably the case in houses which are not *pucca*.

There are many other grievances and disabilities under which the Sepoys labor. A good many of them have already been indicated in the *Modern Review* for June, 1907. To make the Sepoy efficient, all his grievances should be redressed and disabilities removed.

IV. ORGANISATION OF THE NATIVE ARMY.

No secret is made that the Native Indian Army is organised on the principle of *divide et impera*. This was considered politically expedient after the Mutiny, and, to quote the words of the writer on the Native Indian Army in the 8th volume of the *Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*,

"These defects did not perhaps at the time strike the official vision, blurred and dimmed as it was in the dust-storm of what was thought to be a crisis of appalling magnitude. It is none the less to be regretted, however, that the cooler and wiser judgment of the succeeding period of profound calm and peace should have left them till now unnoticed and unremedied in the light of experience, and in view of the fast-changing conditions of the situation. The main object which the military authorities had then in view was, how best to disarm the revolted soldiery, and make similar rising impossible in the future. This purpose and *raison d'etre* not only do no longer exist, but on the other hand the source of danger has shifted elsewhere and requires all available internal strength to be utilized and knit together to ward it off. Self-complacent official optimism is, however, still swayed by the influences of an unworthy military policy of jealousy, distrust, and suspicion, adopted with some show of justification immediately after the mutinies, but for which no decent excuse can now be pleaded."

It is unworthy of a nation like the British, brave, civilized and Christian, to adopt the reprehensible policy of *divide et impera* in any branch of Indian administration.

V. THE ONE THING NEEDFUL.

The one and the most important thing needed by the British Indian Government is the reposing of confidence in the Indian people instead of distrusting them. If that is done then all the departments will be reformed without any trouble. The Indian military question will be then the easiest thing on earth to solve. Trust the people—that should be made the keystone of the arch of the British Indian administration. If that is done, then the Arms Act will be immediately repealed, the Artillery will be no longer a debarred branch of arms to Indians, the commissioned ranks of the Army will be thrown open to the children of the soil, and there will be no longer any necessity of maintaining such a large garrison of white soldiers in India as is at present considered expedient. Poverty then with its concommitant evils of famine and plague, which are desolating the land, will disappear, and prosperity be restored to India.

JUTE IN BENGAL

UNDER the above title, Srijut Nibaran Chandra Chowdhry, a travelling Inspector of the Bengal Agricultural Department, has brought out a useful book which is a compendium of the reports and suggestions of Government experts on the subject of jute-growing and the jute trade. The book is of special interest to the foreign jute merchant. Mr. Chowdhry deserves the best thanks of the public for thus placing before them, the results of 30 years of labour of the Bengal Agricultural Department on jute improvement, attained at the cost of several *crores* of public money,—jute being next to paddy, the most important crop of Bengal.

All agricultural publications by or on behalf of the Government, labour under one

serious disadvantage. The jute-growing farmers, the Rayats of Bengal, who are the parties most interested, are not in touch with the work of the Department. The Agricultural Department does not recognise the necessity of giving, if they do not think it beneath their dignity to give, any importance to the experiences and opinions of the jute-growers themselves, regarding the improvements suggested by the experts, although it is an essential condition of success in the work of all agricultural improvement. In all civilized countries, the Government Departments are fully aware that they exist for the benefit of the public, and that the public are their masters. In America, the suggestions of the experts are first placed before a few practical farmers for trial—the State giving every possible help; if a series of trials at different centres prove the suggestions to be of value, they are published for the benefit of the general public. There each discovery rises or falls as the great body of practical farmers give their verdicts for or against it. To take an example: soil-inoculation by cultures of nitrifying bacteria, on a limited trial, was found valuable, and farmers in all parts of the world went in for it; on a more extensive trial, however, it proved of questionable value, and has now been almost abandoned. Here in Bengal the case is entirely different :—the public has merely to cry ditto to the findings of the experts, who seem to act as if they are not the servants but *hakims* or masters of the public. It would be so singular here if the Departments were to seek for and give their due weight to the verdicts of the jute-growing farmers, or their representatives, on the economic value of the suggestions for improvement made by the Agricultural experts. The experts are here as it were to write agricultural *Vedas* or to deliver agricultural *Gospels* which the Rayat farmers are to accept with unquestioning faith. The Rayats on their part also seem to retaliate. They receive with utter indifference, if not supreme contempt, the suggestions for improvement made by the so-called experts, whom the Rayats regard more or less as impudent dabblers in agriculture. They even attribute sinister motives. There is thus a great gulf to be bridged between the expert on the one hand, and the jute-grower on the other, and till this has been done books like the one before us, whatever their value to the jute-merchant, or the official, will be of little real value to the jute-grower.

Nibaran Babu has put forward some important suggestions for the improvement of the existing methods of jute-cultivation. Judging theoretically, they seem likely to benefit the jute-grower, but theory and practice do not always harmonize. Until the suggestions put forward, have been tried by at least a few representative jute-growers, on a business scale and their verdicts taken, it will be premature to pass any opinion on their economic value. But who will "bell the cat" without an assurance that any loss they may incur in faithfully carrying out the suggestions, will be made good by the Department?

The largest part of the book is given to a discussion of the various races and varieties of jute under the two species of corchurus capsularis and corchurus olitorius, and the experts are unanimous in declaring that "there is no particular variety or race which is the *heaviest yielder*." The subject is therefore more of botanical interest than agricultural,—and in that view the discussions of Messrs. Prain and Burkill as to the effects of cross-fertilization and kindred points are quite out of place. Mr. Burkill surmises :—

> "It is by no means improbable that seed of Kakya Bombai and Tosha red from Sirajgunj and sown in Tipperah would in a few generations become Deo Dholi and Fullesvari; brought back again in a few more generations they would return to Kakya Bombai and Tosha." P. 86.

It reminds one of the time-honoured story of 'mouse-enlarged' or 'elephant-reduced' disquisitions regarding the pig. To the practical agriculturist, and specially the jute-grower, such subjects have very little interest. Dr. Prain's suggestion that "seed of a strain natural to, or naturalized in a particular district gives better results in that district than any freshly imported seed"—pp. 79-80, does not harmonise very well with the experts' recommendation that "the cultivators of East Bengal where land is inundated, should always indent good seed from elsewhere"! "*Na buddhi-bhedam janayet ajnánánám*"—Not to bewilder the ignorant by giving ill-assimilated information, is surely a wise rule.

Again, for jute-farming, Mr. Chowdhry says "loamy soil is preferred to stiff clay"

(p. 19). This recommendation of his is very summarily disposed of by Mr. Mollison, Inspector General, saying:

"It has been asserted that sandy soil produces coarser jute than loamy soil. This is not borne out by experiments at Burdwan....The actual character of the soil is of minor importance" (p. 97)

Mere doubts and surmises of the experts, if published, serve merely to make "darkness visible," and can be of no use to the jute-grower. It is very essential that the jute grower be invited to supplement by trials on a business scale the work of departmental experts.

As regards the time of cutting jute, Mr. Chowdhry says (p. 30) that the heaviest yield of fibre of good quality is attained by cutting down the plants when the fruits fully develop. Mollison however says—

"The experiments have not determined the exact state of growth at which the plants should be cut to yield the most valuable fibre." (p. 99).

Thirty years of experimentation has not determined finally this most important point with regard to the second most important crop of Bengal! The public will draw their own inference as to the return they get for the money they pay. Fortunately the jute-growers decided the point in favour of Mr. Chowdhry's finding long before the experts had leisure to take it up. As regards the water for steeping the jute after it is cut, any recommendation on the subject is almost useless. Although clear, stagnant and deep water is the best, the jute-grower seldom gets such water for his own drink. If such water, where it exists, is permitted to be used for steeping, the decomposing organic matter will form a suitable *nidus* for the growth of malaria and other disease germs, notwithstanding Mr. Chowdhry's assurance to the contrary (p. 4.) The great bulk of the crop also precludes the idea of its being carried any distance to secure *clear*, *deep* and *stagnant* water, as the cost would be prohibitive.

Mr. Chowdhry gives the outlines of some schemes of rotation for the jute-growers which with some modifications he may adopt to his own advantage. The main points in a scheme of rotation is to follow up an exhausting or nitrogen-consuming crop, as a cereal (*e.g.* paddy), by a restorative or nitrogen-accumulating crop, such as a pulse, *e.g.*, Khesari (Lathyrus Sativus)—or following a surface-feeding crop by a deep-feeding one. Jute is an exhausting crop, but much less so than paddy. The following up of a jute crop immediately after it is harvested by a crop of transplanted aman paddy as suggested by Mr. Smith (p. 133) is both theoretically and from the practical experience of the jute-grower, ruinous husbandry, and Mr. Chowdhry is quite right in condemning it as"a most exhausting method" (p. 22). Jute should be followed up by a papillionaceous crop—a pulse which will restore to the soil much of the nitrogen taken up by jute. Mustard and rape which are among the most quick-growing of crops would be off the ground by the time field operations for jute or paddy begin,—but they are not nitrogen-accumulators. Khesari and peas would do better—as they, like all pulses, accumulate nitrogen in the soil through the action of bacteria found in their root-nodules: but they do not ripen fast enough to leave the field in time for field operations for jute. Mr. Chowdhry suggests that they should be "grown for feeding cattle." In a country like ours where the farmers themselves are starving, growing special crops for fodder is out of place. Phasiolus radiolus (Mug and Kalai) and also cow-pea (Barbati) for green pods among the pulses, have the advantage of becoming ready for harvest earliest; three months, from October to December, being found sufficient to mature the crop. They are off the ground in good time for beginning field operations for jute. For lowlands which do not become fit for cultivation before Kartik (October)—*Kalai* which is the quickest growing among the pulses, would do best, and for the comparatively higher jute-lands which become fit for cultivation in Asvin (September), Mug or Barbati for green pods would be the most profitable. As regard Mr. Chowdhry's two years' scheme of following jute (Kharif or rain crop) and mustard or rape (rabi or dry crop) of the first year by paddy (Kharif) and peas (rabi) in the second year, I have to remark that the Rayat's means for manuring his crops are so very limited that the paddy succeeding the jute would leave the soil so impoverished that it is not likely without heavy manuring to be fit for the next year's jute crop, in spite of the recuperative action of the pulse intervening in the *rabi* season. In the opinion of the jute-grower, even jute

after jute is not so bad as jute after paddy. Until we are able to place at the disposal of the jute-grower cattle-dung in sufficient quantity, for application at the rate of 75 mds. per acre (p. 26)—not to speak of Mr. Smith's rate of 5 tons (p. 134) equal to 135 mds. per acre—at a cost not prohibitive—the rotation of jute with paddy as the Kharif crop is not to be thought of. Jute may perhaps be rotated with greater advantage with sunn-hemp (crotolaria juncea),—a restorative fibre-crop for the following Kharif season, if jute is not to succeed jute on the same field year after year.

A great deal of frivolous hair-splitting has been carried on among the experts with regard to the *spacing* of jute. Securing an even distribution of jute seed so as to allow a distance of "6 ins. between plants in the case of C. capsularis, and 8 ins. in the case of C.olitorius" is practically impossible. The jute-growers own plan of thick-seeding (8 lbs. to the acre) and then thinning out to the extent required for the healthy and vigorous growth of the plants, without running to the opposite extreme of causing the plants to branch too much, which would spoil the length of fibre,—is the only one feasible. The following learned disquisition on the spacing of jute by two great experts of the department cannot but excite sardonic laughter among the jute-growers.

"Different degrees of spacing the plants apparently has had no effect in improving the seed... The spacing experiment did not tell so far as the quality of fibre went." (pp.89-90). "The experiments in spacing *i.e.* thick and thin sowing and thinning out have not given conclusive results. Mr. D. N. Mukerji explains that it is difficult at Burdwan (Government Farm) to get evenness of distance between plants when seed is broad-cast, and when seedlings are thinned out by hand.....Drilling might be tried as suggested by Mr. Mukerji. I do not think, however, that greater accuracy in spacing would thus be secured." Pp. 97-98.

Wasting time and money in trying to secure a mathematical accuracy in things practical, does well when others have 'to pay the piper'!

Mr. Chowdhry has suggested an ingenious and less expensive method of extraction of fibre by means of a piece of bamboo or wood provided with 8 or 10 pegs to take the place of the human fingers. Unless and until this device has been tried by a few jute-growers on a business scale, and their opinions secured in its favour, it is impossible to form an estimate of its economic value. One can hardly believe that a few pegs can be made to perform that dexterous movement of the human fingers required for the extraction of jute-fibre. Mr. Chowdhry's one testimony alone that it is "able to strip about two maunds of dry fibre in a day" will not convince people to run a risk of loss.

With regard to the manuring of jute, Mr. Chowdhry recommends "75 mds. of cow-dung or 6 mds. of castor-cake each containing about 30 lbs. of nitrogen" (p. 26). But he is also fully aware that "Farm-yard manure will not be available in sufficient quantity. Saltpetre may prove most useful" (p. 70). Again in a foot note he says:—

"Unfortunately the results of the experiments at the Burdwan farm, show that saltpetre, super, or bone-meal are not suitable manures for jute" (p. 70.) "Cow-dung again gave the highest out-turn at the least cost, as it did in the two preceding years. The bonemeal plot actually gave less than the unmanured plot" (p. 110.)

There is nothing new in this finding of the experts that cattle-dung is the best and cheapest manure for jute. What Mr. Chowdhry considers '*unfortunate*' (one would suppose he means for his Department) is really most fortunate for the jute-grower, for he is saved the possible temptation of throwing away money in the purchase of "saltpetre, super, or bonemeal"—as jute manures. Mr. Chowdhry recommends castor cake at 6 mds. per acre as a good manure for jute and he thinks it can be had at Rs. 2 per md. (p. 39). Castor-cake is not a thing to be had in the jute-growing villages unless imported from Calcutta. The Calcutta price itself we know is not less than Rs. 2-8 per md., so that adding to it the cost of transport, &c., the price for the jute-grower will be about Rs. 3-8. But he can get rape-cake in his village at Rs. 3 per maund; so that if he can afford to use any oil-cake for manure, he will prefer rape-cake—which in addition to a manurial value almost equal to castor-cake, has insecticidal properties. Jute at this time (November) sells in the villages at the rate of Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3 per maund, and the idea of using either the castor-cake or rape-cake for it, worth Rs. 3 per maund, would be simply ridiculous. The use of 75 maunds of cattle-dung per acre for the jute crop,

involves a similar impossibility. Such a large quantity is not procurable in the villages, and cannot be until the Rayats are also dairy-men. Next supposing the quantity to be procurable---the cost of collecting it by a house to house search, carrying it on the shoulder in small loads of a maund each time, would be simply prohibitive. All that is possible for the jute-grower to do in this connection, he has all along been doing. He applies 20 to 30 mds. of cow-dung per acre from his own dung-heap. Again, Mr. Smith says (p. 134) the Burdwan experiments of 1905 show that the increase of yield from the *manured* plot over the *unmanured* is *nil*, though 5 tons, equal to 135 maunds, of cattle-dung per acre had been applied. Surely the jute-grower has the good sense not to be led astray by mere agricultural will o' the wisps.

Mr. Mollison's report of jute deterioration (p. 90) gives us only a few of his doubts, not his findings: "It is commonly believed that the latest ripening jutes produce the best fibre. This has not yet been proved by the Burdwan experiments." He holds out promises of what he will get done at Pusa, saying "experiments will be carried out at Pusa" &c. and that "the start has been made at Pusa" (p. 93) (p. 97),—but his performances have not yet seen the light.

The next point to notice is jute-farming. Here we differ as the poles asunder. Mr. Chowdhry shows a profit (in paper of course) of Rs. 72 per acre for the unmanured crop,—and another 38 Rs. per acre, if manure is used—(p. 39), making up a total of 110 Rs. profit per acre. Mr. Smith even goes further and would show a profit of Rs. 127 per acre, and if immediatly followed by a crop of transplanted *aman*—Rs. 150 per acre (p. 135). This is almost Utopian. Let us first see what the cost of cultivation comes to. Mr. Chowdhry says:

"In North Bihar and Orissa labour is available at the rate not exceeding 3 annas per diem, while in Bengal the rate of the labour during the jute season varies from 4 to 6 annas;"

adding that "in an East Bengal district labour is dear." (p. 37). East Bengal is the great jute-growing centre, and in all calculations regarding the cost of jute-growing, we should take the rate of wages prevailing in East Bengal *during the jute season*. Even after the admission about labour being dear in East Bengal, in framing his "table of costs for an East Bengal District," he assumes the rate of wages for the jute season at 5 annas per diem This is curious, to say the least. The truth about the wages of labour is that it is subject to the law of supply and demand and fluctuates from month to month, specially in the jute districts, as the demand for labour rises or falls. In the jute season in the jute districts you have to pay a laborer from 6 up to 12 annas daily as the demand rises, and in addition you have to supply the laborer with two meals daily—a small breakfast at 9, and a full meal at noon. This means an addition of another 3 annas to the daily pay—bringing it up to from 9 to 15 annas daily. The average daily wages cannot therefore he taken at less than 10 annas daily for the jute season, say from March to July. When the season is over, you can get a man for much less—even for half the amount. Similarly with regard to the hiring of ploughs, you have to pay 12 annas daily for each plough, if you want efficient work during the jute season. When the season is over, and there is no demand for the men and the bullocks, you can hire a plough for 5 annas, or even 4 annas, or merely the wages of a man for half a day. It may occasionally be possible for you to get a plough to hire in the jute season even at 8 annas daily, but "penny wise pound foolish." Half-hearted laborers, with half-starved bullocks, will turn out very careless and inefficient work to make you repent in the end.

The wonder is not that the charges for labour are so much as 10 annas, and for the plough so much as 12 annas daily—but just the other way—that the charge is so little. The Rayat disclaims your officious patronage; but give him his dues, give him only to 'earn his bread by the sweat of his brow.' He claims to be fed,—he and his little ones, and to hide his primitive nakedness,—in return for his honest labour from sunrise to sundown. Neither he, nor his bullocks, can be fit for efficient work unless they have their full rations—be it of the coarsest stuff. A hard-working farm laborer requires two seers of rice daily in 3 meals, and 6 chhataks of *dal* for himself alone. The coarsest rice costs 2 annas a seer; and a seer of the coarsest *dal* costs 3 annas. It will cost him 4 annas for the

rice and 1 anna for the dal and also 1 anna daily for sundries, fuel, salt, oil, &c. This alone comes to 6 annas, for himself alone. He has to provide for seasons when the demand for his labour will fall. He has besides a wife, and some children, and perhaps an aged mother. Surely a labour rate of 10 annas daily for the jute season is not high. The standard of wages for a *free* laborer *during the working season* ought by no means to be lower than the cost of maintenance of a slave. Your kitchen servant costs you Rs. 7 to 8 a month on his feed alone, besides his pay. Starve the laborer and he will steal or otherwise deceive his employer—a fact of very common experience. Indeed once in the habit of stealing, he will not easily give up the habit, even if his wages should be raised. He will snore comfortably in his bed, though a heavy shower in the midnight should call for his presence in the field to save the seedlings by opening a drain. 'The way to a man's heart' it is said 'is through his mouth.' If you want full and efficient work, you must give the laborer his full ration. Half rations for both man and beast, will give careless half-hearted work, which will tell seriously on the yield. Ruling over the laborers with 'whips of scorpions' though it will increase the labour of supervision, will not mend matters. While a whole family is starving or famine conditions prevail, you may get a laborer for only half a meal. But agriculture will not thrive on such abnormal conditions.

What again would be the daily charge for a plough with two bullocks, and a driver during the jute season? Nibaran Babu allows only eight annas daily. With half-starved bullocks, and a half-hearted driver, you may get a plough for eight annas daily, or even less,—but the work done will be inefficient, and will tell on the out-turn. Good jute farmers keep their own bullocks, feed them properly, and they themselves serve as drivers. You cannot estimate the cost of ploughing at anything less than the actual cost incurred by the farmer. Each bullock consumes not less than 6 seers of straw-chaff daily, which in the Calcutta market costs, at 2 pice per seer, 3 annas. If fresh grass is substituted it can be replaced by 20 seers, to allow for the moisture in fresh grass, which will cost about 3 annas to collect. It will require also 1½ seers of rape-cake, which, at not less than Rs. 2-8 per md., would cost 1½ annas.—Thus the two bullocks together would cost 9 annas daily for feed. To this you should add something on account of interest on the capital, about 80 to 100 Rs., laid out on the purchase of the two bullocks—and also half a day's wages for the driver. Thus 12 annas daily would be an extremely moderate estimate of the cost for each plough. Nibaran Babu's eight annas daily for each plough for the jute season is altogether out of the question.

The figures in Nibaran Babu's table of costs (p. 38) are recast on the lines indicated above and the two tables presented below for comparison:—

Operations and rates	Revised figures Rs.	As.	Mr. Chowdhry's figures Rs.	As.
8 ploughings, 1 ploughing requiring 3 ploughs, at 12 annas a plough ...	18	0	12	0
4 seers (8 lbs.) seed at 4 annas a seer	1	0	1	4
2 Rakings with achra or bide (4 rakings = 1 ploughing = 3 ploughs) ...	1	11	1	8
First weeding 24 men at 10 annas each	15	0	7	8
Second weeding 12 men ...	7	8	3	12
1 thinning 6 men ...	3	12	1	14
Cutting and steeping 24 men at 10 annas each ...	15	0	7	8
Stripping at Re. 1 per md. for 12 mds. (if unmanured)	12	0	16	0
Collecting and tying 2 men at 10 annas each ...	1	4		10
Rent	6	0	6	0
Total	81	3	58	0

In the above table the reader will notice that no allowance has been made for the cost of insecticides which Nibaran Babu recommends for use (p. 40). He also makes no allowance on account of loss from such accidents as prolonged drought and floods, commonly known as *Hájá Sukâ*. He notices the rent, but does not notice the *interest* on capital, which is well-known to be not less than 70 per cent per annum for the 5 jute months, from March to July. Of course it is an inconvenient item, if our object is to show a paper-profit, as it would increase the cost by about 50 % and at once demolish all theories as to the profits of the

jute-farmer. But it is a stern fact that no honest man should ignore.

Now what is the quantity of fibre obtained from an unmanured crop? The results obtained on the Government experimental farms can be no guide, as within their limited area a plot manured this year has to be taken as unmanured next year, so as to vitiate all their results. A general manure like cattle-dung, once applied, will continue to show its beneficial effect for some years after, owing to what is called the residual effect of previous manures. This is a most important fact to be reckoned with in judging of the manure-experiments on the Government farms,—and affords a very easy explanation of the anomalous fact like the one noticed on p. 134 that while the unmanured plots yielded 17 two-fifth mds. of fibre in 1906, the plot manured with 5 tons of cow-dung gave only 16 mds. The Rayat's experience is that an *unmanured* plot does not yield more than 10 to 12 mds. of jute fibre —a great deal depending on a seasonable rain-fall. An allowance has to be made from Mr. Chowdhry's estimate of yield of 16 mds. from unmanured crops in consideration of the residual effect of previous applications of manure on Government Farms—the amount of which can not be defined. We shall not be far wrong either way if we estimate the yeild at 14 mds. per acre. Even in spite of the residual effect, the outturn in the Burdwan farm in 1904 is seen to have been 1230 lbs. or 15 mds. (p. 110). Furthermore on Government farms, where the men in charge have no personal interest in securing accuracy, the work of weighing may be left to illiterate *sardars* and *kulis* who dictate from memory if not from imagination, such figures as would agree with the expectations or wishes of their superiors. So that it would be a great mistake to rely on them alone.

No crop is so unreliable as regards the prices in the market, and regarding no crop is the Rayat so much in the dark as to what the price is likely to be. Paddy has a great advantage over jute in this respect, and always commands a market; this cannot be said with regard to jute. For paddy the local demand is always very great, which for jute is almost *nil*. The price of jute, high or low, is regulated by the demand abroad—at Dundee or Hamburg, of which the jute-grower has no conception. In these days of international boycott for political purposes, the jute-industries of Dundee or Hamburg, may be paralysed at any moment and the price of jute may go down to any extent. It will come like a bolt from the blue upon the jute-grower, for which he should always remain prepared, and never grow more jute than he can help—at the sacrifice of his paddy; paddy he can use for home-consumption but the jute he can not. At this very moment (middle of November) jute cannot be sold by the grower for more than 2-8 to 3 Rs. per maund, though Mr. Chowdhry would value it at Rs. 8 per maund. The highest price reached this year was Rs. 6-8 per md. only for a few days between July and September. As a rule, the higher value of jute lasts not more than 2 months, from the middle of July to the middle of September, and then the price steadily goes down. Nibaran Babu himself at pages 163, 164, and 165 of his book gives the selling price of jute in the villages at Rs. 4-7, Rs. 4-4, Rs. 3-12, Rs. 3-4 and Rs. 3. At p. 122 Mr. D. N. Mukerji says "At the time of my visit northern jute was selling for Rs. 5-2-3 against Rs. 5 for Mymensingh jute—the average of the market being no higher than Rs. 4-4." In the face of these statements and facts Mr. Chowdhry's valuation of the yield at Rs. 8 per maund cannot be considered as reasonable. Probably Mr. Chowdhry has been guided by the Table of Calcutta prices given on p. 53. Accepting those figures as correct, to determine the average price per maund of jute of ordinary quality, we should take the average of the last decennial period (1898 to 1907) and I find that the average Calcutta price is Rs. 6-13 for January and Rs. 7-8 for July. To deduce from this the price paid to the jute-grower you have to deduct the conveyance charges by boat or cart and payments to middlemen as fees, wages, profits, or bribes—to the Faria, the Bepari, the Mahajan, the Aratdar, the broker, &c. A reduction of at least 1 Re. per maund should be made on this ground—so that the January price would be Rs. 5-13 and the July price Rs. 6-8—the higher price lasting only for a month or two. Thus in fairness the jute cannot be valued at more than Rs. 6 per maund, and the value of the *yield* of 14 maunds of

fibre comes to Rs. 84. The *cost* of operations has been shewn to be Rs. 81. The *profit* comes to Rs. 3 per acre.

One would ask, why people take to jute growing for such a small profit as Rs 3 per acre? The Rayats, as a class, never keep any accounts, and have no idea as to what *profit* means. If you ask him to state the cost he incurs in jute-farming, he will invariably exclude the money value of the labour of himself and members of his family, the cost of the meals he supplies to his fellow-labourers, and the money value of the labour of his neighbours which he secures by way of *badla* or exchange. The jute-grower will not employ hired labour as long as he can secure service by *badla* or exchange of service. He seldom hires a plough, but employs his own plough—or his neighbour's by exchange, starving both himself and his bullocks and living in a state of chronic indebtedness to the village Shylocks. Whenever you ask him about costs, he thinks merely of the *cash* he actually pays. The Rayat takes to jute growing not for the sake of any possible profits, but because he is thereby able to find employment for himself and his family. He works for the wages of labour *without profit*. He even works for much less than the wages due to him to keep his body and soul together: as he holds some of his land at a fixed produce rent giving to his landlord for rent 6 or 7 maunds of jute fibre per acre, out of the total yield of 14 maunds—which means that the total yield becomes 7 mds. and its total value Rs. 42 although the cost he incurs is Rs. 81. Let any man try jute-farming by hired labour, and it is ten to one he will fail. Many a gentleman of education has tried the experiment, and has given it up as a losing concern. If the Government really believes in the promises of large profit held out in the Government reports (page 136), the Government should undertake to open a few model jute farms worked for profit entirely for its own justification, as suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. J. N. Ghosh in the Bengal Council.

Now to conclude. We have tried to expose the error that often prevails among laymen that the jute-grower derives a large profit, and shewn that he works for the wages of labor only, and often fails even to secure his due wages. In spite of this fact he is treated all round as a sort of sponge for every man to give a squeeze. The land-lord screws up his demand by charging, whenever he can, half the produce as his rent. The village Shylock realises his pound of flesh in the shape of interest at 70 p. c. per annum during the jute season. The lawyer fattens on his litigation, which the small size and scattered situation of his plots, render unavoidable. Surely the jute-grower deserves the sympathy of every honest citizen.

DVIJADAS DATTA.

NOTES

Transmuting Failure into Success.

Successful lives serve one end. They inspire others to achieve success. The success of a certain man, many a time, has been the incentive for prosperity to another person not necessarily engaged in the same pursuit in life. The biography of a successful man transmutes failure into success, furnishing the reader with inspiration for persistent effort and the desire to utilize every means within his reach to accomplish his purpose and realize his hopes.

"I have no time to waste on fools," was the reply given to a young man who was working his hardest to win his way to money and fame. The answer happened to be given to him when he sought of a great financier the favor to look into an invention, a child of the brain of the unknown youngman which later brought him multi-millions and fame, in spite of the fact that he had been designated by the great man as a "fool." The man appealed to in this instance was Cornelius Vanderbilt, the celebrated American railway owner, builder and operator. When George Westinghouse told him he could stop a railway train running at topmost speed by means

of compressed air, Mr. Vanderbilt sarcastically queried: "Do you mean to tell me you can stop a train of cars with wind?" And when answered in the affirmative, he summarily dismissed the applicant with the remark: "I have no time to waste on fools."

The story goes that a few years later, when George Westinghouse made his fortune by selling his air-brakes, he had the satisfaction of answering the self-same Cornelius Vanderbilt's request for a meeting with the exact words: "I have no time to waste on fools."

The lives of successful men not only inspire us to amass riches and win fame, but also to be good and useful. Luther Burbank, who has done the world inestimable good by his eminent horticultural, agricultural and floricultural work, is by no means a rich man when one considers that in the United States wealth is measured by millions and multi-millions. When Burbank began his life-work, the intellectual people looked down upon him, since he had taken up manual work, and the farmers despised him, designating him a mere "book farmer." He was called by the intellectual people "impractical," and by the rabble "crank," the last word being an Americanism for a person fit for a lunatic asylum. Many years' hard labor has resulted in Luther Burbank's originating more species of plants than any other man who ever existed. His successes are a long category of wonders and he is considered a wizard. Eminent scientists come from other continents to see him, and even his neighbours who called him an impractical theorist have learned to feel proud of him. Luther Burbank puts no patent on what he originates and the whole world is better for his presence in its midst.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

Aping.

In a London letter of the *Punjabee* we find the following queer piece of news:

The Indians at Edinburgh also held a dinner to celebrate the Dasehra festival, at which toasts were proposed to "Princess Seeta," "Rama," and "Valmeeki" and the heroes of the Ramayana ! !

Some men do not know when they make apes of themselves. If these Indian young men wanted to show their reverence for Sitá, Ráma and Válmíki, they ought to have done so in right Indian style, and not made themselves ridiculous by this fantastic caricature. If they make progress at this rate we shall hear after the Dasehra next year that these neo-Hindus have drunk the health of the goddess Durgá in bumper cups of whiskey. There is no objection to the celebration of the Dasehra by Hindus.

Administration and Exploitation.

Like other Anglo-Indian administrators Sir Bampfylde Fuller, when in India, must have waxed eloquent over the purely philanthropic character of British rule in India and thought the holders of a different view sedition-mongers. Yet this is what he now writes in a British newspaper:—

India knows perfectly well that it was our commercial interests that led us to the country, and that in the main, it is these interests which keep us there. She knows it to her cost, for such a protective tariff as we will not permit, would be the greatest material boon that could be offered her. She has noticed, we may be sure, the cynical disregard of Indian industry displayed by the levy of the countervailing excise upon her cotton manufactures. Clearly, then, the boycotting of our goods must have been very distasteful to us.

What is truth? says the *serious* Indian journalist, but *would* wait for an answer.

The Turks and their Christian Friends.

"The unspeakable Turk," "Abdul the Damned," "Bulgarian atrocities," and other similar expressions have long been familiar to readers of English publications. The falsehood that Turks and other Mussalmans think that women have no souls, is found in many English books. The foremost thought of European Christian nations with regard to Turkey has for a long time been how to parcel out her possessions among themselves. But now that the Turk has shown that he *is* 'speakable,' attempts are being made by his former critics to appropriate to themselves as much of the credit of his achievement as possible. For instance, we find the following paragraph in the *Christian Register* of Boston:—

The triumph of the young Turks is amazing, and yet it is a capital illustration of the way in which reforms are brought about. There was a time when upon our earth there was no water: with a temperature of more than two hundred and twelve degrees steam enveloped the earth. At some moment of time the temperature fell below two hundred and twelve degrees, and suddenly water drenched the earth. The change was sudden, but the preparation long conti-

nued and the result inevitable. Among the many forces of civilization which have penetrated the Turkish Empire, we may give much credit to that best form of missionary work represented by Robert College at Constantinople, and the Protestant College at Beirut, Syria. At Beirut, under the able presidency of Dr. Howard Bliss, numbers of Oriental students meet on a common level and, without change of religion, attend a common service of worship. Moslems, Jews, Druses, Armenians, members of the Russian orthodox church and other Christians, there come together, fraternize, and look at modern civilisation from the same point of view. This and similar good influences have borne their proper fruit.

Of course nothing good can happen without the instrumentality of Western Christians. If before the birth of Western Christians, any good men and women lived outside the land of the Semites, if any thing good happened anywhere outside the Holy Land in those ages, they were clever imitations, in anticipation, of what Western Christian men and women would be and Western Christianity would do.

When Japan defeated Russia, there was a regular scramble among the white Christian nations for the lion's share of the credit of having made Japan what she proved herself to be.

It is with great hesitation that we humbly venture to suppose that God can do a thing or two without the patronage of European and American Christians.

Of course, we admit the good that European and American influence has directly or indirectly done. But to make prominent mention of that influence, and allow the work of the Turks themselves to remain concealed in the midst of the *et ceteras*, is not fair.

The King's Message.

In considering the Message of His Majesty the King Emperor, the first thing that we ought to bear in mind is that it is a Message, not a Proclamation; though even in a Message people may justly expect to know what the King is going to do for them. The second thing to bear in mind is that it is not necessarily the composition of His Majesty; men of even much lower degree than the King have secretaries to write things for them.

The writer of the Message, whoever he may be, seems to be an admirer of the Book of Genesis in the Old Testament. For imitation is the sincerest form of admiration. And the writer, in imitation of the concluding passage in the story of creation in the Bible, makes the King say, "We survey our labours of the past century with clear gaze and good conscience:" just as in the first chapter of Genesis "God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good."

The language of the Message is different from that of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria of honour memory. The Message is written in a guarded style, is almost diplomatic in certain passages, as if the writer was afraid of promising too much or rousing hopes too high for fulfilment. In the Proclamation there was the heart of a woman and a mother and the queenly desire to give in unstinted measure. This difference is very much in favour of the Message. For the King reigns but does not rule; hence, seeing how the promises made in the Queen's Proclamation have been fulfilled by her ministers and servants, and knowing that he cannot enforce the keeping of his word of honour, the King has acted very wisely in being very chary of promises.

How has the Message been received by the people of India? It is not possible to give a *single* truthful reply. Those who expected some boon, great or small, have been disappointed. Those whom it is difficult or impossible to displease or disappoint, have greeted it with a chorus of praise. Those who believe that the King cannot do anything for them even though he were to promise much and that nations by themselves are made, have received it with feelings of indifference, or, at best, with a pleased consciousness of their own superior wisdom at finding that what they had expected has come to pass. The irreconcilables must have rejoiced to find little in the Message that can blunt the keen edge of discontent.

It is addressed to the Princes and people of India. But it is a very one-sided document. It says what the servants of the Crown have done for the people, but does not say what the people have done for the Government by their co-operation, submission, docility and want of turbulence. If our people had been half as impatient and turbulent in times of famine (and famines are almost always with us) as the unemployed window-breaking rowdies of England, the British administration and exploitation of India would not have been the smooth and easy affair that it has been. But we

forget that passive virtues are not appreciated in this world, and that it is usual to forget the existence and services of people who give no trouble. Hence it is that the hundreds of millions of people who decade after decade have enriched England with wealth of their production and contributed by their peace-loving disposition to make her great and prosperous, have not come in for *one* word of recognition; on the other hand some young men and boys, numbering exactly three dozen and odd, who have been *accused* of conspiring to overthrow the British rule, have a whole paragraph to themselves. Surely this is not an object-lesson, either in the sincere appreciation of loyalty or in the sense of proportion! By the bye, has it yet been *proved* that anybody conspired against British rule? But perhaps the King's ministers can make the the King pronounce a verdict even when a case is *sub judice*, without being guilty of contempt of court or of a breach of 'journalistic propriety.'

Let us now take a few passages from the Message and see whether they are accurate.

If errors have occurred the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy.

This is not accurate. One instance will suffice. The Partition of Bengal is admittedly a great blunder; even Viscount Morley admits it. But where is the rectification? The one solitary blunder rectified by the Government has been in the case of the Punjab Canal Colonies Bill. We need not enquire into the reason why.

No secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague,.....

If this be true, how and why have famine and plague disappeared from all parts of the British Empire *minus* India, and from the whole of Europe except Russia? No, no, there *is* a secret of Empire which *can* avert the scourge of drought and plague, and Englishmen know it.

We recognise that there has been unbroken peace. We recognise that this peace has enabled *us* to make social and educational progress and has enabled *Englishmen* to exploit the country. But probably it has not been an unmixed blessing. For we find Englishmen themselves, Sir R. Temple being among them, admit that *Pax Britannica* has had the tendency in India to deprive warlike races of their good physique and martial instinct; they admit it *practically* by narrowing the field of recruitment for the Native Army, and *verbally* in passages like the following:—

"And undoubtedly the more Southern and Eastern races of India have each in turn lost their martial instincts, as security to life and property due to British rule has rendered reliance on their own arms unnecessary."—*Journal of the United Service Institution of India*, July, 1897, p. 261.

In the great Charter of 1850 Queen Victoria gave you the noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer the Government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting your material convenience and advance—schemes unsurpassed in their magnitude and their boldness—bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

India is now quite as poor as, if not poorer than before, and we do not know what has been *actually* done by the British nation in the way of advancing India's material interests, apart from what has been done to enable Englishmen to exploit the country. On the contrary we find in English histories and English Parliamentary blue-books accounts of the measures that have led to the ruin of the once flourishing industries of India, and to the impeding of the progress of her modern industries.

The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved and guarded, and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving. No man among My subjects has been favored, molested or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed the protection of the law. The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilisation;.....

Rulers who were allies are now treated as subject princes, and there has been some interference with the rights and privileges of the rulers of the Native States. But we cannot here enter into any detail. In quite recent times in East Bengal the King's Mussalman subjects have been favoured and Hindu subjects have been molested and disquieted by reason of their religions. This is on record, though the King is evidently not aware of it and did not intend it, and it is even possible that his ministers have had no

time to acquaint themselves with the facts.* We state it only as a fact, behind which there is no legal proof of any intention on the part of any very high servant of the Crown. One of His Majesty's pro-consuls openly declared his belief in political bigamy and propounded the theory of the favorite wife.

When the King says that "the law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilisation," he is strictly within the bounds of truth. We are glad that he has not been made to say that the law has not been a respecter of race. That would not have been an accurate statement. The Indian people may be mistaken but they think that in the cases of accidental or other deaths of Indians at the hands of Europeans, the law has not given adequate protection to the weaker party.

We are glad that many prisoners have been released and many have had their terms of imprisonment shortened. We should have been gladder if Babu Durga Charan Sanyal had been released and political prisoners all over India had been pardoned.

Steps are being continuously taken towards the obliteration of distinction of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power.

Without lingering to dwell on the implied admission here that the race test has hitherto existed and still exists, in violation of the late Queen's promise, we may say that this statement is not true as a whole though it is true that Indians have recently occupied a few posts to which they have been entitled all along but which they did not occupy before. Nay, the exact opposite is true in many departments of public service. We will give an example or two ; but before we do so, we may point out that Lord Curzon the Viceroy publicly laid it down that race implied superiority in the case of the Britisher, which no Viceroy had done before. In a memorable speech delivered by the ex-Viceroy in the Supreme Legislative Council of India in March, 1904, he as the mouthpiece of the British nation proclaimed as his first principle that 'the highest ranks of civil employment in India' must, 'as a general rule, be held by Englishmen,' and that 'the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be

* "Owing to these pleasant qualities, so attractive to Englishmen sprung like myself from the public school, country-house, and villa classes, I have almost invariably found English officers and officials on the side of the Mohammedans where there is any rivalry of race or religion at all. And in Eastern Bengal this national inclination is now encouraged by the Government's open resolve to retain the Mohammedan support of the Partition by any means in its power. It was against the Hindus only that all the petty persecution of officialdom was directed. It was they who were excluded from Government posts ; it was Hindu schools from which Government patronage was withdrawn. When Mohammedans rioted, the punitive police ransacked Hindu houses, and companies of little Gurkhas were quartered on Hindu populations. It was the Hindus who in one place were forbidden to sit on the river bank. Of course, the plea was that only the Hindus were opposed to the Government's policy of dividing them from the rest of their race, so that they alone needed suppression."

"Not only so, but priestly mullahs went through the country preaching the revival of Islam, and proclaiming to the villagers that the British Government was on the Mohammedan side, that the Law Courts had been specially suspended for three months, and no penalty would be exacted for violence done to Hindus, or for the loot of Hindu shops, or the abduction of Hindu widows. A Red Pamphlet was everywhere circulated, maintaining the same wild doctrines. It was seen that a large proportion of Government posts were set aside for Mohammedans, and some were even kept vacant because there was no Mohammedan qualified to fill them. Sir Bampfylde Fuller said in jest that of his two wives (meaning the Moslem and Hindu sections of his province) the Mohammedan was the favourite. The jest was taken in earnest, and the Mussulmans genuinely believed that the British authorities were ready to forgive them all excesses.

"Some two years after his departure from India, Lord Curzon wrote to the *Times* that it was "a wicked falsehood" to say that by the Partition he intended to carve out a Mohammedan State, to drive a wedge between Mohammedan and Hindu, or to arouse racial feuds. Certainly no one would willingly accuse another of such desperate wickedness, but a statesman of better judgment might have foreseen that, not a racial, but a religious feud would probably be the result of the measure. What might have been expected followed. In Comilla, Jamalpore, and a few other places, rather serious riots occurred. A few lives were lost, temples were desecrated, images broken, shops plundered, and many Hindu widows carried off. Some of the towns were deserted, the Hindu population took refuge in any "pukka" house (*i.e.*, house with brick or stone walls), women spent nights hidden in tanks, the crime known as "group rape" increased, and throughout the country districts there reigned a general terror, which still prevailed at the time of my visit. Thus a new religious feud was established in Eastern Bengal, and when Mr. Morley said in the Commons that the disturbance was due to the refusal of Hindus to sell British goods to Mohammedans, it was a grotesque instance of the power that officials have of misleading their Chief."—*The New Spirit in India*, by H. W. Nevinson.

set by those who have created and are responsible for it.' 'Outside this corps d'elite,' Lord Curzon is inclined to employ, as far as possible, the inhabitants of the country, 'because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence and character in the service of the State.' Take the Educational Service. Formerly the higher ranks of the service were open to all qualified Indians, but they are as a rule excluded from them now. Take the Indian Medical Service. Steps have been recently taken which will make it very difficult for Indian young men to compete for admission to its ranks irrespective of creed, race or province. Similarly under the new arrangements since the abolition of Cooper's Hill College, there is nothing to ensure the entrance of even one Indian into the superior branch of the Engineering service.

From all that has been said in the Message regarding representative institutions, it seems the idea is to obtain in increasing measure the opinion of Indians on public measures in order to "strengthen, and not impair existing authority and power:" all power of taxation, expenditure and legislation remaining as now in the hands of the executive authorities. If we have read aright the import of this paragraph of the King's Message, we fail to see how it can be regarded as foreshadowing an advance along constitutional lines.

That the Indian soldiers will get better pay is good news. This has, however, been overdue for decades. We refrain from further comment till the actual scale of increment is known. What army reform really means will appear from the military article published in this number.

The strong points of the Message are that it breathes generous sentiments, and is not reactionary in tone.

Gasoline and Electricity as Supplements to Steam Locomotion.

Steam has had its day. Gasoline and electricity are the coming motive powers. They may or may not, between the two of them, supplant steam—they have already commenced to supplement it.

Gasoline and electricity have enabled the motor cars to be driven on railless roads. Three years ago Renard, a French engineer, invented a road motor run by gasoline power which promises to revolutionize transportation. The Renard Road Train requires no rails and can turn a curve of any angle. It is thus able to supplement the steam railway by carrying freight and passengers from territory not served by railway branch lines—feeders, as they are called—to the railway stations.

The principle upon which the Renard Road Train is built is exceedingly simple and ingenious. The locomotive is unlike that of a steam railway, in as much as it does not pull the carriages attached to it. The Renard locomotive is a veritable power house carried on wheels. It manufactures power and transmits it to every carriage attached to it, by means of a drive shaft.

The most notable feature of the Renard Road Train is its steering gear. It is so ingeniously made that the locomotive can veer around in a circle and each car follows identically the same course.

The fact that the Renard locomotive is a power house on wheels enables it to be small and light, contrary to the locomotive of a steam railway, which must be big and heavy enough to pull the train. The Renard locomotive weighs about two tons. The cars and vans, when empty, weigh as much. They run on six wheels which never slip, and thus they are rendered ideal for railless transportation.

The Renard idea is yet but three years old. It has already established its claim to utility and is coming more and more into common use. It has already reached India.

What the Renard Train is doing for the plains, the Telpher Trolley is doing for extremely mountainous districts whose steep grades make it impossible for the steam railway to find a foothold.

Coal and minerals are often found in places that are practically impossible to reach by ordinary means. Timber tracts, too, are frequently found in inaccessible regions. The problems of conveyance of coal, minerals and timber are many a time so knotty and hard to solve that the endeavor to work them out is abandoned. The Telpher Trolley overcomes these difficulties of transportation.

The Telpher cars are operated by means of electricity and are swung from a single rail. Trestles hold the rails to the sides of a mountain, thus making it possible to span a pass or cross a river with equal facility.

The principle on which the Telpher Trolleys are built is new and appears somewhat

startling and visionary at first thought. But it is being successfully employed not only in carrying freight from mountainous regions, which have hitherto been considered inaccessible, but is being used in Germany for street car service.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

The Present Situation.

Bloodshed is repugnant to civilised human nature. There is something abnormal in a state of society in which one of its members seeks the blood of another, be the cause private or political. Whatever race prejudice or race hatred may suggest, the obvious remedy for such a state of things is the removal of the cause. The prevailing Anglo-Indian view, official and non-official, would seem to be that the recent political murders or attempts at murder, are without any other cause except the teachings of agitators and the promptings of the heated brains of the doers of the deeds. We are of a different opinion. We cannot ignore the existence of grave causes of excitement and exasperation. Of course, that is no justification of the deeds, but only an explanation; and whatever the cause may be, the law must be rigorously enforced. But we do not think any new repressive measures are required. The gravity of the situation has been highly exaggerated. If our policemen are able and honest, the law as it stands is quite sufficient to cope with the evil. If they are not, we are afraid new repressive measures will only be the means of oppression of the innocent, along with the punishment of the guilty in some cases. And that will be a fresh cause of resentment.

What is required is that in their private and political relations with Indians, Britons should treat them as having feelings and thoughts, aspirations and ambitions as other men have. We simply refuse to be treated as less than human. If Britons think they behave as they ought to, no true and lasting remedy is expected from them.

We want that our young men should be treated just as British young men are. The escapades of the latter, their rowdiness, the mischief they cause, are not looked upon as criminal, but only as due to the excess of animal spirits. "Boys will be boys" is an English saying. And our boys are also boys, human, like their fellows in other lands; the only difference being that they are weaker, owing to malaria, underfeeding and other causes, and milder, than Anglo-Saxon boys. Of course, murderous outrages are not faults of the excusable kind that we are speaking of. They require to be dealt with rigorously according to the law.

Patriotism is not a crime in an English young man; but in an Indian it is.

In fact the idea seems to be that an Indian youngman must be kept down, he must not hold up his head, or seek to grow up to his full stature as a free citizen. This causes deep resentment; and sometimes throws a young man here or a boy there off his balance. But in general, our boys and young men are and have always been very level-headed and amenable to reason. But so long as it is not considered quite natural for an Indian boy to wish to be a patriot and a man, the situation cannot admit of any lasting improvement.

We cannot conceal the fact that rightly or wrongly our young men have come to feel that it is better to be hated and feared than to be despised and ridiculed. And hated they are; but whether they are feared or not is more than we can say.

What, however, we can tell them is that there is a third condition which is the best of all;—it is, to be loved and admired. And let us tell them, too, that they *have* on occasions excited the admiration of friend and foe alike. During the last *Ardhoday Yog* Bathing, who did not admire their splendid discipline, their sacred enthusiasm, their beautifnl reverence for womanhood, their uncommon endurance, and their sublime indifference to the risk of death by drowning or infectious disease? How nobly, too, have they done the arduous work of famine relief in many a district and province!

We cannot say how deeply we mourn the recent loss of so many young lives. How we could wish they had spent every drop of their blood in the loving service of humanity!

But we are far from blaming them alone. Hatred is in the air. European or Indian, we are most of us infected by it. The hand of the European or the Indian slayer of his fellow-man is only the point of discharge of this evil animal electricity. Some of us Indians at any rate feel this. We do not

know how many of the fellow-countrymen and co-religionists of Davis and Cullen would plead guilty to the charge of communal hatred.

Let us take the best view of the case and admit that Cullen became insane on hearing of the murder of an English woman by a Pathan and killed the first "nigger" he came across. Let us take the best view of all the cases of death of Indians at the hands of Europeans, *i.e.*, that they were accidental. Yet the fact remains to be explained why in England Englishmen do not kill so many fellow-creatures accidentally or under the influence of insanity. It is clear that though the European slayers of Indians may not be guilty of deliberate murder, they hold Indian lives very cheap, very much cheaper, at any rate, than their own lives. We need not conceal the fact that Indians generally take a much worse view of these cases than we have hypothetically done, and their resentment is proportionately great.

What we ask is, are these insane or careless Europeans mere "sports" or abnormal varieties, or do they represent in an exaggerated form the prevailing sentiment of any sections of their community?

We are not so quixotic as to think that politically a coolie or a carter is as important a man as a magistrate or a governor. But we do think that all human lives are equally sacred; and the Indian who holds a European life cheap and the European who holds an Indian life cheap both constitute in themselves grave political dangers. And if the problem is to be solved, both the factors must be taken into consideration.

Our solution of the problem of political or semi-political crime is that a change of heart is needed in both the European and Indian communities. If Europeans become humane and just in their public and private dealings with Indians, the latter will certainly cease to harbour any improper feelings. Europeans have political power, the power of the purse and the power of the sword in their hands. Therefore they may be disposed to think that force and repression alone will do what they want. In any case we do not expect to influence their conduct in their official or non-official capacities. We write only from a sense of duty.

We do not call him a good doctor who is anxious only to suppress the symptoms of a disease, but not eager to diagnose and remove its organic causes.

Our Duty.

Whether Britishers or Anglo-Indians listen to words of reason or not, we must do our duty. A wrong course of action on our part does more harm to our country than theirs. Therefore let us not be led astray by stormy passions but adopt deliberately the course that wisdom dictates. The lessons of history combined with a knowledge of the present political condition of India clearly teach that neither armed rebellion nor political assassinations, nor any other violent methods, will pave the way to freedom or the uplifting of the nation. No revolution was more thorough or bloody than the French Revolution of 1789. Yet the men who killed the French King and Queen and hundreds of royal princes and princesses and the nobility, kissed ere long the iron heels of the upstart Napoleon, a greater despot than any they had killed. Brutus and his fellows killed Julius Cæsar, but could not infuse new life into the well-nigh torpid body of the dying Roman Republic. On the contrary, whatever republican *form* existed under Julius Cæsar, disappeared under his successors, who became full-pledged despotic Emperors. The assassination of a man or some men cannot make a nation fit to win freedom, or to keep it when won. As for revenge, it is not a worthy motive. National decay and national growth are *processes*, gradual, and more or less slow or rapid;—they are not of sudden occurrence.

When the vision of nationality suddenly dawns upon the mind of the young with dazzling brilliancy, they are apt to be impatient for its realisation, without being very discriminating as to the effectiveness or righteousness of the means they employ. But it is neither possible nor allowable, to override moral laws with impunity. The laws of sociology and of political growth are also unbending. By this we do not mean to say that the actors in the struggle for independence among all nations and in all ages have been in every individual and minute act of theirs strictly moral and righteous. But what we do say is that their methods have been practicable, and whenever they have transcended the limits of

righteousness, the consequent evil result has inevitably followed sooner or later.

A nation that does not feel its wrongs is moribund and less than human. It has reached the lowest depth of degradation. Higher in the scale is that nation which is capable of resenting wrong. But highest in the scale are they who can control their feelings, and drown all thoughts of revenge in the loving service of their fellows. Let us strive to reach this height. While there is so much misery and degradation and *indigenous* iniquity in the land,—so much poverty and disease, ignorance and impurity, selfishness, disunion, social injustice, and cowardice, it is only an ill-balanced and thoughtless mind, a morbid imagination, that can lead its possessor to waste his life on ideas or plans of revenge, and unwise and ineffectual remedies. Much as we value and admire courage and self-devotion, we cannot but strongly condemn and deeply deplore their misuse.

We expect much from our young men. If any among them be eager and ready to barter their lives and all for the national good, let them calmly try to understand what that good is, in the light of the lives and teachings of the great sages and kings of their land. If they must sell their lives, let them sell their lives dear, not in the ordinary sense, but for an equivalent good of lasting value earned day by day all life long, banishing the while revengeful thoughts from their minds as far as is humanly possible.

"Favoured by reason of religious belief"

"India" writes :—

The "Dundee Advertiser" has been indulging in some remarkably frank observations upon the manner in which, in one respect at least, it is impossible to say that no man among the King's subjects in India is "favoured by reason of his religious belief or worship." It is long (it says) since writers on Indian affairs first remarked on the amenableness of the natives of the Dependency to taxation, but the facts which have been stated by Mr. Buchanan regarding the ecclesiastical levy will excite both surprise and wonder.

"It seems that no less a sum than £153,000 is raised annually from Hindus, Mahomedans, and the other sects for the maintenance of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic clergy, and for the upkeep of the various buildings and cemeteries connected with these alien denominations. Mr. Dundas White naturally asked if this practice of making non-Christian taxpayers contribute to the cost of Christian services was calculated to promote loyalty in India, but the curious thing is that we do not seem to have ever heard this astounding burden mentioned among the counts of the indictment which the Indian political agitators make against their rulers. Certainly it would be difficult to put one's finger on a more barefaced injustice. We know what would be said here if it were proposed to tax the general community for the upkeep of the Mahomedan mosques and Brahmin temples which exist in this country, and yet the principle is the same."

Travancore and the Panchamas.

Travancore has set a noble example in giving to the Panchamas or Pariahs the right of sending a representative of their community to the Legislative Assembly of that state. The Panchamas or the fifth caste, inferior to the fourth caste or the Sudras, have in South India to stand at a great distance from the high caste Hindus lest their shadow pollute the sacred persons of the high-born! But now some of them will become legislators of Travancore. There is no higher or more important work now in India than the education and elevation of the lower castes. Travancore has won the admiration and respect of all right-thinking men by the step it has recently taken.

Botha's "divide and rule" policy.

It seems in the Transvaal General Botha wanted to pursue the favorite British policy of "divide and rule" to crush the Indian passive resistance movement there. His ignominious failure is registered in the following telegram :—

A large meeting of Mahomedans, held at Johannesberg, protested against Gen. Botha's allegation that they had not participated in the resistance to the anti-Asiatic legislation and re-affirmed their decision to continue the struggle until the status of educated Indians was settled and the Act repealed.

Hope for the wives of the Government Servants.

The following telegram to the morning papers opens out a very hopeful prospect for the wives of Government employees.

Babu Trailokyanath Lahiri, stamp-vendor, has been called upon by the District Magistrate to explain why his license should not be cancelled for his wife's attending the *Bala-utsab*, i. e., the occasion on which there was a gathering of about three hundred ladies to present "Bande Mataram" gold bangles to Srimati Sarojini Basu. Nishi Kanta Das, a sorting clerk of the Barisal head post office, has similary been called upon through the Post Master to explain why he allowed his wife to attend the said ceremony. [Barisal, 6th November.]

Whatever John Bull may not be, he is undoubtedly a good trader. We have, therefore, the right to expect that like the honest man that he is he will pay for what he demands. Hitherto Government servants alone were understood to have bartered their liberty of action for a money consideration. If their wives are required to bind themselves in a similar way, we hope they will be entitled to pay and pension. In these days of chronic famine, we like to contemplate with pleasure the opening out of similar prospects for the sons and daughters and other relatives of Government servants. We will undertake that babes in arms will not shout "Bandé Mátaram," nor sing D. L. Roy's *Amár desh* ("country mine"), if the Government will agree to feed and educate all of them, irrespective of caste, creed or race.

Akbar Day.

In our last issue we could not make room for the following brief account of the Akbar Day celebration at Karachi.

A very large and representative meeting was held here, yesterday, under the auspices of the Sind Hindu Sabha, to celebrate Akbar Day. All the Hindu and Mohamedan sections were represented. Great enthusiasm prevailed. Mr. Harchandrai, President of the Sabha, presided and delivered a long and luminous address. He said the present time, when India was re-awakening and realising the necessity of union, was most opportune for celebrating Akbar Day. Sind being the birth-place of Akbar it was in the fitness of things that the Annual Akbar Day celebration should be inaugurated in Sind. The President referred to Akbar's principles of religious toleration, universal racial impartiality and policy of comprehension and consolidation, with the result that Hindus became the bulworks of his Empire. Akbar endeavoured to solidify his empire by creating one whole nation. The present Government resembled Akbar's in several important particulars except two, namely, strict equality and impartiality in filling high State offices and the unification of the various Indian communities. He hoped Government would maintain the policy of the Great Akbar, in these respects also.

At the close of his speech the President was garlanded amidst loud cheers by Mir Ayubkhan, barrister, third son of his Highness the late Ruler of Las Beyla. Mir Ayubkhan spoke in Urdu with great fervour and enthusiasm. He advocated the erection at Umerkot of a grand monument and emphasised the necessity of one common language for all India and the removal of racial distinctions and religious prejudices. Here the Mir was garlanded amidst loud cheers. The Mir advocated interdining. Seths Lokamal and Tirathdas also spoke. [Karachi, Oct. 16.]

Akbar deserves to be remembered by all sections of Indians, though he was not without his faults, and though his imperial policy ran counter to the patriotism of the Great Rana Pratap. But that is no reason why he should be calumniated as he has been by Colonel Tod, who appears to have been a greater Rajput than any Rajput born and braught up in Rajasthan. The far-sighted policy of Akbar was bridging the gulf that existed between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India. Rajputana was chosen by that enlightened Mogul Emperor to be the land for the performance of his experiment in that direction. Many princes of Rajasthan gave their daughters in marriage to the Mogul sovereigns and so community of interests was growing up between the Rajputs and Muhammadans. When the Mogul Empire was *in extremis*, when dismemberment of that Empire was taking place, the Rajput princes of India did not take any advantage of the weakness of the Moguls by either asserting their independence or enlarging the boundaries of their territories by encroaching on the dominions of the Mogul. Perhaps the Rajputs had to make a virtue of necessity, for they were themselves then a decaying race.

Colonel Tod perhaps wrote his history more from motives of political expediency than a keen regard for truth. On reading his history through and through the conviction grows on one that his object was to pit Rajputs against Muhammadans and Marathas. He was the first man in modern times who calumniated Akbar. His description of the moral character of that sovereign is to say the least very unfair—for he has painted him in the blackest color possible.

According to Tod, Akbar's private morals were very loose and he seduced the Rajput princesses without compunction or scruples. It is said that he used to hold fairs of women whose faces he could see by their reflection in the mirrors in his rooms and was thus enabled to judge of their beauty. But where is the historical proof for this calumny?

"The Pioneer" on the abolition of malaria.

The remote prospect of the abolition of malaria fills the mind of the *Pioneer* with gloomy forebodings. For it thinks that if anybody imprudently abolished malaria, Indians would all become stalwarts, and

then—the *Pioneer's* occupation would be gone. But let us quote what it says.

"Assuming that the world will continue to revolve long enough and that civilisation will advance as it is doing, it is likely that this country will be in time sanitarily regulated to such an extent that malaria will be unknown. After that comes the thought—what would be the effect on the population of the abolition of malaria? In that there is more ground for dissension. We should be admittedly removing what is a source of disability to every Indian at least once a year. Normally one man in every ten is sick in India: lately in these Provinces more than five out of every ten have had malaria at the same time. And the disease is admittedly also the cause of much chronic sickness and the precursor of other grave complaints. But it is even possible that the abolition of malaria might have even more far-reaching effects than the removal of these bodily ills. There are those who think, and their thoughts have been most plausibly put forward in a recently-published book, that the decay of the Greek and Roman Empires was really due to the loss of energy in those races resulting from attacks of malaria . . . . If such an idea could be thought true, however, then the abolition of malaria would carry the native enthusiast back to Vedic times when every Hindu seems to have been a stalwart warrior or a learned priest. But we are afraid that 'per se' its effects would not be so far-reaching."

We do hope that in the interests of the *Pioneer* and its well-wishers such a dire calamity as the abolition of malaria will never overtake India. But why is our friend so disconsolate? Nature abhors a vacuum. Where there is no malaria, there is plague, and where there is plague, there is no malaria; and Famine stalks everywhere, after suitable intervals of repose to rest Its tired jaws.

The mild and courteous British Student.

"India" says:

"What would the Government of Bombay have said, one wonders, if it had witnessed the scenes of disorder which accompanied the election on Saturday last of a Lord Rector by the students of Glasgow University? As "lawlessness" and "discourtesy in and out of school" are deemed to be such heinous offences in India, we feel we cannot do better than allow the Indian Government's favourite newspaper to tell the story of how an example is set in these matters by the "ruling race." Says the "Daily Mail":—

"The students gathered round the door of the polling hall in primitive costumes the least likely to suffer damage in the fray. They opened with a combined attack upon the beautifully uniformed commissionaires and attendants, who were soon reduced to the disreputable level of the students. Then the fight for strategic positions began. From ammunition wagons there poured clouds of peasemeal, soot, ochre, and eggs. The Liberals held the advantage for an hour, during which time not a voter of the other colour got into the hall to sign his name. With a great rally the Conservatives dislodged the Reds, who made superhuman efforts to run the blockade. Man after man was hoisted on to the shoulders of the garrison, but for one who succeeded in walking over the swaying heads into the booth a dozen were sent back in tatters. The principal of the university had to declare that, unless the passage were kept clear, the election would be declared void. This raised the blockade. Many of the "injured" had to be reclothed from reserve trunks, a few had nasty cuts, and several suffer from sprains and dislodged limbs. Every voter had to run the gauntlet under showers of soot and flour, and few of the Asiatic students faced the risk."

We despair of the future of the British race to find that none of these lads were whipped in public on their naked buttocks, nor rigorously imprisoned, nor transported.

We are sure there were among these British students many National Volunteers and "anarchists" from Bengal to teach them lawlessness and incivility.

Indians in the Public Service.

In a future number of this review we intend to publish an article tracing the history of the employment of Indians in the different branches of the public services of their country. In this note we offer a few remarks on that passage in the king's message in which His Majesty was pleased to refer to this subject.

The admission to, and promotion of men to high posts in the public services of this country are not based purely on tests of personal qualification, but mostly on their color and nationality. Of course the commissioned ranks of the military services (except that of the Indian Medical, admission to which is not so easy for Indians now as it was some thirty years ago) are closed to the children of the Indian soil. The Indian Civil Service, which is called the Heaven-born Service, is also a close preserve to a very large extent for the natives of England and not those of India, for the examinations are held in England and so it is impossible for a large number of Indians to go to that country and compete for the service on a mere speculation. Services in the Educational, Engineering and Forest Departments have been divided into Imperial and Provincial branches, and although it may be easy for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, it is almost impossible for an Indian, however superior his qualifications may be, to enter the



THE HON'BLE DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE,
President elect of Indian National Congress, Madras.



DEWAN BAHADUR K. KRISHNASWAMI RAO,
Chairman, Reception Committee, Madras Congress.

Imperial branches of those Services. Even "honest John" had the righteous courage to declare in answer to certain questions before his translation to the House of Lords that Indians should not be admitted to the Imperial branch of the Indian Educational Service, because the Provincial branch existed for them. Throughout India only two Indians are in the Imperial Educational Service.

Similarly in the Engineering Departments, Indians are not admitted to the Imperial branch of the Service. Whatever little chance there was for Indians to enter that branch when Cooper's Hill College was in existence, that has been removed by the abolition of that institution.

The Statutory Civil Service has been abolished and so there is very little chance for Indians in the Provincial Civil Service to be placed permanently in charge of districts. In the United Provinces not a single member of the judicial or executive branches of the Provincial Service has so far been promoted to be a *pucca* District Judge or Magistrate.

It is not necessary in this short note to refer to the other matters connected with the employment of Indians in the public services of their own country. Indeed the higher branches of the Indian public services are something like the play of Hamlet without Hamlet, because although they are labelled as "Indian," they are conspicuous by the absence of "Indians" from them.

An Anglo-Indian writes to the London *Times*:—

> Whatever statistics may say and Governments protest, it is not a fact that Indians of whatever race or creed are freely and impartially appointed to offices the duties of which they may be qualified to discharge. It is a fact that by far the greater number of the officials are Indian, but there is a constant tendency to exclude them from posts that Englishmen want to hold and to give them only posts that no Englishman would willingly take. All the best posts are held by the Imperial services, of which the Indian Civil Service is the chief, and, as a general rule, no outsider, whatever his qualifications and claims to consideration, is admitted to any post which can be held by a member of the Indian Civil Service, even though the post be not on the regular list of appointments reserved to that service. High rank in the army is entirely closed to Indians, and in all branches of the public service Indians still find that when they come into competition with Englishmen. their race and colour are a disadvantage and not an additional qualification.

Every Government post in India, from the highest to the lowest, belongs by moral right to the inhabitants of India, including non-Indians by birth or race who have made India their permanent home. Any deviation from this principle is only a provisional arrangement.

A merry time for bad characters.

Dacoities and murders seem to be more frequent than before. And as the Police suspect students to be the culprits in almost every case, the real offenders have ample leisure to twist their moustaches between their fingers. It is, no doubt, not impossible for students to commit murder or dacoities; but in this age of free competition we are not inclined to give them a monopoly of this wicked business.

The fact is, our policemen are not very efficient, and they are fully occupied in sedition-hunting. So they are not in a position to cope with any outbreak of crime. Hence this "school-hatched dacoity" theory has been to them a veritable godsend.

Who profit by "Anarchism" and the boycott?

It cannot be said that "Anarchism" and the boycott have been entirely unprofitable. They have furnished employment to a large number of men. Many nincompoops and scoundrels seem to have been engaged by the police as spies and informers, so that the honest men who formerly served in the Detective Department now find themselves in very bad company. But it can not be helped. The unemployed problem must be solved here as in England.

Another good result of "Anarchism" and the boycott has been that Bengali "agitators" travelling anywhere and Bengalis of any description travelling outside Bengal, do not now run the risk of being robbed, assaulted or murdered, without there being some witness to the deed. For the police have furnished them with guards of honour who watch them everywhere.

Verily good cometh out of evil.

What is Anarchism?

By the bye, what is anarchism? The word seems to be used very loosely by Anglo-Indian journalists. Is it due to their ignorance, or panic, or malice prepense?

We find the following description of the anarchists in Chamber's Encyclopaedia :—

"They desire complete liberty for all men. They object to all authority, whether monarchic or republican, whether based on divine right or universal suffrage, for (they say) history teaches that all government tends to privilege and oppression. In all human relations their ideal is one of free contract, perpetually subject to revision and cancelment. But such an ideal of freedom cannot be realised in a society where land and capital are the monopoly of a class. Land and capital must therefore be the common property of society, at the disposal of every one.....With reference to the old system of society which stands in the way of the new era, Bakunin recommends a most unsparing policy of destruction."

The young men who are now undergoing trial at Alipore have not been accused of holding these views. Therefore, whatever else they may be, they are not anarchists.

Agrarian Discontent in Champaran.

There is grave discontent among the agriculturists in parts of District Champaran. The rayats complain that the terms of contract which the European indigo and sugar planters are seeking to force on them, would, if accepted, prove their ruin. They sent a well-reasoned and respectful representation to the Government. So far as we know, no enquiry into their grievances has been made. But additional police have been drafted into the sub-division of Motihari, a considerable number of men have been arrested, the meetings of agriculturists have been forbidden under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code (though there has not been any disturbance of peace or any likelihood thereof), and punitive police have been imposed on the inhabitants of the villages of Gurwalia, Balua, Nautan, Bajahi, Mathia Dumra, Lakanpur, Kalan Barwa, Barwa Ganauli, and Chand Barwa. If the grievances of the rayats be true, the planters are riding for a fall. They are no doubt very powerful. But their predecessors in Bengal sustained a crushing defeat during the Indigo Disturbances of the sixties of the last century, at the hands of the weak and mild Bengali peasants, who swore, "this right hand will not sow indigo," and kept their oath despite inhuman persecution of all sorts. A system of practical slavery cannot be made to prevail in Behar. Men cannot be made to work under compulsion with profit for any length of time. The European officials and planters concerned will do well to read the history of the Indigo Disturbances in Bengal.* The Behar peasant is bound to win in the end.

In the meantime Behar patriots may justify their existence by taking a bold stand in defence of their poor compatriots.

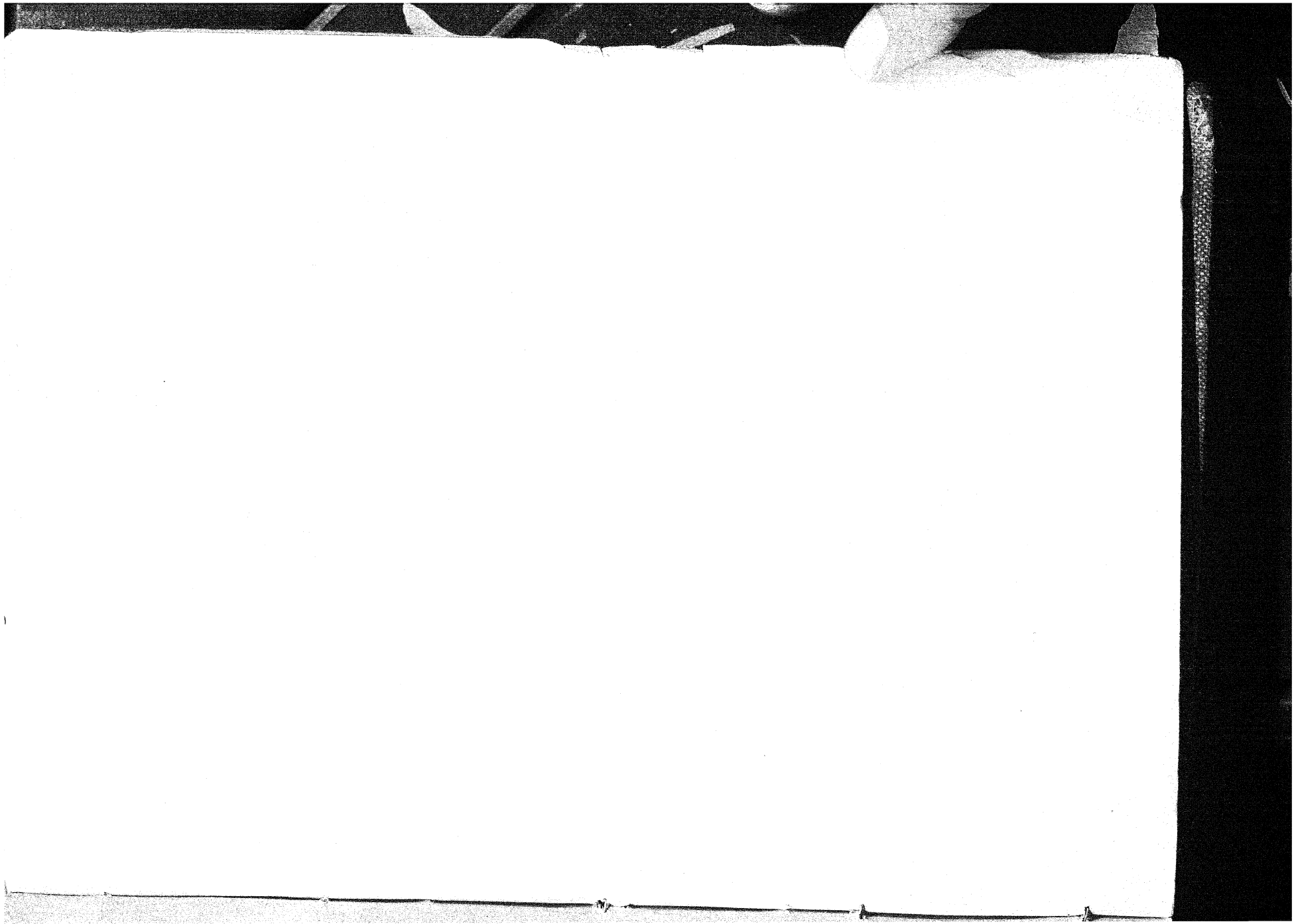
Sir John Hewett's Convocation Speech.

Sir John Hewett did well in his Allahabad Convocation Speech to contradict Sir Bampfylde Fuller's libel on Indian students in *The Nineteenth Century*, though, if he had not done so, few thinking men would have believed in that irate old man's calumny, seeing that he had been expelled from India practically by students. Sir John's condemnation of the selection of *Tom Brown's School Days* as a text-book for Indian students was also well-deserved. Besides the objections against that book referred to by him, there is the mention of boys drinking as a matter of course. This from the Indian point of view is highly objectionable. Sir John Hewett's dictum that the duty of the Government in the matter of secondary education is limited to the provision of one high school for each district and the giving of a grant-in-aid to some more, cannot be accepted. It is the duty of the Government to provide for the education of every child till the age of 14, if not till 16. If that cannot be done, it is not because the ideal of duty is anything short of that standard, but because the Government is unable or unwilling to incur more expenditure on education on account of Imperial expenditure or Imperial policy.

Our Educational Responsibility.

But whatever the Government may or may not do, we are all responsible for the education of the juvenile and illiterate adult population of India. Whoever has received the light of knowledge is bound by that very fact to impart it to those who have not. He must either himself teach, or pay in some form or other so that others may be able to teach. If he will not, he is a despicable miser, not fit to associate with. This is strong language, but language deliberately used. If men and women, young or old, who call themselves patriots, or wish to be considered patriotic, do not help in the spread of knowledge, they do not know

* *Indigo Disturbance.* Compiled by Lalit Chandra Mitra, M.A., 30-3, Madan Mitter's Lane, Calcutta. Price one rupee.





PARVATI

Mediæval South Indian Bronze (height 36 cm.)
In the National Museum, Copenhagen.

what patriotism means. Should we not see to it that there remains not even a hamlet without a school and without arrangements for imparting knowledge to the illiterate adults by means of evening magic lantern lectures, *Kathakatás*, &c.? This work, to be successful, should be done by persons and in a form entirely dissociated from politics and even from the preaching of *swadeshi*.

As to methods, let us try to learn the best educational methods to be found in any country, but in the mean time teach according to any method that we know. When there is famine in the land, we do not wait to discuss the fineness or coarseness of the food-grain, nor do we discuss the best styles of cooking. We boil properly any good food grains, fine or coarse, and give the food to the people. There is dire knowledge-famine in the land. Who will feed the starving minds in India?

The Annual Conferences.

All the Conferences which usually meet during Christmas week along with the Indian National Congress will hold their sessions at Madras this year. The President-elect of the Indian National Congress is Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, and the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress, Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao. Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar will preside over the Industrial Conference, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair, over the Social Conference, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, over the Temperance Conference, &c. &c. There will also be a Ladies' Conference, and a Theistic Conference. The Theosophical Convention will meet at Adyar, Madras. A meeting of the All-India Moslem League will also be held.

Our Pictures.

The Indian Society of Oriental Art is doing good work by supplying a limited number of reproductions of good Indian pictures at a moderate price, as will be seen in our advertisement columns. One of its beautiful pictures, "The Pardanashin," we reproduce in this number by permission. We are able to reproduce a picture of the bronze of "Parvati" by the courtesy of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, who has kindly sent us the photograph. The bronze is in the Copenhagen National Museum. What treasures have been lost to India! Most of the Elephanta cave sculptures we were able to reproduce in a previous number from photographs kindly sent from his collection by Mr. P. V. Mavjee of Bombay, well-known for his literary tastes and antiquarian zeal.

An American Village School.

We should like to draw the attention of our readers to the description of an American Village School given by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh in this number in the article "The Germ of the up-to-date in rural America." They will at once perceive that not the best College in India is so well equipped for its work as this American Village School is for its. Why this difference? It is no use giving the stereotyped reply, "it is the Government that is to blame." A people gets the sort of government that it deserves. *Let us lay this bitter truth to our hearts that we are to blame.* Let us resolve, each according to his ability and opportunity, to wipe off the reproach of being a backward people.

A Glass Factory.

We have received a copy of the prospectus of the Kashi Glass Manufacturing Company, Ltd. The Company has been able to secure the services of Mr. S. R. Sinha, who completed his education at the Tokyo Imperial University and received a special training in glass-making in the Higher Technical School, Tokyo, and a practical training in two well-known glass factories in Japan for three years and a half. So there is no doubt the factory will be well-managed. We personally know some of the Directors. They are men of tried honesty and public spirit. Most of them have practical knowledge of business. It is intended to start the factory at Barakar and work it according to the latest scientific methods. The locality chosen is most suitable for obtaining raw materials. It is near the railway station and not far from Calcutta. These are facts of great commercial importance. Besides, Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandi Bahadur of Kasimbazar, who has become a shareholder, has agreed to give the land required for buildings on advantageous terms and coal, too, for the first two or three years

at cheap rates. So that altogether the Company starts with fine prospects. It is an interprovincial concern, in which the United Provinces and Bengal are equally interested. We hope the combined wealth and energy of these provinces will make it a success. Such concerns are calculated, too, to become lasting ties of friendship between province and province. For the prospectus one has to write to the Secretary, 1B, Buchai Tola, Gaighat, Benares City.

The Tinnevelly Sedition Case.

It is some consolation that in the Tinnevelly Sedition Case, Mr. Chidambaram Pillai's sentence has been reduced from transportation for life to one for 6 years; though we are of opinion that he ought not to have been punished at all. That he is being made to do the hardest work of criminals is illegal and unjustifiable. The police reporters in this case on whose evidence he was convicted were not skilled in the art of reporting. Some of them are said to have taken down speeches in English as they were delivered in Tamil! The mother-tongue of the principal witness was Hindustani, and not Tamil.

As police reporters have already cut a prominent figure in sedition trials and seem destined to be more conspicuous in future, let us see what Lord Morley said on such evidence when he was plain Mr. John Morley. In his address on Home Rule, delivered before the Union Society at Oxford on February 29, 1888, he said:—

"I will ask the House to listen to a little extract which I am going to read to show the kind of evidence which in these courts is thought good enough. It is the case of a certain Irish member, Mr. Sheehy, who was convicted, and this is a very short passage from the cross-examination of the shorthand writer. Mr. Sheehy was brought up for words spoken; it was vitally important to know what were the words spoken, for which he was about to have inflicted upon him a very severe punishment. This is, in a very few words, a passage from the cross-examination of the Government reporter. 'Did you ever study shorthand?' 'I did not. I might look over the book, but that is all. As far as I know, shorthand is not studied by any man in the barracks. There was no constable, to my knowledge, in French Park on the day of the meeting who knew shorthand. The meeting lasted from 3 o'clock till a quarter to five, and Mr. Sheehy was speaking the greater part of the time. When Mr. Sheehy spoke a sentence or a sentence and a half, I took down all I could remember at the time. I took no note of what he would be saying while I was taking down the two sentences which I remembered at the time. I consider Mr. Sheehy a slow speaker.' 'While you would be writing a sentence, how many sentences would he get ahead of you?' 'Well' said the constable or reporter, 'he might get two or three.' 'Then when you would complete your sentence, would you skim over what he had said in the meantime and then catch him up again?' 'Yes, I would try and remember what he would say in the meantime.' 'When you say that you would try and remember, what do you mean?' 'I mean that when I heard a sentence or two I would take that down and pay no attention to what he would say in the meantime..'

"How many gentlemen here must have been in English courts and heard the careful, austere, and impressive standards which the judges of those courts apply to evidence. I say when you hear such evidence as that, do you not think you are listening to the proceedings of a court in a comic opera? Pray remark that in a charge of this kind a phrase or a qualification of a phrase may be of vital importance. It may make all the difference in the construction and the interpretation that the court would put upon a word spoken; and yet you see that the qualifying phrases and words might have been dropped out while the reporter was taking down the other sentences. It is a sheer caricature of evidence. Can you wonder that under such circumstances as those, of which I have given you three actual illustrations—that Irishmen do not respect the law and do not revere the tribunals where that law is administered? Imagine how the existence of such a state of things would affect you who are Englishmen. Would you endure to be under exceptional repressive legislation of this kind so administered? I do not believe you would. Englishmen never acquiesced in legislation and administration of that kind; they have fought against it from age to age, and Irishmen will rightly fight against it from age to age."

But what is sauce for even the Irish goose is not sauce for the Indian gander.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Government of India: by Syam Sundar Das, B.A., Assistant Head Master, Central Hindu Collegiate School, Benares. The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1908. Price Re. 1.

This small volume of 139 pages is compiled from the new edition of the Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. IV, and is intended to meet the requirements of candidates for the School Leaving Certificate Examination in the United Provinces, and also to supply the want of a handbook on the present system of British administration in India. The subjects dealt with are: The Government of India, the Provincial Governments, the Native States and Foreign relations, Legislation and Justice, the Public Peace, the Public Health, Education, Local Self-Government, Public Works, the Public Purse. In the main, the book covers the same ground as Sir William Lee-Warner's *Citizen of India*, with this difference, that controversial topics have been as a rule avoided, and there is no laboured attempt at whitewashing the administration and inculcating loyalty and obedience to authority. Only a few statistics have been given, and the writer has confined himself to the main features of the administration. It will certainly give the youthful students a good general idea of the system of administration prevalent in the country, and in so far will serve a useful purpose. There is, however, some amount of *suppressio veri* which is equivalent to *suggestio falsi*. This could not well be avoided in a treatise compiled exclusively from official sources. One instance will suffice: speaking of the Judicial Service, the writer says at page 41: "Pleaders of a certain standing are generally appointed in the first instance as Munsiffs, and *they can by gradual promotion or by selection rise to the highest post in that branch: viz., to that of a High Court or Chief Court Judge.*" Theoretically of course, but practically, the exact opposite would be much nearer the truth.

The get-up of the book is first-rate, and does credit to the Indian Press, Allahabad. The frontispiece is an excellent portrait of His Majesty the King.

X.

Ranade (Nateson & Co., Madras.)

This is a delightfully written pamphlet. The account of Mr. Ranade's life is not loaded with irritatingly insipid remarks and the writer deserves our thanks for not indulging in heroic epithets which are apt to get on one's nerves. In his estimate of Mr. Ranade's career and work he has put certain things, though lovingly, on the debit side too. Mr. Ranade's temper was not of the sort "that gallops till it falls." He had nothing volcanic or tempestuous about him. His life to the reader of this pamphlet seems to have been equable and tranquil, for he never "strove to spread new faiths by brilliant sword-play with buttoned foils." What pleases us most is the fact that Mr. Ranade was particularly free from small jealousies which make breaches even in the noblest natures. History, says Mr. Morley, affords us too many proofs that scholarship and learning by no means purge men of acrimony, of vanity, of arrogance, of a murderous tenacity about trifles. All this was happily absent in Mr. Ranade's case, as we learn from the perusal of the pages before us, There was a unique combination of an indomitable spirit in quest of truth with utter self-effacement. He never fretted. He never grudged the meed of praise due to another. He never felt depressed when he saw the laurel crown handed over even to combatants of lesser calibre. Amidst present day bickerings and squabbles it is certainly inspiring to turn to one who always maintained a dignified front and like Mill "showed himself so wholly free from the vulgarity of the sage and recognised the social destination of knowledge and kept the elevation of the great art of social existence ever before him as the ultimate end of all speculative activity" (Morley).

Mr. Ranade's Speeches on Social Reform will be constantly referred to by those who are keenly interested in the movement now on foot almost all over the country, and his catholicity of view and undimmed vision of certain issues in a nation's life will always be a spur to men of meaner mould. For the great thing in a man is his clear gaze—his conscious step across fate or circumstance or environment towards a goal seen by the inward eye. His utterances may not be linked thunders nor his march make the ground tremble beneath him, yet he is certain to seize the imagination and impress his stamp upon the age.

HIRA LAL CHATTERJEE.

Notes of Travels by J. Nelson Fraser, printed by the Christan Literature Society, Madras.

This little book of 251 pages, is an interesting account of travels through some historic places of Europe and Asia by a scholar of well-known literary reputation. This is not a travellers' guide book but a literary production of great merit giving the impressions and reminicences of the author when visiting the memorable sights and scenes of the two continents. The descriptions of Italy, Germany, Switzerland and Sicily will be read by all with great interest, while the ac-

count of Kedarnath, a glimpse of Agra and of Ceylon, are of absorbing interest to an Indian. The Book is very well fitted by its size, get-up and contents to be a prize book for Indian School and College Students.

S.

The Aryan Marriage, with special reference to the age question, a critical and historical study by R. Raghunath Rao, B.A., price Rs. 1-8. Printed by G. A. Natesun & Co., Madras.

The question of Aryan marriage is a subject not free from difficulty. We agree with Mrs. Annie Besant in saying that there is no ideal of marriage like the Indian ideal. But the most unfortunate thing about the whole affair is that the people have forgotten the ideal and are struggling in the meshes of pernicious customs and superstitions. The author has proved that the marriage contemplated in the Vedas is that of grown up men and women and not of children in their teens. It never contemplated marriage before puberty. The marriage *mantras* quoted show conclusively that they could apply only to post-pubescent and never to pre-pubescent marriages.

How is it then that pre-pubescent marriages have come into vogue in India? Some explain it on the ground of foreign invasions that have been devastating India for the last thousand years or more. Be that as if may, it can not be said that pre-pubescent marriages were totally unknown to ancient India, for in the Chhandogya Upanishad we find the account of a *Rishi* called *Pushasti Chakrayana* who had an immature wife. [See Chhandogya Upanishad 1—x—1]. The passage, however, is doubtful, as the word '*atiki*' translated as immature, may mean a virgin also. In fact, Anandagiri has so explained it.

So it may be asserted that proofs of pre-pubescent marriages are very meagre in the history of ancient India. During the Vedic period such marriages were unknown. In the Sutra period also we do not find many traces of it, and were merely tolerated by the Sutra authors. It is during this period that the caste system seems to have established itself and with the caste system came all its attendant evils.

The book is an interesting one on the whole, though the author's digressions into theosophical races and sub-races are rather out of place and will not be well-appreciated by a non-theosophic Hindu. The chapter on the marital affinities, moreover, is obscene and though the descriptions therein given may be well tolerated in a book of physiology, they are simply scandalous and therefore objectionable in a handbook like this, meant for the general public.

We do not, however, agree with the author in his assertion that under the ancient Hindu Law the re-marriage of widows was not allowed. Here the author is carried away by his prejudices and does not appear to have studied the ancient Aryan texts on re-marriage.

S.

URDU.

Khyalat-i-Lajpat, by Lala Lalchand Falak. Price Rs. 1-8-0. Printed by the Bande Mataram Book Agency, Lahore.

This book of 450 pages gives an interesting and, on the whole, fair account of Lala Lajpat Rai. In get-up it is all that could be desired. It is divided into four parts, *viz.*, Introductory, Articles and Essays of Lala Lajpat Rai, his speeches and lectures, and his letters.

The introduction of the book, which is penned by Lala Har Dayal, M.A., a man of high literary fame, is one of the best portions in the whole book. In his chaste, forcible and fluent language, the writer gives us a brief but impressive, short but clear and instructive account of the Lala's life, and presents in glowing colours the scenes of his labour and the fields of his activity. His philanthropic, educational, religious and political careers are well depicted therein. The preface by the compiler is another matter of interest in the first part.

The second and the third parts of the book appear to have been rather hastily compiled. The translation in some places is not quite harmonious. A reader feels as if some thing is wanting in them. Lala Lajpat Rai is a first-rate Urdu scholar and speaker and his Urdu speeches and writings are numerous. The compiler, therefore, would have done better to incorporate these Urdu speeches and writings of Lala Sahib instead of covering the pages of the book mostly with the translations of the English lectures and articles. Had the compiler taken the trouble of mentioning when and under what circumstances these articles and speeches were writen and delivered, the book would have proved of greater interest and usefulness.

The last is perhaps the best part of the book. Among the letters the most interesting are those that were written by Lala Sahib to his friends and relations from abroad. The description of the places visited by him, the condition and characteristics of their peoples—social, intellectual and political—and the lesson they teach us, are of absorbing interest to all Indian readers.

NIRANJAN MITRA.

GUJURATI.

Kartavya Bhugol, Part I, pp. 36. Part II, pp. 52, by Jivabhai Amichand Patel. Headmaster, Babu Pannalal Jaina High School, Bombay. Price 0-4-6. Paper (1908).

The aim of the writer is to completely do away with the system of learning geographical names and definitions by rote obtaining at present in our schools. He substitutes a system of catechism by means of which the child student is taught to look about him intelligently and note what he observes on paper provided in the book. The first part gently leads the learner from his own locality and school-room up to the island-geography and topography of Bombay. The second part is illustrated with a map of the Town and Island of Bombay (the subject matter of the compilation) and also a sketch showing its physical conformation. The attempt is a praiseworthy one, and bespeaks an observant nature in the writer, which he has tried to utilise for the benefit of his brother teachers.

K. M. J.

Hind no Bal Bodh Itihas, by Krishnaprasad Shivprasad Mehta, B.A. Head Master, Middle School, Veraval. Kathiawad. Pp. 264. Cloth-bound; Price 0. 8. 0. (1907).

The book is written obviously for the use and instruction of little children. In a tolerably well written preface, the writer has enunciated sound principles on which histories for such a class of learners are to be written. They should be instructive, interesting and informative. Unfortunately most of the histories of India have assumed the form of a mere dry chronicle of dates and names, dynasties and battles, and in spite of the laying down of sound lines in his preface, we regret to see that the author has at times fallen into the very pitfalls which he should have in following the lines avoided. The opening portion of the book treating of ancient India is cast in an interesting narrative form and had the writer carried out the same form to the end, he would surely have produced something out of the run of our ordinary chronicles and been entitled to our admiration. No doubt, there are parts of the book where attempts are made to enliven these dry bones, but we are afraid they are beyond the comprehension of the boys, who are supposed to be its readers. It is brought down to the most recent times and Lord Curzon and the Partition of Bengal duly figure in it, but the treatment is too scanty, and scrappy to give the reader an idea of the far-reaching results of the policy of the late Viceroy.

Khetravasti Nan Mandalo, i.e., Agricultural Associations, by Chhotalal Baharbhai Patel, B.A. Naib Sarsuba, Baroda. Printed by the Lakshmivilas Press Co. Ld. Baroda. Pp. 257, Cloth-bound; Price 1-0-0 (1908.)

This book, big in size, and solid in matter, contains a very thoughtful statement, based on Pratt's "Organisation of Agriculture" and "Transmission in Agriculture" and various other books and magazine articles in English on the subject, and from cover to cover bristles with statistics and suggestions for the improvement of the agricultural community. Only a few of the contents of its chapters would give the reader an idea of its comprehensiveness. Chapter II. deals with the enormous increase in the egg trade of Europe and its reasons; some of the subsequent chapters deal with the state of the tillers in Denmark, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Hungary, Switzerland, Siberia, Servia, Luxembourg, America, Ireland, Australia, England and Japan. The state of Agriculture in India has a whole chapter devoted to it and the Baroda State is similarly honored, while the book winds up with many useful suggestions. The much discussed problem of Co-operative Credit Societies is not neglected and on the whole we have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Patel has produced a work which must prove useful to those who are interested in the improvement of the condition of the agriculturist but are ignorant of the English language. Still one thing, unfortunately, is certain, that it will not prove beneficial to the class for whom it is pre-eminently meant, because firstly, most people belonging to the cultivator class are illiterate, and secondly, even for those who can read and write from amongst them, the treatment of the subject and the rather cultured and high-pitched language of the book, would prove a stumbling block as being entirely above their powers of comprehension. The lay reader, therefore, only would find in it much food for thought, and instruction, without being bored, although the subject is a bit technical. The price, thanks to the patronage of H. H. The Gaekwar, is kept so low as to make the work generally accessible, and hence we recommend it strongly to the Gujarati public.

Sahitya Ratna, by Ishwarlal P. Khansabeb, B.A., and Narharilal Trimbaklal, B.A., of the Sarvajanik High School, Surat, cloth bound; pp. 288. Price Rs. 1-8-0 (1908).

The gems of Gujarati Literature which are embodied in this collection, comprise both the ancient and the modern, the dead and the living, and are thus instrumental in showing at a glance, the state of that literature. The selection is admirable, and though it has not been found possible to include all the best pieces, a majority of them do find a place here. The book is intended as a help to students learning in the High Schools, for whom such a compilation was a desideratum, but to the general reader too, the work is none the less interesting and instructive. In poetry such a task was essayed by Mr. Anjana in his Kavya Madhurya but a mixed collection like this was wanting. Besides its bringing together in one place, the most classic and familiar writings of Gujarati writers, we commend the book to the student of literature for the two valuable introductions it contains. An outline history of Gujarati Literature and an article on the development of Gujarati prose have helped to give the work a characterstic of its own. The history is well written; and the writer has managed admirably to concentrate in a small compass history, biography, and a critical resume of the writings of each of the authors. No doubt the space devoted to each of them: is very unequal, but that was inevitable in the nature of things. The portion devoted to the comparison of the abilities of the various poets is the result of considerable thought and study though the conclusions may not be agreeable to all. The other part of the introduction on the development of Gujarati prose also starts bravely, and the author has tried to ransack all available sources, but we think in the expression of his own opinion on the styles of the various writers, he has been attracted more by the sound of the words than their substance. The quotations given at the end to sum up the net results of criticism on the style of the different periods savour of the slavish imitation of Narmadashanker (*vide* his introduction to his Narmakosha) rather than of sound remarks. We think the language also beyond the scope of the student reader and the general impression left on our mind by the perusal of the whole is that in spite of its diligent research and labour, the performance still "smacks" of crudeness, and lacks the ripeness of opinion that comes with age and experience. As an essay in the line of criticism writing we have

however, nothing but praise for it, and we gladly welcome the book as a distinct addition to the store of Gujarati Literature.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

Itihasa-sangraha (Historical miscellany)—An illustrated monthly. Edited by Mr. D. B. Parasnis. Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay. Pp. 48. Annual subscription, Rs. 4.

Students of Maratha History are to be congrautlated upon the appearance of a new magazine, devoted entirely to that subject. The first number was out in August, and the numbers for September and October, maintain the high level of the first. Mr. Parasnis, the Editor, is an indefatigable worker in the field of Maratha history and a well-known writer of historical biography. He has secured the co-operation of Mr. V. K. Rajawade who has made Maratha history and Maratha literature the sole business of his life. The magazine is fortunate in being published by Mr. Tukaram Javji, the owner of the primier Indian press in Bombay. This ensures both a smart get-up and a guarantee of its continuance in spite of difficulties—such as want of public support. For difficulties are sure to come and they have in the past wrecked many an attempt in this direction.

The first attempt to publish original documents illustrating Maratha history was made so long ago as 1878 A. D. In that year the late Mr. B. P. Modak and Mr. K. N. Sane started a magazine called "Kavyetihasa-sangraha" or "Collection of Poetry and History." After continuing it for a number of years they had to stop it owing to pecuniary difficulties. Since then similar attempts made in the form of the "Bharata Varsha" and "Maharashtra Itihasa" failed owing to similar causes. But the idea had come to stay. Mr. Rajawade in his "Marathanchya Itihasachi Sadhane" (Materials for the History of the Marathas) and Mr. Vasudev Shastri Khare of Miraj in his "Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha" (Collection of Historical Papers) have done yeoman's service by bringing out between them about fifteen volumes. The Deccan Vernacular Translation Society of Poona, has published five volumes containing summaries of the Peshwa's Diaries with a short introduction to the same by the late Mr. M. G. Ranade. More volumes are to follow. Mr. Purushottum Mavji, a wealthy citizen of Bombay, has also undertaken to publish other valuable papers from the Peshwa's records. The taste for historical literature has been created and some of the important, Maratha Magazines have latterly made historical papers or criticisms a regular part of their plan of work. Still there was room, and necessity also, for a magazine exclusively devoted to Maratha history, and Messrs. Parasnis and Tukaram Javji have laid under deep obligation all those who are interested in this subject

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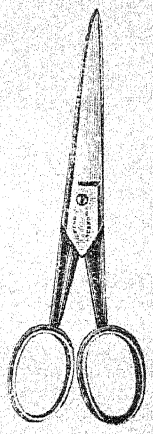
This may appear to be a very large order, but the contents of the first three numbers will convince any one that Mr, Parasnis will not fall short of his promise. It will be a mine of information for the future historians of the Marathas and all will join in wishing long life to this periodical.

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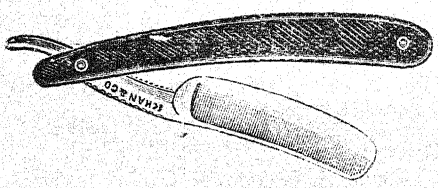
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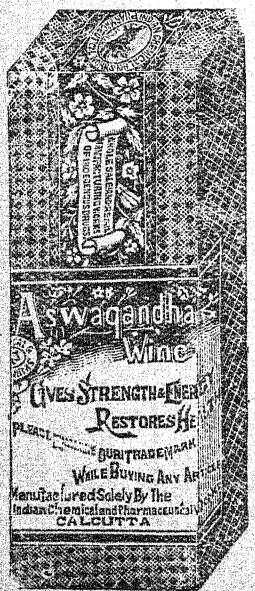
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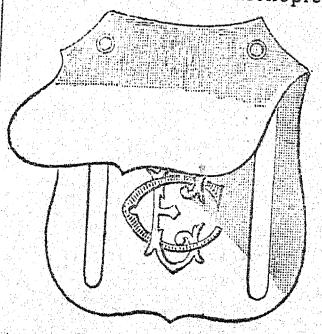


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